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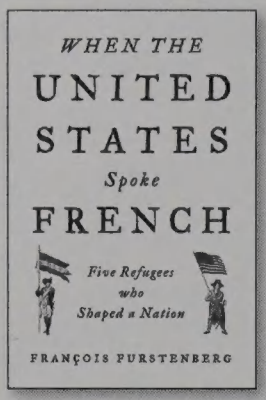

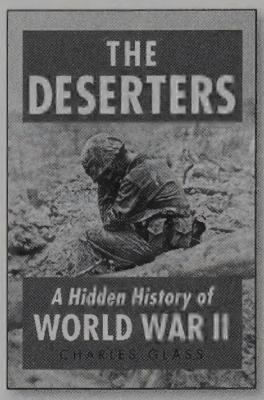

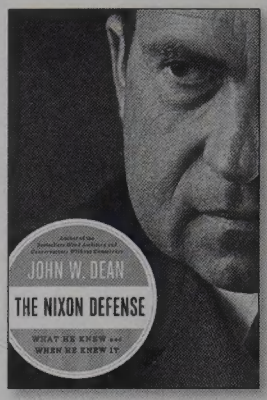

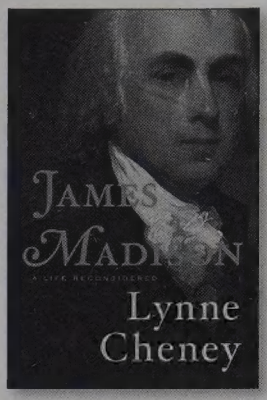

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Cover Illustration: The First World War in the east is often called the forgotten war, its catastrophic losses for the doomed causes of Imperial Russia marginalized by the bigger stories of revolution and its aftermath. Neither its outbreak a hundred years ago nor its ragged ending in the east is likely to be widely remembered in the region; the suffering of its participants is still largely neglected, relegated with much else to history's dustbin. Yet more than 13 million men and (some) women came under Russian arms by 1917. In urgent need of moral and material support, even those with minimal literacy wrote or dictated as many as 40 million letters home, all carefully read in the most comprehensive effort of its kind during the war by military censors charged with reporting what soldiers were feeling. What did the censors learn? And how could soldiers' moods actually be accessed in ways that served the army's needs? In "Reading Soldiers' Moods: Russian Military Censorship and the Configuration of Feeling in World War I," William G. Rosenberg explores this complex question. He suggests the importance for historians of understanding how the feelings of soldiers like those pictured here, as well as feelings more generally, might be read. "Russian soldiers write home while serving on the Eastern Front during World War I, ca. 1915." Hulton Archive/Getty Images. Photographer unknown. Reprinted by permission.

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In This Issue

The June issue includes two articles, one on the French Revolution, the other on Russian soldiers in the First World War. They are followed by an *AHR* Roundtable: nine shorter essays in which a group of European historians discuss the researching, writing, and teaching of American history. Our usual extensive book review section includes seven featured reviews and two hundred regular reviews. "In Back Issues" draws attention to articles and features in the *AHR* from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago.

Articles

In "The Overthrow of Maximilien Robespierre and the 'Indifference' of the People," **Colin Jones** reexamines the events of July 27, 1794 (9 Thermidor Year II in the revolutionary calendar), surely one of the key turning points in the French Revolution. On that day Robespierre was overthrown. In the following year, the "Thermidorian Reaction" would see the French national assembly, the Convention, reject the Terror, in which Robespierre had played a leading role, and move unambiguously to the right. Historians have invariably ascribed the lack of support for Robespierre in the city of Paris that day to the supposed indifference of the popular *sans-culotte* movement, which had brought him to power, but which he had increasingly alienated and helped to demobilize. Jones challenges this view, offering a new interpretation of the day's action and significance by focusing on a huge and largely neglected body of source material, most notably police records. These show the people of Paris as far from indifferent or lacking in political will. On the contrary, they acted decisively and in force. Overwhelmingly and energetically on that day, they supported Robespierre's opponent, the National Convention. That the Parisian popular movement had not been alienated from politics, but rather supported the path of constitutional legality more fervently than has been thought, Jones argues, suggests that we need to reevaluate the character of popular politics in the Revolution as a whole.

Although the history of emotions is now a well-established field, the analysis of how feelings may affect the course of historical events remains a vexing problem for his-

torians. In "Reading Soldiers' Moods: Russian Military Censorship and the Configuration of Feeling in World War I," **William G. Rosenberg** takes up this problem by examining the difficulties tsarist military censors had in accessing the moods of Russian soldiers during World War I through their correspondence, a task deemed essential to prevent dissidence and deploy army units effectively. His article is based on a rich trove of archival materials revealing the ways in which censors configured soldiers' emotions within circulating fields of assumption and expectation, filtering their expression into "useful" categories at some distance from their actual emotional fields. While these documents may have served the needs of military commanders, they also reflected processes of mediation that were not ultimately in the army's interests. In analyzing these processes, Rosenberg uses historical specificities to raise a more general question: How do the ways in which emotions are read make it more difficult for historians to access them? In other words, when expressions of emotions in our sources are filtered through our own social and cultural norms, how can we be sure that the feelings being described reflect what was actually felt?

AHR Roundtable

The Roundtable, "You the People," is a rather unusual project for this journal. Normally the *AHR* does not publish articles that address professional or pedagogical concerns—those more generally related to the practical side of history as opposed to historical scholarship itself. These essays, however, produced by a group of historians working in the UK, Poland, France, Italy, Germany, the Republic of Ireland, the Netherlands, and Australia, offer what we imagine to be a novel perspective for most readers: reflections on what it means to be an American historian living and working in Europe. An introduction is followed by six essays, along with two comments.

In the introduction, **Nicolas Barreyre**, **Michael Heale**, **Stephen Tuck**, and **Irmina Wawrzyczek** set out the overarching theme of "You the People"—that the writing of history is influenced as much by the place in which it is written as by when it is written.

"Characteristics and Contours: Mapping American History in Europe," by **Susan-Mary Grant**, **Michael Heale**, **Halina Parafianowicz**, and **Maurizio Vaudagna**, focuses on the principal characteristics of the writing of American history in Europe. Before World War II it had virtually no practitioners; afterward, as the authors document, its expansion was significant. And it was shaped by competing influences: the new U.S. presence in postwar Europe, the different political agendas across Europe, the growth and decline of Marxist ideology, and the appeal of American-style liberalism, tempered by a skepticism toward U.S. "exceptionalism," among other factors. Increasingly, historians in Europe found themselves addressing both their fellow Europeans and also readers, especially historians, in the U.S. In short, the

changing conditions in postwar Europe—the Cold War and its end, the move toward European Union, the impact of "globalization"—had a profound impact on how European historians of the U.S. viewed their subject.

In "'Brokering' or 'Going Native': Professional Structures and Intellectual Trajectories for European Historians of the United States," **Nicolas Barreyre**, **Max Edling**, **Simon Middleton**, **Sandra Scanlon**, and **Irmina Wawrzyczek** examine the impact of professional structures and academic institutions on scholarship. They suggest that professional contexts explain why those scholars have traditionally divided along two paths: "brokering," in which they study topics that bridge U.S. and European domestic histories; and "going native," which entails their full immersion in American historiography, while downplaying any difference their location might bring. The essay notes some of the consequences for scholarship of following these paths, asserting that historiographical debates should take such factors (in the U.S. and elsewhere) into account.

"Teaching in Europe and Researching in the United States," by **Trevor Burnard**, **Jörg Nagler**, **Simon Newman**, and **Dragan Živojinović**, acknowledges that while the pedagogical approaches to American history in Europe vary, they are still shaped by common features. One is the general standardization of curricula in higher education across the European Union. Another is a bigger divide between research and teaching. A third is the greater involvement of state authorities in monitoring research and teaching performance. Finally, traditionally the teaching of American history has been on the general, "survey," level, as opposed to more specialized courses. Consequently, the tension—sometimes problematic, often creative—between teaching and researching the subject in Europe has increased over time. Instructors need to satisfy several audiences—students, the general public, the state—in ways that encourage generalist teaching at a time when strong efforts are being made to encourage research specialization.

In "American History and European Identity," **Mario Del Pero**, **Tibor Frank**, **Martin Klimke**, **Helle Porsdam**, and **Stephen Tuck** explore European historians' efforts to make American history relevant to the European present. European writing about the United States and its history often reflects, and reflects upon, national self-perception. This essay highlights the influence of national academic traditions, contemporary political imperatives, and popular expectations of history, as well as authors' personal investments, on historical writing about the United States.

In "Europeans Writing American History: The Comparative Trope," **Susanna Delfino**, **Marcus Gräser**, **Hans Krabbendam**, and **Vincent Michelot** discuss the institutional, cultural, and intellectual factors that have long prompted European historians to adopt a comparative approach to the study of American history. Historians often draw explicit comparisons between European countries and the United States on one or more specific issues or aspects of their histories. Yet comparison is also

ever-present, however implicitly, in the work of Europeans writing solely on the United States. Even when they claim to do "purely" American history, and pursue the same research agenda as U.S.-based historians, they use methodologies and analytical tools that are part of their distinctly European educational training and intellectual formation. Appreciative of the diversity of European historical traditions, the authors contend that through the preservation of the best expressions of their respective national historiographies, the comparative approach might bring significant insights to the ongoing process of internationalization in historical writing.

In "The Weight of Words: Writing about Race in the United States and Europe," three historians of race relations, **Manfred Berg**, **Paul Schor**, and **Isabel Soto**, ponder the difficulties of translating and adapting the American terminology of race in their respective languages. Although "race" is a seemingly simple and comprehensible term, it has different connotations in English, German, French, and Spanish. In many ways, the word exemplifies the problems of conceptualizing and expressing ideas across different national and linguistic contexts. Even though most scholars in Europe view race as a social construct, the word has retained a strong link with the history of racism and the Nazi Holocaust, which renders its use as a social category or an analytical concept problematic. This makes it difficult for European historians of the United States to write about race as a social and cultural force in American history and to translate the vocabulary of American race relations for their domestic non-specialist readers. By considering these linguistic and conceptual difficulties and differences, American historians of the United States may gain a clearer view of their national history.

There are two comments on this Roundtable, offered by historians who, in different ways, embody the U.S.- European exchange in historical research, writing, and teaching. In "Location, Location, Location: We Are Where We Write?," **Nancy L. Green**, an American who works in Paris at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, argues that in addition to the consideration of location in these essays, other themes need more systematic attention, including time, politics, and disciplinary boundaries. While she acknowledges that the authors have a valid point in calling attention to the conditions under which they—and all historians—work, she also suggests that they tend to reify background, whether it be a nation or "Europe." The second comment is by **Sven Beckert**, a native Swede who is now at Harvard University. In "The Travails of Doing History from Abroad," he suggests that the situation these authors describe is not so unique among historians: with the internationalization of academic life, histories are increasingly being written by "non-nationals." And in fact, he criticizes them for falling into the "exceptionalist trap" often ascribed to American historians. In general, Beckert urges his European colleagues to be less defeatist, to be more self-confident about what they have to offer to the understanding of U.S. history, and to embrace a more global, less national or even continental perspective on history.

In addition to an *AHR* Forum, "Early-Twentieth-Century Japan from a Global Perspective," the October issue will include articles on economic life in eighteenth-century France and music in early America.

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We also want to convey our heartfelt thanks and gratitude to Jane Lyle, who since January has been performing two jobs: Articles Editor (her normal position) and Reviews Editor. All readers of this journal are in her debt. And we also want to welcome Allison Madar, our new permanent Reviews Editor.

In Back Issues

In the hope of encouraging readers to dip into the long history of scholarship contained in the pages of the *American Historical Review* (now in the 119th year of its publishing history), and to take advantage of the digital availability of this archive to most readers, the *AHR* editors offer a look back at issues from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago. What follows is not a comprehensive survey of the contents of those issues, but rather a glance at some of the articles and other features that might be of interest, or even of use, today.

Volume 19, Number 4 (July 1914)

If one wanted evidence that historians in the U.S. a hundred years ago paid inordinate attention to English history, the July 1914 issue would help make the case. Three of the four articles are devoted to the "mother country," and two take a decidedly celebratory view of English institutions. They are good examples of what later would be called "Whig history." "Some Early Instances of Concentration of Representatives in England," by Albert Beebe White, a prolific scholar of English legal institutions, focuses on elected or representative assemblies in the early thirteenth century. His goal seems to be to establish the earliest instances of what is known as "concentration"—"the bringing together at one place and time of popularly elected representatives." Knowledge of this practice, he asserts, "has long been left in a state which does not satisfy the student of origins." A search for origins—or in Marc Bloch's oft-cited phrase, the "idol of origins"—was a common impetus for historical research in past generations, a justification that somehow seems less self-evident today. Like most studies of English legal and constitutional history, White's essay is fashioned as a running commentary on the work of the dominant figure in this field in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Bishop William Stubbs. Interest in the origins of English institutions marks another article, Edward Raymond Turner's "Committees of Council and the Cabinet, 1660–1688," only here the point is to locate the emergence of the "cabinet" in the decline of the Privy Council and the proliferation of specialized "committees" after the Restoration. Turner ends his piece with a ringing acclamation of the special nature of English history. "Long before," he concludes, "local organization and Parliament and Privy Council had developed in similar way to wondrous perfection; but nowhere, I think, can be seen to better advantage than in the growth of the cabinet, that constructive spirit, so peculiarly

English, which reveals itself in the working of constitutions and the art of governing well."

Sandwiched between these two rather conventional articles on English history is a third that strikes out in a new direction: "Legal Materials as Sources for the Study of Modern English History" by Arthur Lyon Cross, a long-time member of the history faculty of the University of Michigan. Despite its pedestrian title, this piece opens up what would prove to be quite promising avenues of research. For all its promise, however, Cross begins rather curiously, with a comment that strikes a contemporary reader as at once bizarre, pointless, and not a little inappropriate: "One who peruses wearisome lists of German doctoral dissertations is apt to become as 'bewildered and amazed' as Henry VIII when he first gazed upon the stolidity of Anne of Cleves, and to turn away equally 'sad and pensive.'" The point, one supposes, is to bemoan the focus on administrative and institutional history—those formidably stolid studies—among German students of history. He suggests another path for research, evoking in detail the insights awaiting the historian who manages "the dangers and difficulties of threading one's way through the 'tortuous, ungodly jungle' [quoting Oliver Cromwell] of the law." But his brief is not for legal history, not the history of law per se; rather, he wants his readers to consider the legal records as source materials for "the student of political, social, and industrial conditions." This, of course, is entirely humdrum practice for historians today, but it was hardly so a hundred years ago. Cox's survey of the sources—the minutes of local courts, manor rolls, records of quarter sessions, and the like—suggests the riches that historians of later generations would greedily mine, entirely transforming our view of the past by reconstructing the lives of ordinary people.

Another piece in this issue still of interest today is not an article but a series of documents, "Estimates of the Value of Slaves, 1815." These were generated by the arbitration commission that was mandated by the Treaty of Ghent (1814) to adjudicate the payments from Great Britain to the United States for the value of slaves captured, freed, or otherwise encouraged into flight by British forces during the War of 1812. The assorted documents are of two sorts. One group consists of responses from men knowledgeable in the slave trade—expert testimony— to a questionnaire on the average value of various categories of slaves in their state. This was the American source for determining their losses. The British method was to solicit documentation on sales and appraisals from the records of county courthouses. While there was significant variation in these estimates, it is remarkable how narrow was the range. Even more remarkable from a modern perspective is how monotonic the documents are, entirely businesslike and diplomatic in nature, devoid of any recognition of the moral implications of appraising the monetary exchange value of human beings.

Volume 44, Number 4 (July 1939)

The July 1939 issue contains only three articles. The first, "The Indo-Parthian Frontier: A Study in Political Geography" by Robert H. McDowell, is a learned essay, based on literary and numismatic evidence, on the boundaries and political entities in the area between the Hindu Kush Mountains and the Indus Valley from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. It is followed by "The Columbus Question: A Survey of Recent Literature and Present Opinion" by Charles E. Nowell, a sort of field report on the state of scholarship on the perennially popular figure Christopher Columbus, who, the author suggests, is rivaled only by Lincoln in maintaining the interest of historians. Nowell, however, does not have much to report that is new. He notes that only two documents on the subject had been discovered in the twentieth century, making the task now to reevaluate "the existing sources, returning to the original manuscripts and correcting the frequently erroneous printed versions." Even here there were obstacles, most notably problems with an international commission preparing critical editions of several fifteenth-century texts, whose "valuable labors have had to be postponed because of events in Spain." He concludes by asserting that "the problem of Columbus calls for the efforts of a superscholar . . . If the future yields one such, willing to devote a lifetime to a single topic, there may someday be a universally accepted history of the discovery of America." The final article, "The Fate of Confederate Archives: Executive Office," comes from a historian at the National Archives, Dallas D. Irvine, who gives a detailed account of the path traveled by Confederate government documents from 1865 to the time they found their way into public repositories. "[A]s a result of the professional archival study now being devoted to the the history and heuristic of Confederate archives," he concludes, "it may reasonably be expected that the historical study of the Confederate government and its manifold relations to Confederate life will soon be provided, for the first time, with something approaching an adequate basis of archival knowledge."

Volume 69, Number 4 (July 1964)

Of the four articles in this issue, the two that stand out are by historians who were enormously influential in their fields. "The Loom of Language and the Fabric of Imperatives: The Case of *Il Principe* and *Utopia*" is a classic essay by J. H. Hexter, a Tudor-Stuart historian perhaps best known for his intervention in the "Storm over the Gentry" debate. Like everything Hexter wrote, this piece sparkles with his wit, eloquence, and intelligence. There have been few more gifted essayists among academic historians. Alas, one is quite unlikely to find such precise and captivating writing—sometimes bluntly colloquial, often playful, always original—in the pages of today's scholarly journals. This essay proposes a new interpretation of Machiavelli's and More's famous books, as well as a method for reading texts such as *The Prince* and *Utopia*, whose meanings will always escape those who cannot appreciate the "loom of language" out of which they were fashioned. Like many of his contemporaries, then, Hexter had determined that intellectual history must be infused

with a more sophisticated understanding of language, the subtle interplay of text and context. But one looks for references to Wittgenstein, Saussure, the emerging Cambridge School, or other pioneers in this general approach in vain: Hexter reveals nothing of his methodological influences and sources. There is only one rather cryptic footnote, which seems to disguise defiance with diffidence. He admits to having read nothing on linguistics, and only "studied the subject a bit" after being urged to do so by a reader of an earlier draft of the present essay. "[B]ut," he adds, "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, especially dangerous to him who is rash enough to display it before those who possess a great deal of it; thus my recently acquired dim light will remain judiciously hidden under a bushel." So much for "theory"! The footnote continues, "In the various areas of human inquiry there are times for conceptual rigor and times for a certain imaginative looseness, times when premature precision may reduce a whole area to sterility. My little reading has persuaded me that the area of linguistics on which this paper touches is of the latter kind."

The other article of note is by Gerhard L. Weinberg, a towering figure in the historiography of the Second World War. "Hitler's Image of the United States" derives in part from Weinberg's own discovery of Hitler's "second book," written in 1928, a sort of sequel to *Mein Kampf*, which was published in 1961 as *Hitlers zweites Buch: Ein Dokument aus dem Jahr 1928*. But this article is not limited to evidence from that text. Weinberg starts from the early days of the Führer's political life, when Hitler looked upon the U.S. rather approvingly. He admired its burgeoning industrial might, especially the manufacture of automobiles, the imagined prevalence of "Nordic types" among the population, and the government's restrictive policy toward immigration. During the Depression, however, he began to see America as weak, hopelessly in decline. Apparently, Weinberg notes, upon viewing the film version of *The Grapes of Wrath*, Hitler drew the conclusion that it presented an accurate portrait of the whole country. "I don't see much future for the Americans," he is recorded as saying. "In my view it's a decayed country." The wrong side had won the Civil War; America was a "mongrel society," he decided. During the war, Hitler consistently underestimated the capacity and resolve of the U.S. military, even after the Normandy invasion. In the last months of the conflict, as he crouched in his Berlin bunker with his few remaining associates, his delusion continued, fueled by the belief that Roosevelt's death in April was a true deliverance, a miraculous event that would end America's participation in the war. "All they could think of was the death of the Russian Empress Elizabeth in 1762 that had saved Frederick the Great from defeat and Prussia from disaster at the last moment in the Seven Year's War. Here, they thought, was another such miracle—and there was no one to point out that it was a mirage," Weinberg writes. This was not the first time in modern history, and certainly not the last, when an isolated, ignorant, and deluded national leader gave rein to his delusions at the cost of countless millions.

Revolutionary Paris, 1794: The Sections

1. Tuileries
2. Champs-Élysées
3. République
4. Montagne
5. Piques
6. Lepeletier
7. Mont-Blanc
8. Muséum
9. Gardes-Françaises
10. Halle-aux-Blés
11. Contrat-Social
12. Guillaume-Tell
13. Brutus
14. Bonne-Nouvelle
15. Amis-de-la-Patrie
16. Bon-Conseil
17. Marchés
18. Lombards
19. Arcis
20. Faubourg-Montmartre
21. Poissonnière
22. Bondy
23. Temple
24. Popincourt
25. Montreuil
26. Quinze-Vingts
27. Gravilliers
28. Faubourg-du-Nord
29. Réunion
30. Homme-Armé
31. Droits-de-l'Homme
32. Maison-Commune
33. Indivisibilité
34. Arsenal
35. Fraternité
36. Cité
37. Révolutionnaire
38. Invalides
39. Fontaine-de-Grenelle
40. Unité
41. Marat
42. Bonnet-Rouge
43. Mutius-Scaevola
44. Chalier
45. Panthéon-Français
46. Observatoire
47. Sans-Culottes
48. Finistère

The Overthrow of Maximilien Robespierre and the "Indifference" of the People

COLIN JONES

> These papers were not simply papers; but the lives of men . . . The more I blew away their dust, the more I saw them rise up.
>
> Jules Michelet

IF ONE WERE TO TELL THE HISTORY of the French Revolution in four dates, 9 Thermidor Year II in the Revolutionary Calendar (July 27, 1794) would be one of them. It shares pivotal status with July 14, 1789, the storming of the Bastille, the conventional start of the Revolution; August 10, 1792, when King Louis XVI was ejected from power, leading on to the establishment of the First Republic; and 18 Brumaire Year VIII (November 9, 1799), when Napoleon Bonaparte seized power and opened a new and different chapter in France's history. On the Revolutionary day, or *journée*, of 9 Thermidor Year II, Maximilien Robespierre was overthrown; he would be executed the following day, by the guillotine to which, it would be widely believed, he had sent many of his enemies. Since mid-1793, Robespierre had been the most high-profile member of the Committee of Public Safety (CPS), formed from deputies in the national assembly, the Convention. Since mid-1793, the CPS had presided over the Revolutionary Government, instituting policies of Terror that had mobilized France to prevail militarily over its internal and external enemies. Robespierre's fall was the signal for a move away from Terror to begin.[1]

The bones of the story of Robespierre's overthrow are as follows. For several months, a groundswell of opposition had built up against him. In a situation in which the war against Europe now seemed to be going much better for France, he was increasingly blamed for the ills and excesses associated with the Terror. These included the extension of the CPS's police powers, parallel to those of the other great committee of Revolutionary Government, the Committee of General Security

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[1] There is a classic debate among historians of the Revolution regarding how much responsibility for the Terror should be apportioned to Robespierre. My focus in this article, however, is less on the life of Maximilien Robespierre than on the circumstances that surrounded his leaving of it.

(CGS); the speeding-up of the processes of the Revolutionary Tribunal; the execution of political enemies such as Georges Danton and Jacques-René Hébert; and the harboring of dictatorial designs. Discontent developed in the country as a whole, within the city of Paris, among Robespierre's fellow deputies in the Convention, and even among his fellow members of the CPS and the CGS. That discontent was catalyzed into action on 8 Thermidor (July 26, 1794), when Robespierre came into the Convention and in a very long, rambling speech threatened an imminent purge of those within the assembly whom he held to have become counterrevolutionaries. Pressed to explain just whom exactly he had in mind for such a purge, he declined to give names. He repeated and elaborated his threats in the Jacobin Club that evening, before returning home to his lodgings around midnight. He told his anxious landlord not to worry. He was fine, he said the next morning. All would go well, he said.[2]

With the benefit of hindsight, some historians have argued that Robespierre had deliberately provoked a *coup d'état*, and that the 8 Thermidor intervention was a sure sign of his mental instability and indeed constituted the longest suicide address in French political history.[3] Certainly the vehement and studied imprecision of his denunciations acted as a catalyst to action among his fellow deputies. All through the night, the individuals who felt most targeted by Robespierre's threats, led (as Martyn Lyons has established) by left-wing deputies, crisscrossed the city, visiting fellow potential victims. The aim was to sign them up for a *coup d'état* in the Convention the following day that would topple Robespierre and his cronies.[4]

Following their night of plotting, the key conspirators within this fresh-minted coalition of the frightened challenged Robespierre in the morning debates in the Convention on 9 Thermidor. The impact was abrupt and sensational. The plotters carried the entire assembly with them. Robespierre and four of his closest allies were arraigned at the bar of the assembly: the young and chillingly fanatical Louis-Antoine Saint-Just and the wheelchair-bound Georges Couthon from the CPS, Philippe Le Bas from the CGS, plus Maximilien's younger brother, also a deputy, Augustin—familiarly known as "Bonbon" ("Sweetie"). In the late afternoon, the men were sent down from the Convention Hall and severally dispatched to prisons within the city.[5]

The decision of the Convention then to break for a late lunch was almost the

[2] This anecdote derives from Robespierre's landlord, Maurice Duplay, who was swept up in post-Thermidor police raids. P.-J.-B. Buchez and P.-C. Roux, *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française; ou, Journal des assemblées nationales, depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1815*, 40 vols. (Paris, 1834–1838), 34: 3. All histories of the Revolution as well as studies of Robespierre give a usually brief account of the day. The most recent biographies are Peter McPhee, *Robespierre: A Revolutionary Life* (New Haven, Conn., 2012), especially 213–221 for 8–9 Thermidor; and Ruth Scurr, *Fatal Purity: Robespierre and the French Revolution* (New York, 2006), 345–355 for the same. For historical analyses of the *journée*, see below, footnotes 12, 14, and 15.

[3] Mental instability and nervous dysfunction are a key theme in McPhee's treatment of Robespierre; see, e.g., *Robespierre*, 213: "nervous exhaustion" going into the day.

[4] Martyn Lyons, "The 9 Thermidor: Motives and Effects," *European Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (1975): 123–146. Excellent on the overnight plotting are the accounts by Convention deputy Laurent Lecointre, notably *Conjuration formée dès le 5 prairial, par neuf représentants du peuple, contre Maximilien Robespierre, pour l'immoler en plein sénat* (Paris, Year II = 1794) and *Les crimes de sept membres des anciens Comités de salut public et de sûreté générale, ou Dénonciation formelle à la Convention nationale contre Billaud-Varennes, Barère, Collot-d'Herbois, Vadier, Vouland, Amar et David* (Paris, Year II = 1794). They need to be taken with a grain of salt.

[5] They were sent to different jails so as to prevent plotting. Robespierre was sent to the prison in

undoing of the anti-Robespierrist *coup d'état*. For while the deputies were still at table, news of the arrests began to spread through the city. The Commune, Paris's municipal government, lodged in the old Hôtel de Ville (renamed the Maison Commune), set about organizing resistance against the Convention. Led by its Robespierrist mayor, Jean-Baptiste Fleuriot-Lescot, it summoned up mass support across Paris. It soon emerged, moreover, that Robespierre had been turned away from the city's jails by Commune supporters. On the loose, he found refuge at the police headquarters in the mayor's offices (the Mairie) on the Île de la Cité, and later relocated to the Maison Commune. On the Place de la Maison Commune, the square in front of the city hall, large numbers of popular activists and National Guardsmen gathered together. A collective popular strike against the Convention seemed likely, along the lines of the *journées* of May 31 and June 2, 1793, when a similar maneuver had triggered the expulsion from the Convention of moderate Girondin deputies.[6] When the Convention reassembled in the early evening of 9 Thermidor, deputies appeared justified in thinking that they were facing imminent death from an angry populace.[7]

Let us now, for the moment, fast-forward five hours or so, to midnight on the night of 9–10 Thermidor, twenty-four hours after Robespierre had gone to bed rather pleased with his day's work. Now he found himself sitting in a committee room within the Maison Commune, feeling increasingly isolated and depressed, with a loaded pistol in front of him. Shortly afterward, down in the main hall of the Commune, one of the institution's secretaries was to recount,

> there was a moment of calm, but it was broken by a pistol shot which rang out from the corridor between the Council hall and the municipal committee room. The mayor left his seat and ran toward the spot that the pistol shot had come from. And then he came back pale and trembling, and we heard people shouting out everywhere: "Robespierre has blown his brains out."[8]

In fact, as those familiar with the story will know, he missed. Or at least he missed his brains. Instead, he managed to blow a large hole in his lower jaw. In the utmost agony, he would be mauled and mocked by the Parisian populace, then next morning taken to the Revolutionary Tribunal, and from there conveyed in a tumbril to the guillotine. Paris that morning, in the words of Bronislaw Baczko, "had woken up

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the old Luxembourg Palace. For his brother, see Sergio Luzzatto, *Bonbon Robespierre: Il Terrore dal volto umano* (Turin, 2009).

[6] National Guard commander François Hanriot had led the sectional forces on those days. The Girondins were a grouping within the assembly who since late 1792 had been at daggers drawn with Robespierre and the "Montagnard" faction that dominated the celebrated Jacobin Club.

[7] CPS member Jean-Marie Collot d'Herbois, presiding over the evening session, famously called on his fellow deputies to hold firm and be willing to die in their seats like Roman senators. See the account of the session cited in Maximilien Robespierre, *Oeuvres complètes*, 11 vols. (Paris, 1910–2007), 10: 605.

[8] "Récit de ce qui s'est passé dans la séance du Conseil général de la Commune de Paris dans la nuit du 9 au 10 thermidor," Archives Nationales, Paris [hereafter AN], Series AF, Archives du pouvoir exécutif, Subseries AF II, Comité de Salut Public [hereafter AFII] 47. The passage is available in print in Robespierre, *Oeuvres complètes*, 10: 596–599. There was another account of his wounding, which attributes it to a pistol shot by one Merda, a Guardsman in the Convention's forces, when they broke into the Maison Commune. This version tends not to find favor among historians (rightly in my view). See Haim Burstin, *Révolutionnaires: Pour une anthropologie politique de la Révolution française* (Paris, 2013), 352–364.

anti-Robespierrist," and Parisians in huge numbers cheered the executions late in the day.[9] On the scaffold, the bandage holding Robespierre's jaw to his face was unceremoniously ripped away, provoking a piercing animal-like scream that seemed to confirm his monstrosity, before the guillotine blade fell and put him out of his agony.

The story is so dramatic, the character of Robespierre so star-crossed and complex, his fate so ghastly, the tragedy so fiercely Greek, the hubris so sublime, and the motivations so tantalizing, that it is perhaps understandable that many historians who have written about 9 Thermidor have viewed it through the prism of individual destiny, psychology, or, for some, psychopathology.[10] Others, extending their vision beyond the biographical dimension of the story, have focused on the "palace coup" (*coup de palais*) aspect of the day, as Jean-Clément Martin has called it—that is, the parliamentary maneuverings involved.[11] In nearly all accounts, there is one political actor that gets scarcely more than a walk-on part: the people of Paris.

This is odd. Since the beginning of the Revolution—since July 14, 1789, in fact—activist popular groups had been a key protagonist in all the main Parisian political dramas. Working within the forty-eight Revolutionary sections that made up the administrative framework of the city, Parisian popular militants had been crucial in the overthrow of the king in 1792, the anti-Girondin *journées* of May 31 and June 2, 1793, and the inception and operation of the Terror. Indeed, Robespierre had surfed to power on a wave of support from these so-called *sans-culottes*, who marked their political radicalism and their social ideals by eschewing the knee breeches (*culottes*) denoting gentility, preferring instead to wear rough workmen's trousers.[12] How was it that such individuals, once so staunchly committed to the Robespierrist cause, appeared merely to stand idly by as the Revolution was thus tested and their quondam hero brought low?

We can get closer to providing an answer to this question by extending our vision to very largely neglected primary sources located in France's National Archives. By recording what happened on the streets of the city of Paris, these allow us to open out the analysis beyond the *coup de palais* organized in the corridors of the National Convention, and beyond the space between Maximilien Robespierre's ears. This material provides the wherewithal for a radical reinterpretation of this pivotal date in the history of the Revolution that runs directly counter to the prevailing historiographical consensus. The consensus about the response of the people of Paris to

[9] Bronislaw Baczko, "Thermidoriens," in François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution francaise* (Paris, 1988), 425–439, here 426.

[10] The most intellectually absorbing of such accounts is the multi-perspectival approach of Norman Hampson, *The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre* (London, 1974). Excellent for following all aspects of the historiography surrounding Robespierre is Marc Belissa and Yannick Bosc, *Robespierre: La fabrication d'un mythe* (Paris, 2013).

[11] Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution: Essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national* (Paris, 2006), 232; Malcolm Crook, "The French Revolution and Napoleon, 1788–1815," in Crook, ed., *Revolutionary France, 1788–1880* (Oxford, 2001), 8–35. Crook writes that the *journée* was a parliamentary coup, in which "the *sans-culottes* were spectators rather than instigators" (22). Parliamentary events can be followed in the *Archives parlementaires*, vol. 93: *Du 9 au 30 juillet 1794* (Paris, 1982).

[12] The classic account of the alliance between Robespierre and his followers and the Parisian *sans-culottes*, and indeed the popular movement in general, is Albert Soboul, *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II: Mouvement populaire et gouvernement révolutionnaire 2 juin 1793–9 thermidor an II* (Paris, 1958). This was one of the foundational texts of the "history from below" approach so popular in social history in the 1960s and 1970s.

the *journée* stresses popular depoliticization and disenchantment with the Revolutionary Government that spurred indifference to Robespierre's fate. Yet it appears that the people of Paris did anything but stand idly and "indifferently" by while Robespierre was overthrown. And the nature and extent of their active involvement that day require us to rethink the character of popular politics during the Terror, and indeed in the French Revolution as a whole.[13]

SURPRISINGLY, THERE IS NO FULL-DRESS scholarly treatment of the day of 9 Thermidor.[14] The most thorough and probably still the most consulted account of exactly what happened in the city that day can be found in Albert Soboul's work on the *sans-culotte* movement during Year II (September 1793–September 1794), published as long ago as 1958. (In fact, Soboul drew heavily on the account by Paul Sainte-Claire Deville, whose less-well-known monograph, *La Commune de l'an II*, published in 1946, provides a superior and more original narrative.)[15] Soboul gives a tragic dimension to the last acts of the day's drama that is echoed in other accounts. The crowd jostling outside the city hall on the Place de la Maison Commune in the late afternoon and evening was a shadow of its former self, he held, a pale reflection of the great popular *sans-culotte* movement of 1793, which had carried all before it. As the night wore on, the people seem to have lost faith in the capacity of Robespierre and the Commune to lead a movement of resistance against the Convention. They began drifting away from the Place, leaving it abandoned and deserted when, after midnight, the military forces of the Convention arrived there—to discover Robespierre with his jaw hanging off his face.

Soboul is quick to blame the Commune's leadership for failing to overcome the prevalent spirit of indifference that, he held, caused the popular movement to fall short at this historic moment of challenge. The best tactic of the pro-Robespierrist Commune, he argued, would have been "to go down into the Place and put themselves at the head of the combatants." "If only," he states, "a leader had been found to command this force."[16] Yet Soboul seems to realize the limitations of his wishful thinking. For, he argues, that "indifference" was not something that the popular

[13] The present article forms part of a wider evaluation of the *journée* of 9 Thermidor in which I am currently engaged. The project will include a monograph to be published by Oxford University Press.

[14] By far the best account of the significance of the *journée* is Françoise Brunel, *Thermidor: La chute de Robespierre* (Brussels, 1989); but this is only a short book, whose narrative of the day is brief (96–105), and largely follows Soboul's account. The atmosphere leading up to the day can also be followed in the still excellent R. R. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1941), and in all biographies of the main protagonists, as well as in Lyons, "The 9 Thermidor." Despite being studded with errors and hobbled by a Robespierrist *parti pris*, Ernest Hamel, *Thermidor, d'après les sources originales et les documents authentiques, avec un portrait de Robespierre gravé sur acier* (Paris, 1891), is still surprisingly useful. Gérard Walter's *La conjuration du neuf Thermidor* (Paris, 1974) is characteristically well-documented but an absolute mess.

[15] For Soboul's account, see *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II*, 989–1035. Paul Sainte-Claire Deville, *La Commune de l'an II: Vie et mort d'une assemblée révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1946), a much underrated book, focuses on the Commune at the expense of the Convention and the sections (which Soboul highlights). For the four sections of the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, Haim Burstin provides a compelling narrative that engages with the rich documentation available: *Une révolution à l'oeuvre: Le Faubourg Saint-Marcel (1789–1794)* (Paris, 2005).

[16] Soboul, *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II*, 1024; Albert Soboul, *Précis d'histoire de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1962), 343.

movement suddenly discovered on the Place de la Maison Commune at that moment. Long before 9 Thermidor, "the irremediable degeneration of the popular movement" had been evident, and "indifference" and "disaffection" were rife in the political life of the sections.[17] Soboul found the causes of that popular "indifference" in the campaign that the Revolutionary Government had launched on the *sans-culotte* movement from late 1793. Although Robespierre had been projected toward power by *sans-culotte* pressure, he had done his best from within the CPS to dull the autonomous energies of the popular movement. From spring 1794, he had been the primary inspiration in closing sectional clubs, banning *sans-culotte* printers and newspapers, executing leftist leaders (notably the so-called Hébertists), imprisoning *sans-culotte* cadres, and muzzling the Commune.[18] This undermined a popular movement that was already, Soboul argued, feeling the strain of militancy. The movement was increasingly afflicted with what he called "biological erosion" (*usure biologique*) and "physical lassitude." Many militants, it seems, were close to exhaustion by 1794. Furthermore, the ranks of the movement had been diminished by the hemorrhaging of the most ambitious and enthusiastic *sans-culottes* into either the army or the expanding bureaucracy of the Terror. The movement on the ground was being drained of vitality well before 9 Thermidor.[19]

Revisionist and post-revisionist criticism has found much to attack in Soboul's groundbreaking analysis of the *sans-culottes*, as indeed in the *soi-disant* Marxist carapace in which he placed them. Since the writings of François Furet in the 1970s, the emphasis has moved from collective social movements to analysis of political discourses.[20] Yet Soboul has been found wanting even in terms of social analysis. Representations of the *sans-culottes* are held to distort the social contours of the group. Soboul's characterization of the popular movement as based on an alliance between master artisans and their journeymen (and shopkeepers and their assistants) has been shown to be fanciful when set against the fluid character of labor relations in the city. Popular militants were also less "popular" than they often accounted themselves, and many leaders had a bourgeois rather than petit bourgeois, let alone popular, background.[21] Furthermore, as Haim Burstin has noted, Soboul tends to use *sans-culotte* as a portmanteau term designating avant-garde militants, Revolutionary crowds, and the whole Parisian populace—all of which have distinct, sometimes divergent characteristics.[22] Finally, one notes a teleological undertow in Soboul's references to "advanced" *sans-culottes*, where "advanced" seems to equate

[17] Soboul, *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II*, 916, 874.

[18] For politics and ideology on the day, see ibid., 1026–1030.

[19] Ibid., 1031–1034: "le mouvement populaire . . . perdit de sa vigueur et de son mordant" (1032).

[20] Furet's attack on Soboul and the "Marxist" interpretation of the French Revolution is too much of a historiographical *locus classicus* to require elaboration here. Furet's case is set out in his *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1981).

[21] The principal critiques include Richard M. Andrews, "Social Structures, Political Elites and Ideology in Revolutionary Paris, 1792–4: A Critical Evaluation of Albert Soboul's *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II*," *Journal of Social History* 19 (1985): 71–112; Michael Sonenscher, "The *sans-culottes* of the Year II: Rethinking the Language of Labour in Revolutionary France," *Social History* 9, no. 3 (1984): 301–328; Sonenscher, *Sans-Culottes: An Eighteenth-Century Emblem in the French Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 2008); and William J. Sewell, Jr., "The Sans-Culotte Rhetoric of Subsistence," in Keith Michael Baker, ed., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 4: *The Terror* (Oxford, 1994), 249–269.

[22] Haim Burstin, *L'invention du sans-culotte: Regards sur le Paris révolutionnaire* (Paris, 2005), 52–53.

with the radical ideology that would characterize the Parisian popular movement in the nineteenth century.[23]

In the light of the avalanche of criticism that revisionist and post-revisionist scholars have heaped on Soboul's head, it is both surprising and ironic to find his critics singing from a Soboulian hymn sheet in their analysis of the roots, narrative, and character of the *journée* of 9 Thermidor. The unanimity extends to the consequences of the day, too. All concur in seeing 9 Thermidor as a day of the dupes. Popular "indifference" opened the door not just to the closure of the Terror in the months following the *journée*, but also to a cruel right-wing attack on popular living standards and freedom of expression. The so-called Thermidorian Reaction was the price that the people of Paris would pay for their political "indifference."[24]

Richard Cobb, for example, a fellow toiler alongside Soboul in the archives of *sans-culotterie*, was one of Soboul's earliest and fiercest critics, but he bought completely into the idea of a 1794 "Summer of Disenchantment" when the *sans-culottes* had "lost their faith in" and were "alienated from" the Terror, and when "it was time to return to private life, to the shop, to the family, to billiards."[25] Along similar lines, Françoise Brunel's brief but penetrating account of the *journée* evokes "sectional passivity" on the day; William Doyle notes the "hostility or indifference" of the sections to Robespierre's fate; and Haim Burstin records "a steadily increasing indifference for politics" across the spring and summer. The roll call of popular "indifference" could be much extended. The consensus is general.[26] The *journée* of 9 Thermidor was an event at which the people of Paris had failed to show up. Parisians preferred going home to their beds, it seems, to staying awake and saving the Rev-

[23] Although Soboul himself was severe in his criticisms of the Robespierrist Commune, there has been a tendency on the French left to see the Commune rather than the national assembly as a more natural locus of popular sovereignty. For such authors, Year II and the Commune in 1871 are very much *le même combat*. The filiation is in fact noted on the very last page of Soboul's masterwork, *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II*, 1035. There is an excellent biographical sketch of Soboul in Claude Mazauric, *Un historien en son temps: Albert Soboul (1914–1982)* (Paris, 2004).

[24] On the aftermath, see especially the classic work of Bronislaw Baczko, *Ending the Terror: The French Revolution after Robespierre* (Cambridge, 1989); and Sergio Luzzatto, *L'automne de la Révolution: Luttes et cultures politiques dans la France thermidorienne* (Paris, 2001). Neither of these important works on the consequences of 9 Thermidor covers the events of the day, and they generally embrace the standard account.

[25] Richard Cobb, *The Police and the People: French Popular Protest, 1789–1820* (Oxford, 1970), 19. For Cobb's history and politics, see Colin Jones, "Olwen Hufton's 'Poor,' Richard Cobb's 'People,' and the Notions of the *longue durée* in French Revolutionary Historiography," in Lyndal Roper and Ruth Harris, eds., *The Art of Survival: Gender and History in Europe, 1450–2000*, *Past and Present Supplement* 1 (2006): 178–203.

[26] Brunel, *Thermidor*, 71; William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1989), 250; Burstin, *Une révolution à l'oeuvre*, 832, 715. See also Patrice Higonnet, "Sans-culottes," in Furet and Ozouf, *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution francaise*, 393–399, here 398; Jean-Clément Martin, *Nouvelle histoire de la Révolution française* (Paris, 2012), 201; Hugh Gough, *The Terror in the French Revolution*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke, 2010), 96, 101; Gwyn A. Williams, *Artisans and Sans-Culottes: Popular Movements in France and Britain during the French Revolution* (London, 1968), 88; François Gendron, *La jeunesse dorée: Épisodes de la Révolution française* (Quebec, 1979), 3; Roger Dupuy, *La République jacobine: Terreur, guerre et gouvernement révolutionnaire, 1792–1794* (Paris, 2005), 253; Sophie Wahnich, *In Defence of the Terror: Liberty or Death in the French Revolution* (London, 2012), 73. I have tried to give a varied cross-section of historiographical opinion since 1958. It can easily be extended. McPhee, for example, cites "bewilderment and lassitude" (*Robespierre*, 193), while for David Garrioch, the prevalent mood was "weariness" and "disillusionment" (*The Formation of the Parisian Bourgeoisie, 1690–1830* [Cambridge, Mass., 1997], 185), and for Bailey Stone, "the spontaneity and militant mentality of the masses atrophied" partly because war had "exhausted the *sans-culottes*" (*Reinterpreting the French Revolution: A Global-Historical Perspective* [Cambridge, 2002], 208).

olutionary cause. Some historians have even gilded the lily somewhat in stating that a shower of rain close to midnight was enough to send the *sans-culottes* scurrying home. The Revolution could wait, evidently, till the sun shone. Robespierre was not worth getting wet for.

Everyone seems to agree that the people of Paris were "indifferent" to the events of 9 Thermidor. Yet this consensual verdict can be overthrown on the basis of the testimony of Parisians themselves.

On 14 Thermidor Year II (August 1, 1794), five days after Robespierre's overthrow, a circular letter was composed:

> Citizen, I request that you convey to me within the day and in writing a highly detailed account of all the events of the 8th, 9th, and 10th Thermidor of which you are aware. I need especially to know everything that happened at the Maison Commune. Gather together all details; a fact that seems minor may illuminate a suspicion or lead to the discovery of a useful truth. Inform me of all orders that you gave and all that you received; but above all, be precise on the dates and the hours; you will appreciate their importance.[27]

The letter's author was Paul Barras, who would go on to become a powerful figure in the Directory that replaced the Convention in 1795. At the height of the crisis on the night of 9 Thermidor, he was selected by the Convention to lead the forces loyal to the national assembly, and he would retain quasi–martial law powers for several days, until the situation looked completely clear. He sent this form letter to each of Paris's forty-eight sections in the aftermath of the day, and within each section to the local commander of the National Guard and the presidents of the *comité civil* (the sectional committee responsible for routine local business) and the *comité révolutionnaire* (whose job was the implementation of Revolutionary legislation). Barras knew how to threaten and how to get things done. Within a week, he had nearly 150 reports on his desk—nearly 150 "highly detailed accounts," as requested. Taken together, they supply an astonishing postmortem dissection of the day across the whole city. The dossiers containing these reports, which often break down the course of events into fifteen-minute chunks, formed the basis of the report that the Convention drew up following an official inquiry into 9 Thermidor.[28] Soboul based his account of the day on these dossiers, and historians across the spectrum have tended to accept his account.

Furthermore, Barras was more of a policeman than a historian. He wanted to know what had happened in such precise detail so that the malefactors could be punished. Consequently, on the strength of this evidence, dozens of allegedly Robespierrist militants were sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal over the following weeks; hundreds, maybe thousands, were interrogated by the police; many hundreds were put in prison. These individuals, swept up in Barras's post-Thermidor repres-

[27] There is a copy of the letter in AN, Series W: Jurisdictions extraordinaires (Tribunal Révolutionnaire) [hereafter W] 500, dossier 3.

[28] Most of the Barras material is arranged by section name in bound dossiers (*plaques*) at AFII 47, but with supplementary accounts at AN, Series F7: Police Générale [hereafter F7] 4432. The Convention's inquiry into the *journée* was handled by the deputy Edme-Bonaventure Courtois; Courtois, *Rapport fait au nom des comités de salut public et de sûreté générale sur les événements du 9 thermidor an II* (Paris, Year III = 1795). Courtois's report, published a year after the *journée*, was based on extensive research, including in the Barras papers, but it reflected the political changes that had occurred over that year and was tendentious in many ways. Cf. Baczko, *Ending the Terror*, 14–16.

sion, have left their dusty traces in the archives alongside the sectional reports. Denunciations, interrogations, police reports, endless petitions for freedom scrawled in the city's prisons for the next year or so—these make a voluminous archive even more voluminous. They make 9 Thermidor quite probably the best-documented day in the whole history of the Revolution, perhaps even of the eighteenth century—and for this we can thank the forcefully repressive energy of Paul Barras.[29]

The task of writing a history of the day that does justice to this documentation is huge, but the prize is considerable. For from these various sources—from punctiliously detailed sectional reports through to individual police dossiers—we can garner literally hundreds of autobiographical fragments and micro-narratives of the day. In these micro-accounts, extracted from what Jules Michelet once dubbed the "manuscript catacombs" of the national archives, this day in the life of the people of Paris at the height of the Revolution is told in Parisians' own words and in often gripping detail.[30] As one would expect, many of these reports aimed to tell the authorities what it was thought they wanted to hear.[31] Yet if the accounts sometimes lack the ring of sincerity, they are far from impermeable to historical analysis.[32] There are voices to be heard here, an important and neglected story that cries out to be told. And by examining these sources in this way and from this perspective, we come to see a Parisian population far from politically disenchanted, physically exhausted, structurally disabled for action, overcome with torpor, or immobilized by meekness and "indifference." Nor did rain send people scurrying home, as is sometimes claimed. We have the weather reports. The night was clear. There was no meteorological reason to encourage the "indifference" of the people.[33] Indeed, the "indifference of the people" is a myth.

[29] Haim Burstin, whose work on the popular movement in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel covers the entire period, is in agreement on this point (personal communication). Given the huge volume of personal dossiers in the police archives in F7, it is needle-in-a-haystack territory to proceed without guidance. Fortunately, the pen portraits of militants in Albert Soboul and Raymonde Monnier, *Répertoire du personnel sectionnaire parisien en l'an II* (Paris, 1985), provide invaluable clues as to which individual dossiers are likely to yield fruit. Sainte-Claire Deville based his research on the police dossiers of members of the Commune, while Soboul had a more hit-and-miss method and in his magnum opus cites very few personal dossiers in his account of 9 Thermidor.

[30] Michelet as cited by Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (London, 2002), 27. See the revealing exchanges on the day between Robespierre, while he was on the run, and Van Heck, the *sans-culotte* Guardsman summoned to protect him; AFII 47, plaque 365 (Cité); F7 4432, plaque 7 (Cité); and his personal police dossier at F7 4775[39]. This has not entered most accounts.

[31] See Cobb, *The Police and the People*, pt. 1, 3–48, for a classic discussion of this issue.

[32] I stress this since Baczko views the official reports as replicating the "wooden language" (*langue de bois*) of the Terror itself. He seems not, however, to have trawled widely in individual dossiers. Of course, if historians had to rely solely on records containing no inherent bias, there would be no historians and no history.

[33] The rain myth was given credence in Hamel, *Thermidor*, 334, and J. M. Thompson, *Robespierre*, 2 vols. (London, 1935), 2: 265. It still occasionally pops up, as in Arthur Conte, *Billaud-Varenne: Géant de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1989), 397; and Morris Slavin, *The French Revolution in Miniature: Section Droits-de-l'Homme, 1789–1795* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 157. And cf. Denis Richet, "Journées revolutionnaires," in Furet and Ozouf, *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution francaise*, 113–124, here 124 (where it is denied). There are many comments in the hundreds of sectional and personal accounts on the heat of the day and the warmth of the evening. See, e.g., AFII 47, plaque 364 (Quinze-Vingts: report of Trouxville, *commandant en chef*). Rain is simply never mentioned. See also Sainte-Claire Deville, *La Commune de l'an II*, 215 n., 292 n., for meteorological reports.

THE *JOURNÉE* OF 9 THERMIDOR WAS A very Parisian day in many ways, not least in that the course of events was strongly influenced by the city's topography and the conformation of its built environment.[34] The density of the latter was overall thicker in the east than in the west of the city, which influenced transmission times. The primordial axis of action was the two-kilometer east-west line on the Right Bank in the heart of the city that linked the Convention Hall lodged within the Tuileries Palace to the Maison Commune in the Marais due east.[35] These were the two main hubs of action and institutional decision-making throughout the day, and they contributed to the creation of a differential cartography and sociology of mobilization and conflict. Distance away from this axis had a significant influence on local events. As with the Great Fear of 1789, as mapped for the whole of France by Georges Lefebvre, news and rumor (as indeed armed men and, *a fortiori*, cannon) took time to travel.[36] News of something that had happened in the city center might reach a peripheral zone literally hours after that event had been succeeded by others. This meant that the banal routines of Revolutionary life proceeded unaffected by the crisis in many neighborhoods till very late in the day. Soon after 6:00 P.M., the guillotining of the day's forty-five individuals sentenced by the Revolutionary Tribunal started up at the Place du Trône-Renversé (Place de la Nation) in the southeast corner of the city, with no one seemingly the wiser about Robespierre's arrest. At around the same time, the *comités civils* out in the Faubourg Saint-Martin in the northeast of the city were distributing pork rations to the poor, quite oblivious to the turbulence close at hand.[37]

Even in the heart of Paris, moreover, the River Seine acted to decelerate the diffusion of news and information. After having sentenced his daily batch of prisoners to the guillotine in the Revolutionary Tribunal on the Île de la Cité, for example, the public prosecutor, Antoine Quentin Fouquier-Tinville, sat down to a hearty meal at 3:00 P.M., without the slightest idea of what was taking place on the Right Bank. When he was told, as he emerged from his meal after 4:00 P.M., that a popular agitation was occurring, he assumed that it was a demonstration by workers at the Arsenal over wage regulation policies.[38] On 5 Thermidor, the Commune had published a schedule of wage levels that brought Parisian workers' pay under the

[34] The sources show that all forty-eight of Paris's sections were affected by the actions of the day, albeit unevenly.

[35] In May, the Convention's meeting place was shifted from the old royal riding school, the Salle du Manège, to the former theater, the Salle des Spectacles located within the Tuileries. The offices of the CPS and CGS were also located within the Tuileries complex. Sainte-Claire Deville estimates the distance between the Place de Grève and the Tuileries as 1,900 meters; *La Commune de l'an II*, 218 n. It is worth noting in passing that the Paris Jacobin Club was emphatically not a hub of action on 9 Thermidor, as it was on many other *journées*, and appears to have been utterly overtaken by events.

[36] Georges Lefebvre, *The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France* (London, 1973). One aim of my ongoing project is to reconstitute a set of maps of the same order.

[37] Sainte-Claire Deville, *La Commune de l'an II*, 212; F7 4432, plaque 4 (Poissonnière), plaque 5 (Faubourg-du-Nord); AFII 47, plaque 367 (Bondy). Elsewhere it was a question of fish-oil stocks: AFII 47, plaque 364 (Unité). Cf. also the Montreuil section out on the Rue de Charonne to the east, and the sections of Bonnet-Rouge and Mutius-Scaevola (AFII 47: plaque 366 for Montreuil and Mutius-Scaevola; plaque 365 for Bonnet-Rouge), and also at the Grenelle gunpowder factory on the Left Bank; AFII 47: 367, plaque 365 (Maison-Commune—reports on the Grenelle factory are located in the papers of this section, for reasons that are unclear).

[38] F7 4435, dossier 1 (documents relating to his later trial in early 1795). He claimed to have heard of Robespierre's arrest only at 6:00 P.M., and remained in his office deaf to entreaties to come to the Commune all through the night. See W500 for his account of the day (which is in fact contested by other

aegis of the General Maximum for the first time—and most Paris trades were distressed to see that this worked out as a considerable reduction on what they were currently earning. Demonstrations against the 5 Thermidor decree did in fact take place during the day, making the pattern of street activity even more difficult to disentangle. In the Homme-Armé section in the Marais, for example, the section's National Guardsmen responded to the call to form up in the courtyard of the Hôtel de Soubise without being certain whether they were going to be used to repress worker demonstrations or were themselves being assembled as demonstrators against Robespierre's arrest, which they had just heard about (though it had taken place several hours earlier).[39]

Also stimulating mobilization from the middle of the afternoon were the actions of François Hanriot, commander of the Parisian National Guard. Hanriot was believed to be an ardent supporter of Robespierre and the Commune. For this very reason, the de-Robespierrized CPS dismissed him outright early in the day on 9 Thermidor. Hanriot responded by defiantly charging around Paris on his horse, "yelling out at the top of his voice that people should take orders only from him and from the Commune."[40] Hanriot was an unpopular person in many sections, in fact. Known as a heavy drinker, he conducted himself throughout the rest of the day as if he were drunk or deranged or quite possibly both.[41] In mid-afternoon, he and the Commune authorities ordered companies of artillerymen (*canonniers*) in each section to take their cannon to the Maison Commune and await orders. Some sections already knew that Hanriot had been dismissed and did nothing; many, however, did start to take action.[42] The movement was accelerated by the Commune's order to the sectional authorities around 6:00 or 7:00 P.M. to mobilize and to send representatives. Hanriot's cheerleading was cut brutally short, however, when in his frenzied galloping he veered so close to the Tuileries that he was actually arrested by the Convention guard. He was tied up securely in the meeting room of the CGS within the Tuileries Palace.[43]

By the time of Hanriot's arrest, in fact, sectional forces were pouring into the Place de la Maison Commune two kilometers to the east, with a further spurt of new

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sources here—but not convincingly, in my view). There is corroboration of the lunch appointment in the testimony of Vergne: F7 4432, plaque 7 (Fraternité).

[39] Albert Soboul (with George Rudé), "Le maximum des salaires et le 9 thermidor," in Soboul, *Paysans, sans-culottes et Jacobins* (Paris, 1966), 161–182; AFII 47, plaque 366 (Homme-Armé: report of Gautier, président of the assemblée sectionnaire). For other cases where political agitation was confused with demonstrations about the Maximum, see, e.g., AFII 47, plaque 364 (Unité), plaque 366 (Popincourt, Marchés); F7 4637 (dossier Chalendon). The impact of the wage maximum has probably been exaggerated; after all, many *sans-culottes* were master artisans and shopkeepers and would have benefited from their workers' wages being cut.

[40] AFII 47, plaque 367 (Temple). There are numerous glimpses of Hanriot in the sectional accounts: e.g., AFII 47, plaque 364 (Tuileries: *comité civil*; and Lombards: reports of Lasné, Fayolle, etc.), plaque 367 (Tuileries: report of Voisenot). Cf. Courtois, *Rapport fait au nom des comités de salut public et de sûreté générale sur les événements du 9 thermidor an II*, 60–62.

[41] Tensions and hostilities are evident in the bundle of documentation concerning him in AFII 47 (dossier Hanriot). Cf. too F7 4774^{26} (dossier Loys).

[42] The forty-eight sections were grouped into six artillery legions. Four of the six legion commanders refused to follow Hanriot's orders and mobilize their men. Some sectional forces within these legions did, however, respond to the Commune's call.

[43] There is an excellent account of Hanriot's arrest by the National Guardsman Benoit: F7 4594. See too AFII 47, plaque 367 (Montagne: report of Brachet); F7 4432, plaque 2 (testimony of Jannolle).

arrivals starting around 8:00 P.M. Historians have sought to calculate just how much of Paris was involved in the Commune's mobilizing action. Some thirty-nine out of the city's forty-eight sections held a sectional assembly that night. In addition, Soboul estimated that sixteen sections were represented in the National Guardsmen in and around the Maison Commune. They and the artillery companies present composed about 3,400 men at around 8:00 P.M. on the Place. Significantly, they wielded what seems to have been at one moment a clear majority of the cannon available in the city, some thirty-three in total, controlled by a majority of the artillery companies still in Paris (seventeen out of thirty-two).[44] Overall, then, a very considerable proportion of the city's administrative and policing structures seemed positively primed for pro-Robespierrist insurrection.[45]

It is worth dwelling a little on the National Guard in the light of the key role that it was to play on the evening and night of 9 Thermidor. Although the relevant scholarship on it is lamentably weak, some key features can be delineated.[46] From early in the Revolution, a cardinal feature of popular radicalism had been the notion of the citizen in arms: the Revolutionary "new man" was pike-bearing as well as rights-bearing. This was particularly the case from the summer of 1792, when, with the nation at war and the monarchy crumbling, unfranchised "passive citizens" gained access to the National Guard. What had previously been a bourgeois militia ballooned into a citizens' army with a paper strength just shy of 120,000 men, grouped into formations at the sectional level. Workers in war industries and state functionaries were exempted from compulsory Guard service, so that, excluding these as well as women, the aged, children, and the floating population, we can calculate that the vast majority—probably 75 percent or more—of fit adult males in the city were members of the force (although the number of effectives at any given time would have been less).[47] Portraits of the ideal *sans-culotte* invariably placed fulfillment of Guard duty as a required civic virtue. Republican rhetoric, too, set great store by the role of battalions and companies as arenas for civic education. Significantly, there were

[44] See the handy maps and commentary by Emile Ducoudray, "9 Thermidor an II," in *Atlas de la Révolution française*, vol. 11: *Paris*, ed. Emile Ducoudray, Raymonde Monnier, Daniel Roche, and Alexandra Laclau (Paris, 2000), 66, 111. Some thirteen artillery companies declared for the Convention rather than the Commune. Two companies (those guarding the Temple prison and the Arsenal) abstained from the action. A considerable number of artillerymen had recently been dispatched from the city to the front by the CPS's military expert, Lazare Carnot.

[45] Rumor within the sections, combined with a degree of subterfuge by the Commune, inflated these numbers, adding to the confusion. In the Lepeletier section, it was reported that 40 sections and 6,000 men were on the Place de la Maison Commune (F7 4775[25]: dossier Taschereau); and in the Chalier section, similar figures were bandied about (AN, W79: dossier Chalier). Cf. F7 4717 (dossier Gaudet; according to this, forty-two sections had allegedly declared for the Convention).

[46] At least now we can consult the relevant chapters of Roger Dupuy, *La Garde nationale, 1789–1872* (Paris, 2010). See too Raymonde Monnier, "La garde citoyenne: Élément de la démocratie parisienne," in Michel Vovelle, ed., *Paris et la Révolution* (Paris, 1989), 147–159; and Marcel Reinhard, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris: La Révolution, 1789–1799* (Paris, 1971), especially 293–294, 328. The Guard fell through the cracks within the "first wave" of Parisian "history from below": George Rudé highlighted Revolutionary crowds, Richard Cobb's *armée révolutionnaires* were more like volunteer military units, and Soboul focused on sectional militants in the setting of the sectional *comités révolutionnaires* and *comités civils*.

[47] If we take the city's population as 640,000, we can exclude the roughly 50 percent (320,000) who were women and the roughly 50 percent of males (160,000) who were under twenty or over sixty years old. Age pyramid information for 1790 comes from Louis Henry and Yves Blayo, "La population de la France de 1740 à 1860," *Démographie historique*, Special Issue, *Population* 30 (1975): 71–122, here 100. This leaves a fit adult male urban population of 160,000.

bigger voter turnouts for elections of Guard commanders than for civilian posts. The force undoubtedly constituted a fuller cross-section of Parisian opinion than any other forum. Indeed, since the incorporation of "passive citizens," it had become in essence the Parisian people in arms. Heavily politicized sectional committees and many sectional assemblies, in contrast, proceeded by means of purges of opponents, which not only reduced the number of individuals involved but also made them a very partial reflection of the population as a whole.[48]

The night of 9–10 Thermidor was not the first time that the National Guard formations were the key venue for influencing political outcomes. The Guard had played a pivotal role in many of the earlier *journées*, from July 14, 1789, through to May 31 and June 2, 1793.[49] But they were not, on 9 Thermidor, the only gathering points and nodes of activism. Sectional committees and—especially—sectional assemblies (to the latter of which women as well as adult males could be admitted) were also highly significant. Also in action were the normal fora of daily sociability, while the general level of street excitement, as drums sounded and the tocsin rang, also came into play.

Although large numbers had been mobilized, however, a sizable proportion of them appear to have been in a state of uncertainty for much of the evening of 9 Thermidor. The situation was particularly messy and confused around the Maison Commune. Until quite late in the evening, for example, many of the sectional militants and Guardsmen milling around outside the city hall did not even appear to realize that the Convention and the Commune were at loggerheads.[50] The Indivisibilité section had sent troops there at around 7:00 P.M., but with the Convention still to pronounce, "they had absolutely no idea that the Commune was in a state of insurrection."[51] This report was written after the event, of course, and like all such testimony is subject to caution. And it was probably also true that many sectional companies were prudently temporizing so as to discover just what was going on. But such views contain more than a grain of truth about the prevalent uncertainty. When the artillerymen of the Réunion section arrived at the Maison Commune about 6:00 P.M., just down the road from the Rue Beaubourg, where they were based, they were told by a municipal official that on no account should they follow the orders of Hanriot, who had been dismissed as National Guard commander. Yet when the group's leader managed to get through to the mayor, Fleuriot-Lescot reversed this order, and proclaimed that everyone must follow the orders of Hanriot, who by that time had been released and was on his way back to the Maison Commune.[52] It seems more

[48] There is no better account of this factionalism than Soboul's *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II*. As state functionaries, sectional militants could exempt themselves from Guard duty. Robespierre never waxed more eloquent about an idealized *sans-culotte* than when he was obituarizing the Saint-Marcel artilleryman Claude-François Lazowski; see Burstin, *L'invention du sans-culotte*, 95–107.

[49] For July 14, see Jacques Godechot, *La prise de la Bastille, 14 juillet 1789* (Paris, 1965); and for May 31 and June 2, see Morris Slavin, *The Making of an Insurrection: Parisian Sections and the Gironde* (London, 1986). Dupuy claims that 75,000 National Guardsmen were deployed on June 2; *La Garde nationale*, 217. Cf. too Marcel Reinhard, *La chute de la royauté, 10 août 1792* (Paris, 1969).

[50] In their afternoon session, the Convention decreed that the mayor and the Commune would have responsibility for public order. The Commune's call to the sections to take up arms could thus be interpreted as following the Convention's orders—and was done. See, for example, the testimony of Cietty (Montreuil), AN, W80; he had read this in the *Journal du Soir* that evening.

[51] AFII 47, plaque 365 (Indivisibilité: report of Mullier, président of the assemblée sectionnaire).

[52] AFII 47, plaque 366 (Réunion: letter from the sectional commandant).

than possible that a great many, and perhaps even most, of the 3,400 men who were present on the Place de la Maison Commune around 8:00 P.M. did not have a clear idea about the legitimacy of the Commune's cause or what the stakes were.

Furthermore, if confusion was evident on the Place de la Maison Commune, things were even worse inside the main hall of the Commune itself, where extreme disorder reigned. All the evidence we have indicates the most appalling chaos of excited shouting and yelling. "The noise stopped me from distinguishing what was being said," noted a militant of the Finistère section.[53] This was a constant refrain. Many individuals tried to leave the chaotic hall but were prevented from doing so. The mayor had given orders that all present should stay, as he did not want news secretly getting to the Convention about what was taking place. In this chaotic ambience, Fleuriot-Lescot went around trying to get those present to sign an attendance list and to take an oath of allegiance from sectional representatives and artillery commanders. A great many of the individuals present later claimed that they were baffled as regards what was going on, and claimed not to have realized what they were being asked to swear to and sign up for.[54]

It did not help matters that from the late afternoon, the Convention was temporarily *hors de combat*. The deputies only concluded their meals and reassembled at 7:00 P.M., and it took a little time for them to realize just what was going on at the Commune, where by now Mayor Fleuriot-Lescot was threatening open warfare against anti-Robespierrist "conspirators" within the Convention. The deputies were even unaware that as they were sitting there, an armed delegation of pro-Commune *sans-culottes* had entered the Tuileries Palace, located the trussed-up Hanriot in the empty offices of the CGS, and released him. According to an informed report, the group had fifteen to twenty cannon in tow. However, rather than train these on the blithely unaware national assembly, they cheered and chaired Hanriot back off to the Maison Commune.[55] They also took along with them the Convention's own bodyguard, leaving the assembly completely without armed protection. It was only when an enthusiastic *sans-culotte* broke in on the assembly to yell out above the debates that the assembly was undefended that they were spurred into action.[56]

Sections wanting guidance from the Convention thus had to wait patiently. Once both Convention and Commune had their respective acts together, authorities within the forty-eight sections would be bombarded by often contradictory messages coming from diverse sources: from the mayor, the Commune's General Council, Hanriot (or his replacement) as National Guard commander, or else emanating from the Convention and a purged, post-Robespierrist CPS. The Droits-de-l'Homme section

[53] F7 4432, plaque 10 (Finistère). This was a self-serving comment, of course. But the point seems plausible. Cf. AFII 47, plaque 365 (Fraternité: report of Gouin, *commandant en second*, citing "un grand tumulte"). Symptomatic of the lack of trust was the fact that at one stage the signature list went missing! Sainte-Claire Deville, *La Commune de l'an II*, 229.

[54] Soboul rightly criticizes Sainte-Claire Deville for viewing signatures given in these circumstances too uncritically. Soboul, *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II*, 1013 n. The charge is much repeated in the sectional reports in AFII 47. For additional individual testimonies, see, e.g., F7 4774^{87} (dossier Rausse), F7 4754 (dossier Guilbert). It is worth noting that this alibi was later accepted by the Revolutionary Tribunal, which in trials in Fructidor II freed men involved in this way; W80.

[55] AFII 47, plaque 364 (Tuileries: report of the *comité civil*); F7 4774^{40} (dossier Mauvage).

[56] See the breathless report of Dauminval in AFII 47, plaque 364 (Tuileries). There is remarkable testimony on the reaction of artillerymen faced with the possibility of attacking the Convention in W80 (Mutius-Scaevola section).

claimed that between 4:00 and 8:00 P.M., they received orders from seven different bodies.[57] "News followed news without any agreement," noted one sectional official. "We were abandoned to ourselves," another concurred, "and knew nothing except from contradictory reports." It was "a labyrinth of obscurity," said another.[58]

In time it became clear that a contest of legitimacy was taking place between the Commune and the Convention. Sectional authorities and individual citizens were being pushed to choose between the two competing sources of legitimacy on the basis of woefully deficient information. Perplexity was the order of the day. People—especially those in local positions of authority—had to do their best to make what they hoped would be the right choice on the basis of contradictory orders, snatches of information, rumors, chance remarks, and panicky gossip.[59]

A critical turning point along the central axis of power occurred when, in the middle of the evening, an emissary from the Convention arrived at the Maison Commune, requesting that the mayor and his officials come and explain themselves before the bar of the Convention.[60] The messenger was hissed, booed, and treated with contempt, and the Convention's decree was trampled underfoot. "This caused my men to reflect," noted a militant from the Lombards section.[61] Against this background, with Convention and Commune increasingly locked into a pathway leading to violent collision, the arrival of the hyperactive Hanriot, newly released from his chains, brought an additional wave of whooping enthusiasm—even if he did his best to confuse matters further. For he declared to all and sundry that he had been released on CGS orders, which, apart from being completely untrue, further muddied the waters of who was who and who was on which side.[62]

Three further developments that took place starting around 9:00 P.M. brought greater clarity to the situation. The first was the realization within the Maison Commune that Robespierre and some of his cronies had not been jailed but were on the loose in the city. The jailer had refused to admit the "Incorruptible," claiming that authorization was needed from the Commune rather than the Convention. Shortly after 9:00 P.M., Augustin Robespierre, Maximilien's younger brother, arrived at the Maison Commune, followed by Le Bas. Augustin called on his older brother, who was still holed up at police headquarters in the Mairie on the Île de la Cité, to join him at the Maison Commune and work alongside the "Execution Committee" that the Commune had established to lead the movement. Sourpuss Robespierre dithered over "Sweetie" Robespierre's invitation—and was probably right to do so. He still had open to him the possibility of putting himself forward for trial by the Revolutionary Tribunal. He might even have been exonerated, as Jean-Paul Marat once

[57] AFII 47, plaque 366 (Lombards: report by Lasné, commandant).

[58] AFII 47, plaque 366 (Panthéon-Français: report of the *comité révolutionnaire*); F7 4774[11] (Observatoire: report of Lefebvre); F7 4585 (dossier Ballin).

[59] Burstin, *Une révolution à l'oeuvre*, is especially good on the issue of contested legitimacy.

[60] "Récit de ce qui s'est passé dans la séance du Conseil général de la Commune de Paris dans la nuit du 9 au 10 thermidor," 598.

[61] F7 4432, plaque 6 (Lombards: statement by Le Lièvre). Cf. for similar accounts AFII 47, plaque 364 (Lombards: report of Olivier), plaque 365 (Révolutionnaire: report of Goupy), plaque 367 (Amis-de-la-Patrie: report of Thiéry); F7 4751 (dossier Journet).

[62] AFII 47, plaque 367 (Amis-de-la-Patrie: report of Thiéry); F7 4775[49] (dossier Voyenne). Cf. Sainte-Claire Deville, *La Commune de l'an II*, 236.

had been, and lived to fight another day.[63] As the night became more desperate, however, Maximilien did belatedly decide to join his brother—and was straight away incapacitated by doubt.[64] He was an ideologue, a rhetorician, and a committeeman, not a military strategist or a street commander.

Second, the news came through that the Convention had declared the arrested (but freed) deputies, plus Hanriot and Mayor Fleuriot-Lescot, to be outlaws. This produced greater clarity—but also much dismay. Outlaw status meant that an individual could be punished by death merely by being identified, and without the requirement of a trial. The Convention's decree made it impossible for the Commune to claim that they had legality on their side, or even that they had support within the Convention. Significantly, moreover, the Commune leader who was instructed to read out the Convention's outlaw decree to all assembled took it upon himself to add a phrase to the effect that outlaw status extended not only to all members of the Commune but also to all members of the public attending the Commune's sessions. He meant thereby to trigger a spirit of rapturous engagement among those present, but his action stimulated the opposite reaction. There was a sudden hush, and people started looking for the exit. The cause of the Commune did not seem to be worth the risk.[65]

The impact of these two developments was exacerbated by a third. The order confining those present within the Commune's assembly hall was relaxed. This was partly intended to allow sectional leaders to return to the Place outside and to send envoys to their sections with orders to call up reinforcements. In fact, seeing what they had seen, many of the leaders chose to try to take their men back to their sections, abandoning the cause of the Commune. The high-water mark of 3,400 men at 8:00 P.M. was soon dwindling fast. The movement of withdrawal was exacerbated, moreover, as many sections under pressure from the Convention looked to bring their artillerymen and National Guardsmen back from the Commune. The dispersal would have been even more rapid and extensive, in fact, had not the hard core of Commune supporters, under Hanriot's orders, sought to bar exit from the Place, above all for the cannon, which they wanted to use against the Convention. Many of the sectional forces deployed ingenuity and no little bravery in extracting themselves from the Place and setting off back to their sections.[66] The Guardsmen of the Finistère section, for example, later recounted how Hanriot's staff tried everything to get the men to stay, and offered them drink and money to do so. But the Finistère

[63] Marat was referred to the Revolutionary Tribunal by Girondin deputies in April 1793. His acquittal boosted his popularity, and was damaging to the Girondins. Interestingly, the trial possibility was mooted by a militant in the Arcis section; W79 (dossier Damour). However, the show trial and execution of Danton in April 1794 suggested that things could go very differently.

[64] The accounts generally concur in showing a lack of any leadership or energy from Robespierre. See the general discussion of his position in Albert Mathiez, "Robespierre à la Commune le 9 Thermidor," in Mathiez, *Autour de Robespierre* (Paris, 1925), 196–234, which seeks to present Robespierre in a more positive light, but is unconvincing.

[65] F7 4432, plaque 9 (Marat); F7 4751 (dossier Journet). Cf. AFII 47, plaque 366 (Observatoire: report of Radu *fils*); F7 4775[39] (dossier Voyenne). In one section, moreover, it was reported that Jacques-Alexis Thuriot, presiding at the Convention's sessions, had threatened that if the Commune did not bring him the head of Hanriot, the whole city of Paris would be put to the sword, and in another that anyone who stabbed Hanriot would be adjudged to have committed a patriotic act. F7 4432, plaque 8 (Indivisibilité, Mutius-Scaevola).

[66] There are numerous such stories in the sectional accounts; e.g., F7 4432, plaque 5 (Muséum), plaque 8 (Bonnet-Rouge); F7 4775[49] (dossier Voyenne).

sans-culottes were angered to reply "that they were not mercenaries (*'soldats d'argent'*), and that they recognized the authority of neither the Commune nor the [putative] Commander, who were so many outlaws."[67]

In seeking the causes for the failure of the Commune's insurrectionary movement on the night of 9–10 Thermidor, historians have often highlighted the poor quality of leadership offered by Hanriot, Fleuriot-Lescot, the Robespierre brothers, and the others. Certainly their overall strategy was incoherent and rudderless. Hanriot informed one militant from the Homme-Armé section, for example, "that tomorrow all the plotters will be destroyed"—which suggests that a decision had been made to delay an attack on the Convention until the following day. Yet at the same time, he and his staff were doing their utmost to prevent militants on the Place from returning to their sections—even though many of them had been standing around for five or six hours or more.[68]

Yet even while acknowledging the deficiencies of Commune leadership, it seems optimistic at the very least to declare, as Soboul did, that their best strategy would have been "to go down into the Place and put themselves at the head of the combatants." For everything points to the fact that the Commune could no longer count on the Parisian masses, and that the supporters of their cause were few—and getting fewer by the minute. The Commune's not-unimposing force at 8:00 P.M. was largely in the dark about what was going on, and had been maintained in place by deception, subterfuge, and forced containment of Guard commanders within the Maison Commune. Once clarity was achieved, and people were freer to do as they wished, they left the Commune exposed, undefended, and out on a limb.

The Commune's indecisiveness gave the Convention the chance to seize the initiative. After having diced with disaster only hours previously, when Hanriot had been removed from its clutches, the assembly now took swift, effective action. Barras was appointed commander of the Convention troops, and with the assistance of a shrewdly chosen set of deputies as his aides, he set about constructing a military force of National Guardsmen that could meet the Commune's supporters head on. The Convention multiplied and disseminated orders through the sections, presenting them with a powerful counternarrative to override what they might have been hearing from the Commune. This stressed that the true conspirators against the public good were not Robespierre's enemies within the Convention, but Robespierre himself and his allies.

Overall, then, was this a victory for collective popular "indifference"? We can be certain, of course, that some of the *sans-culotte* militants who left the Place de la Maison Commune in the late evening of 9 Thermidor wended their way to the nearest tavern, or went home for a late dinner or to catch up on their sleep. Of course. And we can take it as read that some, particularly in the more far-flung sections, were never fully mobilized that night. Many private individuals would have gone to bed before realizing that anything was going on and would thus have missed all the ex-

[67] Testimony of Le Grand, capitaine: F7 4432, plaque 10 (Finistère). See too corroborating testimony in the same dossier from Paulot, Bréhier, Manant, etc. Cf. the reports in AFII 47, plaque 365, for further reports on the section's activities. And for anger caused by Hanriot's offer to pay sections for sending cannon late in the evening, see F7 4432, plaque 6 (Gravilliers).

[68] AFII 47, plaque 366 (Homme-Armé: report of Gautier, président of the assemblée sectionnaire). Cf. AFII 47, plaque 364 (Tuileries).

citement.[69] Similarly, we can be sure that the Revolutionary Government's pre-Thermidorian attacks on *sans-culotte* organizations did stimulate some militants at least to back away from supporting Robespierre and the Commune. Nonetheless, what is most powerfully apparent—what indeed cries out, loud and clear, from the huge number of micro-narratives and personalized reports on the day that are available in the police archives—is that the vast majority of militants stayed on the street, on alert and on the *qui vive*. And on the side of the Convention. This was something that "indifference" simply cannot explain.

After midnight, sections received a government order commanding them to keep half their mobilized Guardsmen on neighborhood patrols, and to send the other half to the Place du Carrousel outside the Convention Hall.[70] These men would constitute an armed force to defend the Convention, and subsequently to march on the Maison Commune to crush insurrection in its lair. On the basis of detailed reports, the number of troops sent to the Convention under these orders can be estimated.[71] We can take a bit of exaggeration on board, of course. Even so, none of the sections that provided this information sent fewer than 100 men, and there were more than a handful of exceptional cases: for example, there were 800 men from the Fontaine-de-Grenelle and the Panthéon-Français sections; 700 from Contrat-Social; 600 from Gardes-Françaises, and as many from the Temple and République sections; 500 from Popincourt; 400 from Mont-Blanc; 300 from Tuileries; and 200 from Invalides. Adding up the numbers from just these ten of the forty-eight sections, we already have a provisional figure of 5,500 men, nearly double the 3,400 who had thronged the Place de la Maison Commune at 8:00 P.M.[72] Furthermore, the number of those active in the Convention's defense on the Place du Carrousel constituted only half of the total forces raised, the other half remaining in the different sections. Raised in a matter of hours, the National Guardsmen stayed in post often till late the following day.[73] To them, one can add the other individuals present in sectional assemblies, who often spilled out from the meetings to join the National Guard delegations, and some of whom engaged in fraternizing with the assemblies of other sections.[74] On the basis of this sampling, a likely estimate is that the anti-Robespierrist forces mobilized that

[69] For examples, see F7 4774[63] (dossier Parizot), F7 4774[86] (dossier Rambaud).

[70] In fact, this appears originally to have derived from one of Barras's *adjoints*, the Conventionnel Goupilleau de Fontenay, who was particularly active during the night.

[71] This is an ongoing project of mine, and figures are still emerging.

[72] AFII 47, plaque 364 (Bonne-Nouvelle, Tuileries), plaque 365 (Fontaine-de-Grenelle, Révolutionnaire, Contrat-Social), plaque 366 (Invalides, Panthéon-Français, Temple, Popincourt), plaque 367 (Mont-Blanc, Gardes-Françaises). These figures are provisional and may need to be added to as research proceeds. It is also worth bearing in mind that the Convention sent detachments to defend particularly sensitive buildings. There were 200 men loyal to the Convention guarding the Trésorerie, 150 the Arsenal, and around 200 at the Temple prison, where "Louis XVII" was kept. AFII 47, plaque 366 (Homme-Armé), plaque 365 (Indivisibilité), plaque 376 (Temple). By the same token, of course, the "3,400" men on the Place de la Maison Commune at 8:00 P.M. cited in many accounts may well be an overestimation, too.

[73] They remained under arms not only as a security precaution, but also to begin the waves of arrests of Commune supporters throughout the city.

[74] Fraternization was a classic feature in the political repertory of the popular movement. It involved sending delegations into other sections in order to raise morale and unify opinion. Soboul sees this as an "advanced" method used to clear the sections of pro-Girondin "moderates" in the summer of 1793. It was used throughout the night of 9 Thermidor as a means of rallying pro-Convention support. The Tuileries section, for example, received delegations from twenty-seven sections; F7 4432, plaque 3.

night, principally though not exclusively through the National Guard formations, numbered in excess—and probably well in excess—of 10,000 individuals.

For an operation conducted at night, this was an impressive number. Daytime mobilizations at key points in the course of the Revolution had often been larger, but they were usually only demonstrative and symbolic and did not involve military operations. A nighttime chronology further reduced numbers and complicated things, as did the suddenness of the onset of the crisis, which had left no time for planning.[75] It also probably ruled out a great many of the women who boosted raw numbers in daytime events.[76] Apart from being more masculine in composition than most other such operations, the forces deployed on the Convention's side during 9 Thermidor were highly heterogeneous. The National Guard formations involved in the assault on the Maison Commune included forces from the poorest and most radical sections (notably Gravilliers), and not merely from the wealthiest and most moderate sections, as is sometimes stated.

The more the evening and the night progressed, the more the people of Paris voted with their feet. In sectional assemblies, at National Guard posts, and on the streets themselves, they voted not for political "indifference" or apathy. On the contrary, far from standing idly by, they voted—and in droves, and with enthusiasm, and from all areas of the city, and from all points of the social compass—for the Convention and against the Commune. In a sense, then, 9 Thermidor was a highly inclusive moment of democratic decisiveness. The *journée* was not about class warfare. Indeed, perversely, and to a greater extent than Soboul accounted, it was a trans-political victory for a great many *sans-culottes*, who stood shoulder to shoulder with so-called "moderates" and "counterrevolutionaries."[77]

Two snapshots of the last stages of the day, as the smoke was still settling, speak elegantly and emphatically in the sense of continued mass involvement throughout the night. Well after midnight, first of all, the National Guardsmen of the Lombards section were among the last to leave the Place de la Maison Commune, but as they did so, they came across the deputy Léonard Bourdon, who was leading a battalion of the Convention's forces against the Maison Commune. They freely and enthu-

[75] My thanks to Micah Alpaugh for allowing me to see the draft manuscript for his forthcoming book *Non-Violence and the French Revolution: Political Demonstrations in Paris, 1787–95* (Cambridge, in press), which has informed this paragraph. The June 2, 1793, daylight event is alleged to have mobilized up to 80,000 National Guardsmen. But like all such operational mobilizations—which only rarely exceeded 20,000 participants—it involved many days of planning.

[76] Although women from the public galleries of the Jacobin Club made themselves known as supporters of Robespierre, they were far outnumbered by those who supported the Convention—as Dominique Godineau ruefully admits in her *Citoyennes tricoteuses: Les femmes du people à Paris pendant la Révolution française* (Aix-en-Provence, 1988), 193–196.

[77] Cf. Richet, "Journées révolutionnaires," 123. Sainte-Claire Deville lists nine sections that were actually engaged in the assault on the Maison Commune. Six of these can be described as from the center/west (Lepeletier, Mont-Blanc, Guillaume-Tell, Marchés, Arcis, Lombards), but two were from the east (Gravilliers, Réunion), and one from the south (Invalides). *La Commune de l'an II*, 303–305. Moreover, in their *Répertoire du personnel sectionnaire parisien en l'an II*, Soboul and Monnier account only three of the nine as "moderate" or "bourgeois." By the same token, five of the ten companies cited above who sent large delegations to guard the Convention came from sections in the wealthier parts of the west and center (Gardes-Françaises, République, Contrat-Social, Tuileries, Mont-Blanc), but two were from the east (Temple, Popincourt), and three from parts of the Left Bank marked by indigence (Fontaine-de-Grenelle, Panthéon-Français, Invalides). Revealingly, too, only one of the nine radicals who had acted as the central organizing committee for the *journées* of May 31 and June 2 supported the Commune on 9 Thermidor. See Slavin, *The Making of an Insurrection*, 88.

siastically joined his forces en masse and acted as an advance guard in the attack on the Commune—which in the event turned out to be (with Robespierrist exceptions) a bloodless affair.[78]

A second narrative snapshot gives a similar flavor of the end of the day and what it meant to those who witnessed it at close hand. The schoolteacher Jean-Guillaume Guyot, who represented the Sans-Culottes section in the Faubourg Saint-Marcel on the Paris Commune, realized late in the evening which way the wind was blowing. He made his way back to his home in the southeast part of the city so that he could bid his wife farewell before he turned himself in to the police. Notably, he found not the deserted silent streets of the apathetic or politically indifferent city that historians are wont to portray. On the contrary, the city was crowded, and buzzed with groups of men going about their business back and forth in the streets. These would have included National Guard surveillance patrols, sectional delegations fraternizing with their peers, arrest squads seeking pro-Commune supporters, and enthusiastic individuals spontaneously joining the throng. The upshot, as Guyot concluded, was that "Paris was armed and ready to save the Republic."[79]

In a classic article published in 1974, Martyn Lyons highlighted how the parliamentary coup that toppled Robespierre on 9 Thermidor had been led from the left.[80] The coalition of the frightened hastily formed over the night of 8–9 Thermidor had included figures of every political hue within the Convention, through to those adjudged right-wing. But the lead that day was taken by deputies with left-wing credentials, notably Jean-Marie Collot d'Herbois and Jacques Nicolas Billaud-Varenne from the CPS, as well as individual deputies (including Jean-Lambert Tallien, Louis-Marie Stanislas Fréron, and Léonard Bourdon) who had been prominent in suppressing provincial unrest in 1793–1794 with methods that Robespierre had adjudged excessively violent.[81] Lyons's argument, now widely accepted, seemed at the time to be surprisingly counterintuitive. Following the logic of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, it had been largely assumed that the wish to move to the right perceptible after Thermidor provided the underlying motivation behind the *journée* itself. This was not the case. The lurch to the right occurred only after intense faction fighting that broke the factitious unanimity of 9 Thermidor. Thereupon the Thermidorian Reaction dismantled the "system of Terror" in which many of the artisans of the *journée* of 9 Thermidor had been actively involved.[82] Ironically, within a year, Robespierre's

[78] AFII 47, plaque 364 (Lombards); F7 4432, plaque 6 (Lombards). For a gripping firsthand account by Jean-Antoine-Gaspard Forestier of the *sauve-qui-peut* atmosphere caused by the arrival of the Convention's forces within the Maison Commune, see F7 4609.

[79] *Tableau de ma conduite* (printed pamphlet), F7 4432, plaque 2. Arrests of pro-Robespierrists continued all through the night, as did fraternization by sectional delegations. For a confirmatory quotation, see the account of the *commandant en second* of the Unité section concerning the state of his section around midnight: "I saw with satisfaction the streets and crossroads as full of people as if it were in broad daylight, all keen to defend the Convention and the Republic" (AFII 47, plaque 364).

[80] Lyons, "The 9 Thermidor."

[81] This number included Barras, in fact, who was responsible for the brutal repression of revolts in Marseille and Toulon in late 1793, but who shifted dramatically to the right after Thermidor. Such a shift was also taken by other "Thermidorians of 9 Thermidor."

[82] Baczko's *Ending the Terror* gives by far the most sophisticated account of Thermidorian politics. It makes great play of the rumor on 9 Thermidor that Robespierre was planning to become king. This

CPS colleagues who had plotted his overthrow, Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois, and Bertrand Barère, were fighting for their lives before the Convention for being his partners in crime.[83]

The evidence relating to the actions of the Parisian people that day amplifies and extends Lyons's judgment as regards those Conventionnels most involved in the plot to overthrow Robespierre. Parisians actively and en masse supported the Convention on 9 Thermidor. The verdict the next morning of those who had missed the party was unanimous and rhapsodic. Yet if they "had woken up anti-Robespierrist," as Baczko claimed, one should not imagine that they had been "pro-Robespierrist" the previous day.[84] On the contrary. Overwhelmingly, and in a way that cut across ideological and socioeconomic divisions, Parisians rejected the cause of Robespierre, his allies, and the Commune. Yet just as the left-wing leaders of the Conventionnel coup were soon hoist by their own petard, so too was the popular movement. For if the Thermidorian Reaction targeted individuals within the political class regarded as Robespierre's collaborators, it also trained its fire on the Parisian popular movement that on the night of 9 Thermidor had done so much to pull the Convention's chestnuts out of the fire.

Greater press freedom after 9 Thermidor and the release of many prisoners soon generated freewheeling horror stories about the atrocities committed on Revolutionary *journées* and about the prisons of the Terror.[85] They appeared to legitimize revulsion for Robespierre, at whose door responsibility for the Terror was generally laid. His scapegoat status suited many within the political class who had bad consciences about their own involvement in national politics in Year II. Robespierre was a monstrous, bloodthirsty tiger who had frightened fellow politicians into submission to his will by wielding the threat of Parisian popular action.[86] The authority of the CPS and CGS, Year II's power hub, was much reduced, and the committees were revamped as servants rather than masters of the Convention.

Ambient anti-Robespierrism bled into a wider antagonism toward the capital.[87]

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notion has not featured as heavily in the sectional accounts I have seen as I had expected. See too Michel Vovelle, ed., *Le tournant de l'an III: Réaction et Terreur blanche dans la France révolutionnaire* (Aix-en-Provence, 1997), especially Raymonde Monnier, "Le tournant de Brumaire: Dépopulariser la Révolution parisienne," 187–199. For an excellent recent overview, see Laura Mason, "The Thermidorian Reaction," in Peter McPhee, ed., *A Companion to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 2013), 313–327.

[83] Barère was attacked in the autumn of 1794; in the spring of 1795, he was arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal along with former fellow CPS colleagues Collot d'Herbois and Billaud-Varenne and CGS stalwart Marc-Guillaume Alexis Vadier. They were sentenced to imprisonment, and Collot died in a prison colony in Guiana in 1796.

[84] Baczko, "Thermidoriens," 426.

[85] Besides Baczko, see Alex Fairfax-Cholmeley, "Defence, Collaboration, Counter-Attack: The Role and Exploitation of the Printed Word by Victims of the Terror, 1793–4," in Dave Andress, ed., *Experiencing the French Revolution* (Oxford, 2013), 137–154. Honoré-Jean Riouffe's highly popular *Mémoires d'un détenu: Pour servir à l'histoire de la tyrannie de Robespierre* (Paris, 1795) set the tone for captivity narratives.

[86] For Robespierre's post-Thermidorian tigrishness, see Colin Jones, "French Crossings: III. The Smile of the Tiger," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 22 (2012): 3–35.

[87] Attacks on Robespierre's "tail"—former colleagues and supporters—got going with the *queue de Robespierre* genre from Fructidor Year II. See Michel Biard, " 'Après la tête, la queue!' La rhétorique antijacobine en fructidor an II–vendémiaire an III," in Vovelle, *Le tournant de l'an III*, 201–213; and Howard G. Brown, "Robespierre's Tail: The Possibilities of Justice after the Terror," *Canadian Journal of History* 45, no. 3 (2010): 503–535.

Root-and-branch reform of the administration of the city of Paris ensued. The Commune was abolished, and the sections were reduced in number. The position of city mayor was suppressed, disappearing from Parisian history for nearly two centuries. The Paris National Guard was reformed, too, to prevent the emergence of another Hanriot, and to dilute non-bourgeois elements.[88] These attacks on Paris overlapped with efforts, in the words of the radical journalist Jean-Pierre Audouin, to *dépopulariser* the Revolution.[89] By "depopularization," he meant the systematic reduction or removal of policies associated with the lower orders in general and the Parisian popular movement in particular. Assiduous efforts were soon under way to punish those who had been prominent within sectional politics in the capital in the Year II. They were subject to harassment and assaults by the *jeunesse dorée*, gangs of bourgeois youths intent on exacting revenge.[90] The Jacobin Club, which had served as a ramp for Robespierre's personal power, was closed down. There was a move from the system of the Maximum to a deregulated economy. It unfolded during one of the worst winters of the eighteenth century, the effects of which were exacerbated by the breakdown of national marketing structures. The price of bread skyrocketed, and expressions of nostalgia for Year II were heard. But the popular agitation of the spring of 1795 was savagely repressed in the *journées* of Germinal and Prairial Year III—a repression that effectively put paid to the popular movement.[91]

An important element in Thermidorian "depopularization" was the establishment of a narrative of the *journée* itself that erased Parisian popular activism. The speech that CPS member Bertrand Barère delivered in the Convention on 10 Thermidor showed the way the wind was blowing even before the dust from the *journée* had settled. "On May 31 [1793], the people made its revolution; on 9 Thermidor, the Convention made its own. Liberty has applauded each in turn."[92] In this lapidary, dichotomized verdict, the Paris popular movement was given credit for the expulsion of Girondin deputies from the Convention on May 31 and June 2, 1793.[93] Yet it was the Convention, Barère was claiming, not the people of Paris, that had freed the country on 9 Thermidor from what had overnight become known as Robespierre's "tyranny." Barère's judgment made light of the glaringly obvious fact that force had settled the issue, and that the force on hand had been the National Guardsmen, artillerymen, sectional activists, and private individuals of the city of Paris—in sum: the people. But this snap and somewhat cockeyed assessment soon became the stan-

[88] The position of Paris mayor was briefly revived in 1848 and 1870–1871, but was properly reinstituted only in 1977.

[89] Cited in Raymonde Monnier, *L'espace public démocratique: Essai sur l'opinion à Paris de la Révolution au Directoire* (Paris, 1997), 203.

[90] Gendron, *La jeunesse dorée*. For all these developments, see also Baczko, *Ending the Terror*, and Luzzatto, *L'automne de la Révolution*. On popular distress in 1795, see Richard Cobb, *Terreur et subsistances, 1793–1795* (Paris, 1965).

[91] See the classic account of Kåre D. Tønnesson, *La défaite des sans-culottes: Mouvement populaire et réaction bourgeoise en l'an III* (Paris, 1959). My analysis here rejoins that of Brunel, *Thermidor*, who sees Prairial as more of a turning point than 9 Thermidor. See also the essays in Roger Dupuy and Marcel Morabito, eds., *1795: Pour une République sans Révolution* (Rennes, 1997). I discuss the "depopularizing" context of the Thermidor reaction for conceptions of the significance of the 9 Thermidor *journée* in an article to appear in *French Historical Studies* in 2015.

[92] *Archives parlementaires*, 93: 613.

[93] It would not be long before the popular intervention in 1793 was excoriated rather than praised—especially after December 1793, when seventy-three Conventionnels who had been imprisoned for supporting the Girondins were readmitted into the Convention.

dard Thermidorian orthodoxy. The crucial role of the people of Paris in the overthrow of Robespierre became the Thermidorian-Fact-That-Dared-Not-Speak-Its-Name. On 9 Thermidor—the point now seemed obvious—the people of Paris had been "indifferent."

Although it seems clear that the argument of "indifference" will not pass muster as a description of the events of the day, there is still much about the *journée* that remains unclear. The basic logistics of mobilization and countermobilization are perceptible, but finer detail and richer texture are needed. We can begin to chart the developing wave of support for the Convention, but we urgently need to understand better the motivations of those involved at street level. Did the fact that the war was going well impinge on popular consciousness, for example? Can we clarify better which sectors of "the people" were most involved in the action? Evidently at some time in the course of the evening, a snowball effect set in, so that support for the Convention seemed the best way of saving one's neck. But the collective movement cannot be reduced to the sum of individual *sauve-qui-peut* reactions. Conviction and engagement consistently trumped "indifference" and conformity.

Certainly, in the light of the day's events, it seems important not to regard popular loyalism toward the Convention as channeling some form of "indifference." On the right side of the historiographical spectrum, such loyalism has been interpreted as a sign of plebeian deferentialism (or apathy). Equally unconvincingly, on the left it has been seen as an avatar of "false consciousness" (although it is desperately unclear how "true" consciousness would have been served by supporting Robespierre). Yet beyond such anodyne verdicts, the events of 9 Thermidor show that loyalism motivated people to act, not to opt out. And indeed, lest we forget, acting in support of the Convention demonstrated republican respect for the rule of the law and democratic legalism, both eminently "political" values, and ones within the range of attainment.

The actions of the people of Paris on the streets of the city on the *journée* of 9 Thermidor constitute a dog that really did bark in the night. Yet historians of all persuasions have chosen not to pay heed. It is not even that the Parisian masses on that single night have received what E. P Thompson famously dubbed "the enormous condescension of posterity." For posterity has not bothered even to condescend and has preferred simply to ignore, to forget, or not to bother to ask. The incontrovertible evidence about popular involvement in the *journée* of 9 Thermidor has lain virtually undisturbed in the archives for more than two centuries. On 9 Thermidor, the people of Paris showed that they were tired of Robespierre; but (to misquote Doctor Johnson) they were not tired of life, nor of Revolutionary politics, nor of democracy. Overthrowing Robespierre was not an act of "Thermidorian Reaction." The "Thermidorian Reaction" came later. And in this light one can understand why it came as such a blow to the hopes of the Parisian people, which had been raised so high on 9 Thermidor.

This approach also suggests that Revolutionary history should be rethought from the perspective of the people. By focusing on sectional militants and Revolutionary crowds, historians have underestimated the role of other venues and sites for popular action and for opinion-forming. As we have seen, the role of the National Guard was

vital on 9 Thermidor—indeed, it embodied the Parisian people—but it is a force about which we know surprisingly little. Other areas that can open up issues concerning popular opinion are not lacking.[94] We need to lift up our eyes beyond the ranks of sectional militants and to widen our lens to take in more of the view. This is all the more urgent in that in recent work on the Thermidorian and Directorial periods, as Laura Mason has remarked, the popular voice is strikingly absent.[95]

Or rather we should say popular voices—for we should no more see the ideas of the popular classes as a monolith than we do those of the Convention. An exploration of the events of the hyper-illuminated *journée* of 9 Thermidor indicates that popular voices were multifariously present, and recoverable in ways that historians have overlooked.[96] The accumulation of personalized micro-narratives of fragments of the day enables us to build up an overall account of popular insurrection improvised collectively, on the hoof, in the making. The fluidity and experiential intensity of that process has echoes in our own day. A year or two ago, we were able to witness from the comfort of our armchairs, as if in close-up, the popular upheavals taking place all over North Africa and the Middle East. Out of that animated, exuberant, fast-moving, panicky, highly strung atmosphere, we could observe taking shape an unexpected and exciting freedom to speak and act in new ways. The same kind of exuberant collective political refashioning may also be glimpsed on 9 Thermidor. No one on the streets of Paris that day had radio, TV, Internet access, or a telephone, let alone blogs and Twitter. But a pre-Twitter age experienced the same problems of receiving and authenticating news, of identifying myth and rumor, of communicating and contacting, of differentiating friends from enemies, of mobilization and countermobilization, and, not least, of locating legitimacy. Taking the events of a day like 9 Thermidor *as a day in the life of its actors* opens up rich perspectives scarcely noticed in more classic, structural approaches.[97]

This is the world to which, as Michelet long ago perceived (and as Albert Soboul also knew), long-forgotten police archives give us privileged *entrée:* the world of individual destinies and collective movements, of words and actions poised, waiting for their meanings to be discerned and determined. A "situational" perspective can act as a reminder that if the period following 9 Thermidor was about "depopular-

[94] The Revolutionary press is another case in point. Nothing on it yet rivals the penetration of Christian Jouhaud's analysis of the mazarinades of the Fronde, *Mazarinades: La fronde des mots* (Paris, 1985).

[95] Mason, "The Thermidorian Reaction," 324–325.

[96] It is perhaps less true now than in 2003, when Rebecca Spang complained that Revolutionary historiography was invariably about "600–1,000 men who served at any one time in the national political body"; Spang, "Paradigms and Paranoia: How Modern Is the French Revolution?," *American Historical Review* 108, no. 1 (February 2003): 119–147, here 129. On the French side, see the perspectives opened up in Jean-Luc Chappey, Bernard Gainot, Guillaume Mazeau, Frédéric Régent, and Pierre Serna, *Pour quoi faire la Révolution* (Marseille, 2012).

[97] My thinking here has been shaped by William J. Sewell Jr., "Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille," *Theory and Society* 25, no. 6 (1996): 841–881; Jean-Philippe Heurtin, "La logique des situations comme nomos du présent: La sociologie des crises politiques et le congé donné à la causalité historique," in Myriam Aït-Aoudia and Antoine Roger, eds., *La sociologie des crises politiques, vingt ans après* (Paris, in press, 2014). See also Michel Dobry, "Ce dont sont faites les logiques de situation," in Pierre Favre, Olivier Fillieule, and Fabien Jobard, eds., *L'atelier du politiste: Théories, actions, représentations* (Paris, 2007), 119–148.

izing" the Revolution, we must try all the harder to "popularize" our account of those debates and struggles, so as to produce a history, a better history, with the people left in.

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Reading Soldiers' Moods: Russian Military Censorship and the Configuration of Feeling in World War I

WILLIAM G. ROSENBERG

ALTHOUGH THE HISTORICAL EXPLORATION of emotions is an expanding field of research, the analysis of how feelings may affect the course of historical events remains a vexing problem for historians. Important work has helped us understand how emotional experience may be set historically by cultural norms and social contexts, and we have come to appreciate the conceptual value of discerning emotional communities.[1] There are also impressive studies on the contextualized social meanings of key emotions such as fear, the ways these meanings affect gender and gender relations, and the kinds of emotional mobilization engaged by mass politics.[2] William

I am particularly indebted to Jan Plamper for carefully balancing encouragement and criticism in his readings of this piece, as well as to *AHR* Editor Rob Schneider and the anonymous reviewers engaged in the journal's rigorous peer review process. My work, like others, is certainly better for their efforts. I have imposed on Jochen Hellbeck, Boris Kolonitskii, Madina Goldberg, Alexis Peri, Natalia Mazur, and Mary Buckley for careful readings. I very much appreciate their insightful comments, as well as the conversations and assistance offered by Rudolf Mrazek, Vladimir Cherniaev, Nikolai Smirnov, and especially Aleksandr Astashov, who assisted me with the archival materials in Moscow. A version of this article was presented as a paper at the Cambridge History Faculty Seminar in February 2014, graciously hosted by Bernhard Fulda. I have also learned much from stimulating discussions at the international colloquia of the Institute of History in St. Petersburg on "Russia and the First World War" (1998), "History and Subjectivity in Russia (Late 19th–20th Centuries)" (2010), and "Little People and Big Wars in Russian History" (2013), and their resulting publications.

[1] See especially Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2006); Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 821–845; Jan Plamper, *Geschichte und Gefühl: Grundlagen der Emotionsgeschichte* (Munich, 2012; English trans. forthcoming as *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2015); Jonas Liliequist, ed., *A History of Emotions, 1200–1800* (London, 2012). See also Jan Plamper, "The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns," *History and Theory* 49, no. 2 (2010): 237–265.

[2] See, e.g., Peter N. Stearns, *American Fear: The Causes and Consequences of High Anxiety* (New York, 2006); Jan Plamper and Benjamin Lazier, eds., *Fear: Across the Disciplines* (Pittsburgh, 2012); Michael Laffan and Max Weiss, eds., *Facing Fear: The History of an Emotion in Global Perspective* (Princeton, N.J., 2012); Susanne Michl and Jan Plamper, "Soldatische Angst im Ersten Weltkrieg: Die Karriere eines Gefühls in der Kriegspsychiatrie Deutschlands, Frankreichs und Russlands," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 35, no. 2 (2009): 209–248; Jan Plamper, "Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Early Twentieth-Century Russian Military Psychology," *Slavic Review* 68, no. 2 (2009): 259–283; Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History—Lost and Found* (Budapest, 2011); Michael Roper, "Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History," *History Workshop Journal* 59 (2005): 57–72; Roper, "Between Manliness and Masculinity: The 'War Generation' and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 343–362. Some of the broader literature is reviewed in Mark D. Steinberg and Valeria Sobol, eds., *Interpreting Emotions in Russia and Eastern Europe* (DeKalb, Ill., 2011), especially in their excellent introduction. Contributions from anthropologists to the discussion include Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds., *Language and the Politics of Emotion* (Cambridge,

Reddy and others have taken up the neurological dimensions of emotion as well, including a few scholars in Russia whose work is little-known abroad. Caught up themselves in the post-Soviet turmoil of emotional and social dislocation, they have sought to add "how it really felt" to traditional explorations of "how it really was."[3] Indeed, it is not too much to say that most good historians now accept that some understanding of feeling is key to deciphering how historical experience was lived and remembered.[4]

Yet the problem of actually accessing emotional states remains, especially at moments of social crisis, when established norms and expressions may be taxed. How can historians be sure that the feelings described in their sources reflect what was actually felt? Sensitive biographers may tease these out in ways that seem wholly convincing, but how does one discern whether or how the expression of emotion itself has filtered an individual's feelings through the social and cultural norms they also engage? For literary scholars, the issue is how literature engages or creates the reader's own feelings.[5] For historians, the issue centers on access to the historical actualities of feeling itself through sources in which emotional expression may be mediated by social and cultural values quite different from their own. Is reading emotion in their sources for historians, then, also filtering and configuring feelings, constructing as well as uncovering the evidence? In what ways, in other words, does the problem of accessing emotion for historians lie in the ways it is "read"?

There is also a problematic nexus here between the expression of individual emo-

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1990); Margot L. Lyon, "Missing Emotion: The Limitations of Cultural Constructionism in the Study of Emotion," *Cultural Anthropology* 10, no. 2 (1995): 244–263; and more recently Andrew Beatty, "How Did It Feel for You? Emotion, Narrative, and the Limits of Ethnography," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 112, no. 3 (2010): 430–443.

[3] William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001); Jerome Kagan, *What Is Emotion? History, Measures, and Meanings* (New Haven, Conn., 2007); O. S. Porshneva, *Mentalitet i sotsial'noe povedenie rabochikh, krest'ian i soldat Rossii v period pervoi mirovoi voiny (1914–mart 1918)* (Ekaterinburg, 2000); Porshneva, "Sotsial'noe povedenie soldat russkoi armii v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny," in *Sotsial'naia istoriia: Ezhegodnik 2001/2002* (Moscow, 2003), 355–398; A. B. Astashov, "Russkii krest'ianin na frontakh pervoi mirovoi voiny," *Otechestvennaia istoriia*, no. 2 (2003): 72–86; Astashov, "Russkie soldaty i pervaia mirovaia voina: Psikhoistoricheskoe issledovanie voennogo opyta," in *Sotsial'naia istoriia: Ezhegodnik 2001/2002*, 399–426; Astashov, "Voina kak kul'turnyi shok: Analiz psikhopatologicheskogo sostoianiia russkoi armii v pervuiu mirovuiu voinu," in E. S. Seniavskaia, ed., *Voenno-istoricheskaia antropologiia: Ezhegodnik 2002* (Moscow, 2002), 268–281; Seniavskaia, *Psikhologiia voiny v XX veke: Istoricheskii opyt Rossii* (Moscow, 1999); Seniavskaia, "Chelovek na voine: Opyt istoriko-psikhologicheskoi kharakteristiki rossiiskogo kombatanta," *Otechestvennaia istoriia*, no. 3 (1995): 7–16; V. P. Buldakov, "K izucheniiu psikhologii i psikhopatologii revoliutsionnoi epokhi," in P. V. Volobuev et al., eds., *Revoliutsiia i chelovek: Sotsial'no-psikhologicheskii aspekt* (Moscow, 1996), 4–17; Buldakov, "Ot voiny k revoliutsii: Rozhdenie 'cheloveka s ruzh'em,' " in Volobuev et al., eds., *Revoliutsiia i chelovek: Byt, nravy, povedenie, moral?* (Moscow, 1997), 55–75; I. V. Mikhailov, "Byt, nravy i psikhologiia belogo ofitserstva: K postanovke problemy," ibid., 143–160. Buldakov has made the most extensive exploration of both the revolutionary period and the 1920s in these terms. See his *Krasnaia smuta: Priroda i posledstviia revoliutsionnogo nasiliia* (Moscow, 1999; 2nd ed., 2010) and *Utopiia, agressiia, vlast': Psikhosotsial'naia dinamika postrevoliutsionnogo vremeni—Rossiia, 1920–1930 gg.* (Moscow, 2012).

[4] See the important discussion between Nicole Eustace, Eugenia Lean, Julie Livingston, Jan Plamper, William M. Reddy, and Barbara H. Rosenwein, moderated by the *AHR* editor, in "*AHR* Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," *American Historical Review* 117, no. 5 (December 2012): 1487–1531.

[5] See, e.g., Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson, *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia, 2004); and Rachel Ablow, ed., *The Feeling of Reading: Affective Experience and Victorian Literature* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2011).

tions and what are often represented as collective feelings: those that are thought reductively to be experienced or expressed as if the collective were an organic emotional whole. Are there circumstances in which individual expressions of emotion might reasonably be read to reflect those of a larger group? Are there differences here between periods of relative social stability and moments of historical crisis? And can the ways in which historians and others configure collective feelings also be as important as the ways in which these feelings appear to be collectively expressed, such as during military parades? Even for historians alert to the problems involved, the relationships in individuals between emotional experience and how it is expressed, remembered, and acted out are problematic. They are even more so for historians when dealing with collectivities, such as soldiers at war.

For the Russian High Command in July 1914, these were not abstract problems. In the wake of military disaster during the Russo-Japanese War and the seeming eclipse of tsarist authority in the revolutionary upheavals of 1905–1906, Russia's soldiers had run amok. More than 200 separate mutinies occurred in November and December 1905, well after the Portsmouth Peace Treaty had been signed; there were 130 more between January and June 1906. The best-known, like that on the battleship *Potemkin*, mixed protests over food with resistance to authority, but everywhere a chaotic lack of discipline accompanied the brutality with which urban and rural protests were suppressed and amplified the humiliation of defeat.[6] Both practice and narrative had to change if Russia was to remain a great imperial power.

The years between 1907 and 1914 saw substantial structural changes in the Russian military, but the underlying question of soldiers' discipline remained uncertain. Mobilization would bring huge numbers of peasants back to the ranks from the land-hungry countryside, where the experiences of rebellion and repression were painfully recent, and where the Stolypin reforms were assaulting collective possession in favor of individual ownership, creating new dislocations of their own.[7] In 1913 and 1914, urban Russia also witnessed stunning new levels of worker unrest.[8] Literacy rates were increasing, spreading awareness along with the possibilities of political organization. By 1914, more than two-thirds of all Russian soldiers could read and write at some level.[9] Against this background of social and political volatility and expand-

[6] The story is well told by John Bushnell, *Mutiny amid Repression: Russian Soldiers in the Revolution of 1905–1906* (Bloomington, Ind., 1985).

[7] See especially Bruce W. Menning, *Bayonets before Bullets: The Imperial Russian Army, 1861–1914* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992), chaps. 6–7; and John W. Steinberg, *All the Tsar's Men: Russia's General Staff and the Fate of the Empire, 1898–1914* (Washington, D.C., 2010), chaps. 5–7.

[8] See especially Leopold H. Haimson and Ronald Petrusha, "Two Strike Waves in Imperial Russia, 1905–1907, 1912–1914," in Leopold H. Haimson and Charles Tilly, eds., *Strikes, Wars, and Revolutions in an International Perspective: Strike Waves in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (New York, 1989), 101–166; Leopold H. Haimson, "The Workers' Movement after Lena: The Dynamics of Labor Unrest in the Wake of the Lena Goldfields Massacre (April 1912–July 1914)," in Haimson, *Russia's Revolutionary Experience, 1905–17: Two Essays* (New York, 2005), 109–229.

[9] According to Aleksandr Astashov, the scholar most versed on this issue, almost all soldiers before the war received literary training, although many remained only somewhat literate. According to official statistics, 72 percent of the soldiers in an army of 1.2 million in 1912 were either literate (48 percent) or semiliterate (*malogramotnyi*) (24 percent), and 28 percent were illiterate. During the war the percentage of literate soldiers declined, but the number of partly literate increased, so that the approximate total of 70 percent who could read or write at some level remained relatively constant. L. G. Protasov calculates that in 1916 the Russian army was 73.7 percent literate, although he does not calculate the various levels of competence. In 1920, during the civil war, Astashov estimates that almost 80 percent

ing communication, tracking soldiers' emotional states was now an urgent priority. The means for doing so was the reorganized and expanded Office of the Military Censor.[10]

All warring powers, of course, imposed some degree of censorship on mail going to and from the front during World War I. In France, however, while efforts began in 1915 to interdict letters that revealed the locations and units of their senders, controls were not fully in place until 1917, stimulated in part by growing troop unrest.[11] In Germany and Great Britain, soldiers' morale does not seem to have been a great concern until sometime in 1916. Emphasis there was largely on the public's attitudes and opinions and the dangers of social unrest, as became true in France as well.[12] In contrast, Russia's goals were immediate and explicit. Only in St. Petersburg did the regime formulate a comprehensive plan setting up military cen-

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of the Red Army was fully literate. Astashov, personal communications. See also his "Russkii krest'ianin na frontakh pervoi mirovoi voiny"; A. M. Anfimov and A. P. Korelin, eds. and comps., *Rossiia, 1913 god: Statistiko-dokumental'nyi spravochnik* (St. Petersburg, 1995), 288; L. G. Protasov, "Klassovyi sostav soldat russkoi armii pered oktiabrem," *Istoriia SSSR*, no. 1 (1977): 33–48, here 45–46; B. N. Mironov, *Sotsial'naia istoriia Rossii perioda imperii (XVIII–nachalo XX v.): Genezis lichnosti, demokraticheskoi sem'i, grazhdanskogo obshchestva i pravovogo gosudarstva*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1999), 2: 386. I am grateful to Aleksandr Astashov for his assistance here.

[10] The fullest discussions of Russian military censorship are John T. Smith, "Russian Military Censorship during the First World War," *Revolutionary Russia* 14, no. 1 (2001): 71–95; and Irina Davidjan, "Voennaia tsenzura v Rossii v gody grazhdanskoi voiny, 1918–1920 gg.," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 38, no. 1–2 (1997): 117–125. See also M. Kosoi, "Voennaia tsenzura pochtovoi korrespondentsii Petrograda v period pervoi mirovoi voiny," *Sovetskii kollektsioner: Sbornik statei* 24 (1987): 56–74; G. A. Saltyk and A. A. Stroeva, "Pervaia mirovaia voina: K istorii voennoi tsenzury," *Uchenye zapiski: Elektronnyi nauchnyi zhurnal Kurskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 3 (2011): 94–99 (on censorship of the press). See also Jonathan W. Daly, *The Watchful State: Security Police and Opposition in Russia, 1906–1917* (DeKalb, Ill., 2004). More general studies of censorship in Russia include N. G. Patrusheva, *Tsenzor v gosudarstvennoe sisteme dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii (vtoraia polovina XIX–nachalo XX veka)* (St. Petersburg, 2011); David M. Skipton and Peter A. Michalove, *Postal Censorship in Imperial Russia* (Urbana, Ill., 1989); A. V. Blium, *Sovetskaia tsenzura v epokhu total'nogo terrora, 1929–1953* (St. Petersburg, 2000). For a sensitive study of Soviet censorship in this regard, see Jan Plamper, "Abolishing Ambiguity: Soviet Censorship Practices in the 1930s," *Russian Review* 60, no. 4 (2001): 526–544.

[11] Jean-Noël Jeanneney, "Les archives des commissions de contrôle postal aux armées (1916–1918): Une source précieuse pour l'histoire contemporaine de l'opinion et des mentalités," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 15, no. 1 (1968): 209–233, here 210–211; David Englander, "The French Soldier, 1914–18," *French History* 1, no. 1 (1987): 49–67, here 50. See also John Horne, "Entre expérience et mémoire: Les soldats français de la Grande Guerre," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 60, no 5 (2005): 903–919; P. J. Flood, *France, 1914–1918: Public Opinion and the War Effort* (London, 1990); and Jean-Jacques Becker, *The Great War and the French People*, trans. Arnold Pomerans (Dover, N.H., 1985), especially chap. 15.

[12] See David Englander, "Military Intelligence and the Defence of the Realm: The Surveillance of Soldiers and Civilians in Britain during the First World War," *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History* 52, no. 1 (1987): 24–32; Nicholas Hiley, "Counter-Espionage and Security in Great Britain during the First World War," *English Historical Review* 101, no. 400 (1986): 635–670; Peter Knoch, ed., *Kriegsalltag: Die Rekonstruktion des Kriegsalltags als Aufgabe der historischen Forschung und der Friedenserziehung* (Stuttgart, 1989); Benjamin Ziemann, *Front und Heimat: Ländliche Kriegserfahrungen im südlichen Bayern, 1914–1923* (Essen, 1997); Bernd Ulrich and Benjamin Ziemann, eds., *Frontalltag im Ersten Weltkrieg: Wahn und Wirklichkeit* (Frankfurt, 1994). See also Bernd Ulrich, *Die Augenzeugen: Deutsche Feldpostbriefe in Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit, 1914–1933* (Essen, 1997); Aribert Reimann, *Der grosse Krieg der Sprachen: Untersuchungen zur historischen Semantik in Deutschland und England zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Essen, 2000); Erich von Ludendorff, *Ludendorff's Own Story, August 1914–November 1918: The Great War from the Siege of Liège to the Signing of the Armistice as Viewed from the Grand Headquarters of the German Army* (New York, 1919), especially 388–398, 438–455. On military censorship generally in Britain, France, and the United States, see George G. Bruntz, *Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918* (Stanford, Calif., 1938).

sorship in all of its forms. The corresponding decree was issued on July 20, 1914, the day after war was declared.[13] And only in Russia were the concerns of military censorship centered first and foremost on the emotional and mental states of military units. Alone among the warring powers, Russian commanders would be informed from the start about what their troops were feeling and thinking. If dissent occurred, the censors would keep it from spreading outward from the army to the soldiers' villages, towns, and factories, just as they would ensure that civilian dissidence did not penetrate the front. There would be no more *Potemkin*-type mutinies. Commanders would use this information to control their troops, but also to make tactical decisions about how those troops should be deployed. At least in this area in 1914, the Russian High Command would be thoroughly prepared.[14]

From the start, therefore, the primary emotional object of Russian military surveillance was what is called in Russian the *nastroenie* of individuals and their units. *Nastroenie* can be loosely translated as "mood," but the concept in Russian blends the boundaries between emotions and attitudes, between culturally defined feelings such as patriotism ("For Tsar and Country!") or "good spirits" (*bodrost'*) and the far less certain feelings associated with anxiety, panic, stress, and the experience of battle. It is thus more freighted than the English "morale," the common Russian equivalents of which censors used only occasionally, and further complicates the task of distilling emotional states from soldiers' correspondence.[15] Yet central to the problem of both morale and mood is again the relationship between emotional states and their expression, whether in writing or in demonstration. In what ways, then, did the military censors configure feelings at the front during World War I? How important was their reading itself of the colossal mass of soldiers' correspondence to their understanding of individual and collective emotional states? How successful were they in their careful and well-organized effort? Or does the effort suggest instead that the dichotomy itself between feeling and expression is not in the end hermeneutically (or otherwise) useful for historians?

Between July 18 and December 1, 1914, Russia mobilized 5,100,000 men into a standing army of 1,400,000. By June 1, 1915, an additional 2,300,000 had been

[13] *Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporiazhenii pravitel'stva, izdavaemoe pri Pravitel'stvuiushchem Senate* 192 (July 20, 1914): 3017–3031. The new regulations were also published in *Pochtovo-telegrafnyi zhurnal* 31 (1914): 458–470, as "Vremennoe polozhenie o voennoi tsenzure."

[14] Within all designated military theaters, the new regulations decreed full censorship of all outgoing and incoming mail as well as pre-publication censorship of the press. The "most decisive measures" were also ordered to suppress even legally published material that might "undermine soldiers' morale and patriotic feelings," and to ensure that only literature of "a correct religious and moral nature" reached the troops. In February 1915, the newspaper *Den'* was forbidden to publish a long piece describing the "excellent morale" of French soldiers lest it give the impression that the morale of Russian troops was less so. See Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv [hereafter RGIA], f. 777 [Petrograd Committee on Press Affairs—Material Reviewed by the Military Censor], op. 22, d. 6; Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv [hereafter RGVIA], f. 2005 [Civil Chancellery of the Supreme General Staff], op. 1, d. 70, ll. 20–21; and the papers of the military censor K. A. Voenskii, Otdel rukopisei, Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia biblioteka SPb [hereafter ORGPB], f. 11152, op. 3, d. 98, especially ll. 12–29.

[15] In Russian, *moral'noe sostoianie* or *boevoi dukh*. Censors also occasionally referred somewhat redundantly to the *nastroenie dukha armii*, or state of the army's spirit or soul.

drafted, bringing the total number of men under arms in the first eleven months of war to a staggering 8,800,000.[16] By 1917, that number had nearly doubled. According to the best available information, between the outbreak of war and January 1, 1917, 587,357 were killed outright or died of their wounds, 2,402,137 were wounded, and some 32,000 died or were severely incapacitated by poison gas attacks. As many as 2,720,000 others were taken prisoner or otherwise unaccounted for. Thus, 40 percent of the Russian army was lost in thirty months of fighting, an average of almost 200,000 men a month.[17] Despite this carnage, or perhaps even because of it, more than 40,000,000 pieces of correspondence were sent through the army mails during this period, all reviewed by thirty-three branches of the Office of the Military Censor.

Throughout the war, the vast majority of Russian soldiers, and hence soldier-correspondents, were peasants, perhaps as many as 80 percent. One approach of contemporary Russian historians has consequently been to situate soldiers' moods and emotions within the matrix of male peasant mentality.[18] Prominent observers in 1914 also tended to configure states of mind in collective terms. Stoic peasant soldiers, "the most good natured, child-like, playful creatures in the world," whose capacity to attack was a "marvel," were soon a common trope of London *Times* war correspondent Stanley Washburn, who did not know Russian, as well as the far more restrained and insightful Guards officer Prince Andrei Lobanov-Rostovsky, who served on the Southwestern front and later taught at UCLA and Michigan.[19] It struc-

[16] Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, *Rossiia v mirovoi voine, 1914–1918 goda (v tsifrakh)* (Moscow, 1925), 17. A small number of women also managed to become soldiers between 1914 and 1916. See Laurie S. Stoff, *They Fought for the Motherland: Russia's Women Soldiers in World War I and the Revolution* (Lawrence, Kans., 2006); P. P. Shcherbinin, *Voennyi faktor v povsednevnoi zhizni russkoi zhenshchiny v XVIII–nachale XX v.* (Tambov, 2004), especially 424–444; and Melissa Stockdale, " 'My Death for the Motherland Is Happiness': Women, Patriotism, and Soldiering in Russia's Great War, 1914–1917," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 1 (February 2004): 78–116. However, none of the military censorship materials used in this article cite letters from female soldiers.

[17] Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, *Rossiia v mirovoi voine*, 17, 30.

[18] For Aleksandr Astashov, for example, a defining element of peasant life on the eve of World War I was "the feeling of belonging to the specific place of one's birth," a "sacralization" of an intimate "homeland" that peasants took with them to defend the abstracted homeland at the front. For Olga Porshneva, the sensibilities of peasant soldiers were structured by the instability of the traditional land commune and fraught with hostility toward landowners and state officials thought responsible for keeping the village poor. In her view, and that of T. G. Leont'eva, these feelings combined in a near-constant struggle against the cross-generational pressures of a modernizing and industrializing economy, which were also weakening traditional peasant religiosity and further exacerbating tensions. Corinne Gaudin has taken this argument an important step further, showing how the drawing of soldiers from their villages challenged notions of fairness, service, and sacrifice, and displaced peasant anger onto relations with the state and its representatives. See Astashov, "Russkii krest'ianin na frontakh pervoi mirovoi voiny," 72–73; Porshneva, *Mentalitet i sotsial'noe povedenie rabochikh, krest'ian i soldat Rossii v period pervoi mirovoi voiny*, chap. 2 and especially 93, citing S. B. Lur'e, *Metamorfozy traditsionnogo soznaniia: Opyt razrabotki teoreticheskikh osnov etnopsikhologii i ikh primeneniia k analizu istoricheskogo i etnograficheskogo materiala* (Moscow, 1994); Leont'eva, "Vera ili svoboda: Popy i liberaly v glazakh krest'ian v nachale XX v.," in Volobuev et al., eds., *Revoliutsiia i chelovek: Sotsial'no-psikhologicheskii aspekt*, 92–114; Gaudin, "Rural Echoes of World War I: War Talk in the Russian Village," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 56, no. 3 (2008): 391–414. See also the discussion in John Bushnell, "Peasants in Uniform: The Tsarist Army as a Peasant Society," *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 4 (1980): 565–576, who makes the point that for many peasant soldiers, life at least in the peacetime army replicated in many ways the tasks they performed in their villages, and that relations between officers and soldiers also reflected village patterns.

[19] Stanley Washburn, *Field Notes from the Russian Front*, 3 vols. (London, 1915–1917), 1: 169, 3: 49. As late as 1916 Washburn wrote, "there is not a soldier in the army who does not understand now that he is fighting a hated enemy, and is willing to die if need be to dislodge the Germans from the soil of Holy Russia"; ibid., 3: 167. Andrei Lobanov-Rostovsky, *The Grinding Mill: Reminiscences of War and*

tured Lev Tolstoi's beloved *War and Peace* as well, which was widely read during the war and was a favorite of Red Army soldiers in 1920–1921.[20] Indeed, in every army going to war, the emotional defenses of stoicism, fatalism, and readiness to die for one's country collectivize feelings and make socially palatable the individual horrors of loss.

The great demonstrations in support of "Tsar and Fatherland" in July 1914 could only reinforce this sense of emotional unity. Leaving aside the question of whether the millions of peasants and workers mobilized into the army between 1914 and 1917 carried with them patriotic sentiments, a subject of interesting recent research, heroic narratives of purpose and expectation thoroughly infused public discourse as the war began.[21] These centered in familiar ways on "sacred" national union, Slavic brotherhood, Austro-German perfidy, the call of duty and willing sacrifice, the heroic memorialization of the Great Fatherland War of 1812–1814, and assurances of a just victory in a very short time. Conceptions of collective mentalities configured brave soldiers "in good spirits" (*bodrye*) going stoically to the front. They also carried an explicit valorization of courage, loyalty, and a willingness to sacrifice for one's country, along with their supporting emotional states. Masculinity was also a key trope here, defining manly feelings in terms of a fearless willingness to fight and die. As Washburn wrote, "From all over Russia they have been hurrying eagerly to the colors without murmur or regret. The women, from peasant to princess, send their husbands to the front, with tears to be sure, but with a willingness to serve that means national greatness in the years to come."[22]

As they do everywhere, military parades and ceremonies in Russia during the summer and early fall of 1914 further created the image of social cohesion, a Tol-

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Revolution in Russia, 1913–1920 (New York, 1935). See also Bernard Pares, *Day by Day with the Russian Army, 1914–15* (London, 1915), especially 34. Pares's idealized description of Russian mobilization in 1914 carried over to his view of Russian "kinship" in Galicia with the majority of "conquered peoples," including the Jews, and the "patient," "affectionate," and "really cheerful" demeanor of even wounded soldiers who had lost a limb. An exception to this idealizing is the memoir of Florence Farmborough, a Russian-speaking English nurse who for the most part wrote with sensitivity about her experience. See Farmborough, *Nurse at the Russian Front: A Diary, 1914–18* (London, 1974).

[20] Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861–1917* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 33, 351; N. A. Rybnikov, ed., *Massovyi chitatel' i kniga* (Moscow, 1925), 14.

[21] See especially Josh Sanborn, "The Mobilization of 1914 and the Question of the Russian Nation: A Reexamination," *Slavic Review* 59, no. 2 (2000): 267–289; Hubertus F. Jahn, *Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995); Jahn, "For Tsar and Fatherland? Russian Popular Culture and the First World War," in Stephen P. Frank and Mark D. Steinberg, eds., *Cultures in Flux: Lower-Class Values, Practices, and Resistance in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton, N.J.,1994), 132–146. For a discussion of the issue by Josh Sanborn, Scott J. Seregny, and Steven A. Smith, see Sanborn, "The Mobilization of 1914 and the Question of the Russian Nation"; Seregny, "Zemstvos, Peasants, and Citizenship: The Russian Adult Education Movement and World War I," *Slavic Review* 59, no. 2 (2000): 290–315; Smith, "Citizenship and the Russian Nation during World War I: A Comment," ibid., 316–329; Sanborn, "More Than Imagined: A Few Notes on Modern Identities," ibid., 330–335; and Seregny, "Peasants, Nation, and Local Government in Wartime Russia," ibid., 336–342. Colleen Moore challenges some of the arguments in that discussion in her unpublished dissertation on draft riots, "The Demands of Service: Peasant-State Interactions in Russia during World War I" (Indiana University, 2013). See also Astashov, "Russkii krest'ianin na frontakh pervoi mirovoi voiny," 75–76; Porshneva, "Sotsial'noe povedenie soldat russkoi armii v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny," 361–362; and Susan Morrissey, "Mezhdu patriotismom i radikalizmom: Petrogradskie studenty v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny," in Nikolai Nikolaevich Smirnov et al., eds., *Rossiia i pervaia mirovaia voina: Materialy mezhdunarodnogo kollokviuma* (St. Petersburg, 1999), 288–302.

[22] Washburn, *Field Notes from the Russian Front*, 1: 31 (note of September 10, 1914).

stoyan sense of organic unity, and the ineluctable movement of history beyond any individual's control. Marching off to war is always accompanied by a mix of carnival, celebration, bravado, and concern. It requires a particular vocabulary of emotion that historically also defined and engaged particular notions of masculinity. The crisis of combat itself also creates what can be called emotional fields: emotional contexts that link feelings in some way to particular kinds of physical acts, like fear or (masculine) brio with military assaults, or melancholy and (feminine) anxiety with self-destructive carelessness or resistance to authority in the trenches. The question for Russia's military censors, then, was what would happen to Russia's freshly mobilized soldiers when parade ground bravado met the unspeakable brutalities of modern war.

As the censors read soldiers' correspondence in the fall of 1914, their initial response was nothing, or at least very little. Between July and December 1914, the Russian army suffered grievous losses. Tannenberg, the first great battle of the war, devastated General Paul von Rennenkampf's vaunted First Army. The Masurian lakes proved a deadly swamp. Russia's efforts to conquer East Prussia, a key to hopes that the war would be short, came to an ignominious halt. Yet according to the censors, "a huge majority" at the front remained "in good spirits and feeling patriotic [*bodrym i patrioticheskim*]," determined to "drive the cursed Germans completely from Russia."[23] Only in terms of the ways soldiers' correspondence revealed sensitive military information did the censors apparently read "disaster" during the first few months of war.

As elsewhere, military censorship in Russia was also intended to prevent the communication of this kind of information.[24] Censors soon discovered that both soldiers and officers were putting their unit's location on envelopes and cards to ensure that they received mail from home, swamping the censorship process with undeliverable mail. Reportedly, the result was also near-panic in tens of thousands of villages where households received no word from sons or husbands at the front. Soldiers' families soon began to besiege the authorities for information.[25] Sometime in November, preprinted envelopes and postcards with "From the Active Army" as the return address were distributed to deal with both problems, but well into the summer of 1915, even many officers "continued to write about everything: strategy, casualties, fighting strength, and even complete written plans designating march routes, positions, everything!"[26]

This only reinforced for the army the importance of gauging the soldiers' *nastroenie*, soon reflected in how the military censors' offices were functioning. Cor-

[23] RGVIA, f. 2067 [Staff of the High Command of the Armies for the Southwestern Front and the Kiev and Moscow Military Districts], op. 1, d. 3853, especially ll. 6, 72–73, 260.

[24] Bruntz, *Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918*; David Welch, *Germany, Propaganda and Total War, 1914–1918* (London, 2000), chap. 2.

[25] RGVIA, f. 2031 [Military Censorship Division of the General Staff], op. 1, d. 1184, l. 1; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, ll. 72–79.

[26] Ibid., f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1184, ll. 1–4; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, ll. 73–73ob. Two million more preprinted letterheads and envelopes were ordered for distribution in the summer of 1915. See f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, l. 605.

FIGURE 1: Russian soldiers write home while serving on the Eastern Front during World War I, ca. 1915. Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

respondence containing sensitive military information was either destroyed or sent on with much of the text blacked out. (As the war progressed, this was sometimes accompanied by a request for local authorities to check up on the recipients or, especially in the case of Jews within the war zone, to place them under surveillance or arrest.)[27] Letters from officers and soldiers suggesting states of mind or expressing feelings were carefully labeled and recorded by unit. They were then put into a special box "for excerpting." To prevent "the slightest bias" in the selection of what to excerpt, they were then separately reviewed by another censor, who decided what should be typed out and sent on to the senior censorship officer, whose job it was to systematize the material and, depending on its character, prepare a general review (*svodka*). Those summaries were then sent up the chain of command along with extensive excerpts from the letters themselves, with the transcriptions carefully checked for accuracy.[28]

[27] Censors on the Northern front boasted that their "tight net of surveillance" was still uncovering the addresses of suspicious recipients as late as 1916. RGVIA, f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1182, l. 112. See also f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2933, ll. 124–125.

[28] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, ll. 1–5, and d. 3853, ll. 13, 72–79. Small collections of letters have been published, and can also be found in separate archival record groups. See, e.g., RGIA, f. 561, op. 1, d. 1079; f. 879, op. 1, d. 17; f. 1088, op. 2, d. 164. O. N. Chadaeva, ed., *Soldatskie pis'ma 1917 goda* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1927); M. Akhun and V. Petrov, "Golosa iz okopov (Soldatskie pis'ma, 1915–1916 gg.)," *Krasnaia letopis* 1 (1928): 112–118; "Soldatskaia pis'ma v gody mirovoi voiny, 1915–1917 gg.," *Krasnyi arkhiv* 4–5 (1932): 118–163; N. E. Kakurin, ed., *Razlozhenie armii v 1917* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1925); A. L. Sidorov et al., eds., *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v armii i na flote v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny (1914–fevral' 1917 g.): Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 1966); and Mark D. Steinberg, *Voices of Revolution, 1917* (New Haven, Conn., 2001).

Especially during the first months of the war, when military censors were "in urgent need" of additional staff, the result was a staggering flow of reports, excerpts, and sometimes entire letters, but virtually all summaries still led off with a description of mood.[29] And even as Russian troops experienced the harsh winter weather in December and January, their spirits were still being reported as "excellent." In Galicia on the Southwestern front, censors read about "surging patriotism and a consciousness of the obligation to fulfill one's duty to Tsar and Fatherland" in some 70 percent of the correspondence. Soldiers were "burning with the desire to crush the enemy."[30] We do not know how seriously the High Command took these enthusiasms, but after receiving such reports for the 11th Army under General Andrei Nikolaevich Selivanov, Russia ended its passive siege of the important Austrian fortress at Przemyśl. In one of the most significant successes in the first eight months of fighting, the fort was soon overrun, challenging the very competency of the Austrian army and paving the way for a massive offensive in the Carpathians.[31]

By the time the offensive began, the censors' ranks had expanded with new and well-educated personnel.[32] Reports were longer and more detailed, sometimes twenty pages or more. Excerpts seemed chosen to convey a range of feeling, even if little in the summaries suggested the need for strategic or tactical restraint. Censors also began to summarize correspondence by different subject categories, partly, one suspects, simply to help them manage the staggering load of mail. Early on, these were relatively simple, as in a January 1915 report: "patriotic enthusiasm [*pod"em*] and consciousness of the need to fulfill one's duty to Tsar and Country—70%"; "desire for a quick end to the war—23%"; "complaints (food, clothing, other insufficiencies)—15%"; "evidence of undisciplined behavior (criticism of orders, swearing at officers, etc.)—2%"; and "communicating information that was not to be disclosed—by officers 5% and lower ranks 17%."[33] To some extent, soldiers' complaints were also categorized in these ways in France and Great Britain as military censorship developed in 1916–1917. The same was true in Germany and Austria. In Russia, however, categories also allowed censors to refine their explication of mood or *nastroenie*, consistently the principal interest of army commands. Summaries of how a unit was feeling—its emotional field and state of mind—headed even the most detailed reports throughout the war.

Overwhelmingly, regardless of the situation at the front, this continued to be presented with some iteration of the stock phrase "in good spirits and feeling patriotic." One finds this characterization even after the Carpathian offensive turned into a disastrous rout in the spring of 1915 ("the retreat has not affected the soldiers'

[29] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, l. 13.

[30] Ibid., ll. 72–73.

[31] Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Army of Francis Joseph* (West Lafayette, Ind., 1976), 185–186. Among the 120,000 prisoners, the Russians took 9 generals and some 93 senior staff officers.

[32] The importance given to expanding the censors' ranks with well-trained personnel is evidenced by the Petrograd office of military censorship responsible for the press, whose staff had grown by March 1915 from seventeen to fifty-seven and now included four retired major generals and three retired vice admirals, as well as nine other high-ranking officers and twelve state councilors, among others. See RGIA, f. 777, op. 22, d. 2a, ll. 125–141.

[33] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, ll. 73–79.

mood"), when Russia's still poorly supplied troops were immobilized in their frozen trenches during the difficult fall and winter of 1915–1916 ("the mood of the soldiers cannot be shaken by the hardships of their daily life or their personal misfortunes"), during March 1916 ("the unanimous view of the censors for this period is that the mood is first-rate [*prevoskhodnoe*]"), and as those who survived these hardships prepared again for battle in April 1916 ("Soldiers thirst only for the order to attack" and "go with spirit [*bodro*] where death is hovering").[34] Some summaries for the winter of 1915–1916 reported that less than 3 percent of the letters each month were "dispirited." In March, the figure rose only to 4.1 percent. Between December and March, letters showing "good spirits" constituted 30, 49, 38, and 49 percent of the monthly totals.[35] The same was true during June 1916, when General Aleksei Brusilov again attacked the Carpathians: "Our soldiers do not close their eyes to . . . the obstacles that lie ahead, but duty to Tsar and Fatherland overcomes all difficulties"; "Soldiers go valiantly [*likho*] on attack, waiting only for the order to crush the enemy further"; "The mood is good, excellent. The soldiers literally do not hold back, do not accept any delays. In terms of their psychology and mental outlook, they are one . . . They do not want to delay their victorious march forward."[36] According to one report from the Southwestern front in July 1916, the mood was "so indescribable, so great . . . with such a mood, such a spirit in the army, we will carry the war to a brilliant victory, to a final rout of the Austrians and Germans."[37] "Joy!" one censor wrote in describing the soldiers' mood: "Carpathians! Carpathians!"[38]

By the censors' readings, soldiers' enthusiasm continued even after the Brusilov offensive stalled and troops at the front prepared for another difficult winter. In January 1917, with social unrest growing in Petrograd and the regime itself under frontal assault, those reviewing mail from the Northern front reported that "despite the heavy losses," the 25 percent of letters that were still "cheerful" could be considered a "relatively large" proportion, although the numbers fell in February.[39] Even after the tsarist regime collapsed in March, when many officers believed that "the first impression of 'freedom' was 'awful' for the army, for the future, and especially for the outcome of the war," some censors still reported that "the spirit of the army remains steadfast and at a very high level." Soldiers and officers were even "affectionate with each other, talking about their warm [*laskovye*] relationships, their officers' fairness and bravery."[40]

Military censors continued to read soldiers' feelings all through 1917. In Russia's new circumstances, they were now enjoined to be as detailed as they could on both the state of "strictly military life" and "social-political–rear echelon" matters.[41] In

[34] Ibid., f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1184, ll. 6–8; f. 2003 [Staff of the Supreme Commander (Stavka)], op. 1, d. 1486, l. 69; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2933, l. 2; ibid., ll. 2, 105.

[35] Ibid., f. 2048 [Summaries and Surveillance Reports of the Military Censorship Division of the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Southwestern Front, November 1915–January 1917], op. 1, d. 904, ll. 52, 93–94, 116–117, 141–142. A chart compiled by Porshneva appears in "Sotsial'noe povedenie soldat russkoi armii v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny," 375.

[36] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2945, ll. 2, 30.

[37] Ibid., f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, ll. 155–156, 172.

[38] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3856, ll. 286–287.

[39] Ibid., f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, ll. 308–309.

[40] Ibid., l. 325.

[41] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, l. 19.

late March, a member of the General Staff recommended that "the army's mood and spirit" be divided into "purely military" and "purely political" categories, but censors rightly understood that this was unworkable given how closely the two were intertwined.[42] Instead, large numbers of letters were now excerpted to show that revolutionary sentiments were "penetrating all parts of the army . . . and naturally affecting moods in some way or another."[43] In April, while some front-line soldiers wrote that it was "un-Christian" to kill Germans, others confessed that they were shooting their own officers.[44] Many clearly expressed an unwillingness to fight ("They are sending orders to attack, but we categorically refuse!").[45] Still, after the minister of war, Aleksandr Kerensky, toured the front in May, he was encouraged enough by the patriotism and good spirits that he thought still permeated the troops to go forward with the disastrous June offensive. A substantial portion of the 307,412 letters reviewed at the time by 128 censors on the Southwestern front suggested what a truly bad idea this was.[46]

As late as September 1917, "elucidating the mood of the troops and their spirits" was still "one of the main motive forces of the war, and extremely important for the army High Command, where it must be considered in the first instance in making any operational decisions."[47] In November, after the Bolsheviks seized power, some 120 military censors still working in the Kiev Military District read more than 225,000 pieces of correspondence.[48] Censors continued to submit reports as late as December. Even as the army melted away, the idea that attitudes and feelings could be usefully read was still firmly set in Russian surveillance practices. Discerning the mood of the troops remained a primary task for both Red and White military intelligence before it became a conceptual cornerstone for the surveillance of all groups of the population throughout the Soviet period.[49]

If the task of "elucidating the mood of the troops and their spirits" was so important to army commanders, why did "in good spirits and feeling patriotic" remain the dominant trope of censors' reports throughout the war? Of the 102,317 letters "from the lower ranks" read by one office in January 1917, for example, only 502 seemed "gloomy" (*mrachnoe*). Of these, 443 expressed discontent about the war, 30

[42] Ibid., d. 2938, ll. 1–1ob. Military censorship was ruled after February not to contradict the rights of free speech.

[43] Ibid., ll. 2–2ob.; ORGPB, f. 11152, op. 3, d. 98, l. 29.

[44] ORGPB, f. 11152, op. 3, d. 98, ll. 30–32, 48.

[45] RGVIA, f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1181, l. 357.

[46] E.g., "Rain has been falling for the whole month, the trenches are full of water, there are few shelters or dugouts, we live in the open, and the *burzhui* safe in the rear cry 'War to Victory!,' like anyone needs it. Let them come and experience what it's like, and then we'll see what they say." Ibid., f. 2048, op. 1, d. 905, ll. 262–265. Also f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1181, ll. 347–357; ORGPB, f. 11152, op. 3, d. 98, l. 52.

[47] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2938, ll. 55–57. Some 2.4 million letters were still read in this month from soldiers of the 2nd, 3rd, and 10th armies and the Minsk Military District. Ibid., f. 2068, op. 1, d. 905, l. 262.

[48] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, l. 93.

[49] See especially Peter Holquist, "Anti-Soviet *Svodki* from the Civil War: Surveillance as a Shared Feature of Russian Political Culture," *Russian Review* 56, no. 3 (1997): 445–450; Holquist, " 'Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work': Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context," *Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 3 (1997): 415–450, which references the substantial literature.

about their commanders, 17 about conditions, 10 about food, and 2 about inadequate clothing. Of the 8,673 officers' letters reviewed, only 8 expressed discontent about the war.[50] Even when the summary percentages of soldiers' "spirited" (*bodroe*) communications were relatively low, they were presented with much lower calculations of those that were "negative." The rest were labeled "mixed."

It was not because censors lacked sensitivity or intelligence. We have no collective information on their backgrounds, but as with the Petrograd office of military censorship responsible for the press, the evidence suggests that their ranks included career officers, whose training had been strengthened since the war with Japan, and other able personnel from inside and outside the military, including some with high positions in the police.[51] Some clearly struggled with these broad categorizations. From the start, many read correspondence from the front as expressing feelings of anxiety as well as resignation, a sense of shock at the brutality of new forms of warfare as well as a hope to survive them, even if these feelings were not put expressly into words. A letter from one Captain V. I. Vakhovskii, for example, was passed intact up the chain of command in the fall of 1914, along with a typically enthusiastic summary report. Vakhovskii noted "the mass of great horrors" about which he "could not write," saying only that for him, "and actually for each of us enduring such heavy and fierce circumstances . . . living like animals, filthy, often hungry and cold, and expecting each minute to die," his only wish was to see his wife and family again.[52] Letters such as this gave some censors pause about how they were distilling the army's mood. Many in the lower ranks wrote openly about "the horrors of this war, about our huge losses, about being taken prisoner, and about not only whole regiments but whole corps that fled from the advancing enemy and could not adjust to military life."[53] For one censor, reading such letters left "a very heavy impression, which dissipated only upon the realization that within the huge volume of letters they represented only a small percentage."[54]

One reason for the pervasive descriptions of "spirited" and "patriotic" troops, therefore, was simply that so many letters actually expressed these sentiments, reflecting especially in 1914 the mobilization narratives that greeted recruits and infused countless military assemblies. The great demonstrations of support for "Tsar and Country" when the war began were emotionally empowering at various levels, but especially to the army and the state. A year earlier, during the celebrations to mark the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty, the tsar himself had been distressed by the seeming indifference he encountered, especially in the provinces. As the war began, any concerns he and his staff had about this dissolved. Nicholas had no doubt that his rightful place was at the head of "his" troops. He accepted with great reluctance the High Command's insistence that Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich be appointed commander-in-chief. The regime, its soldiers, and many cen-

[50] RGVIA, f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1181, ll. 40ob.–42.

[51] RGIA, f. 777, op. 22, d. 2a, ll. 125–141; ORGPB, f. 11152, op. 3, d. 98; A. A. Beloborodova, "Zashchita gosudarstvennoi tainy v Rossiiskoi imperii: Deiatel'nost' voennoi tsenzury v 1914–17 gg.," *Voenno-istoricheskii zhurnal*, no. 6 (2011), http://history.milportal.ru/2011/06/zashhita-gosudarstvennoj-tajny-v-rossijskoj-imperii-deyatelnost-voennoj-cenzury-v-1914-1917-gg/.

[52] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, ll. 40–41.

[53] Ibid., ll. 72–73.

[54] Ibid., l. 73.

sors alike were soon caught in a cycle of emotional presumption and expectation. Soldiers' correspondence and censors' reports alike were soon reflecting internalized notions of how Russian soldiers were now *supposed* to feel, regardless of how they had behaved in 1905–1906 or the concerns that underlay the elaborate censorship apparatus in the first place. Washburn's and Lobanov-Rostovsky's stoic peasant-soldier, loyally and cheerfully fulfilling his duty, thus reflected an emotional field of hope and denial within and beyond the army's High Command, with whom, not incidentally, each had close relations. In other words, censors' summary accounts of soldiers' moods reflected what they thought they should be reading, what many soldiers and their officers thought (and were told) they should be feeling, and which many may actually have felt. In William Reddy's suggestive phrase, with the outbreak of war, the Russian army constituted in part a "communit[y] engaged in managing emotions," as well as one determined to know what they were.[55] While patriotic narratives may well have expressed some of the recruits' real feelings, the authenticity of the emotions they engaged seems clearly located here in a broader field of cultural values and emotional expectations.

Prescriptive injunctions came in various places and different ways. Recruits and new officers alike heard stirring talks when they were inducted, joined their units, and prepared for battle. High morale was normalized, even insisted upon, an injunction that served to discipline the expression of feeling and perhaps its experience as well, at least to some extent. When so many cards and letters included sensitive military information in the fall of 1914, the High Command issued special directives ordering troops to write "more carefully."[56] Many must have taken this to mean that they should write in a positive vein. Some censors clearly knew this, complicating how they should prepare their reports. They understood that illiterate soldiers, in particular, were being told what their scribes should say if they wanted their letters to reach home, that it was "impossible to write the truth."[57] The weight given to formulaic expression thus encouraged both epistolary and emotional self-censorship. So did the risks of being identified as a troublemaker or worrying their families. For their part, officers may have deliberately written in ways that made them and their units look good in order to enhance their own reputations and opportunities for promotion as the censors' reports passed up the chain of command.[58]

The evidence also shows that the task of "elucidating the mood of the troops and their spirits" clearly placed a heavy burden on many military censors themselves. "In the current reporting period, one must say concerning the mood of the active army that on the one hand, it is just as it has been, 'spirited' [*bodroe*], even 'splendid' [*velikolepnoe*] . . . On the other hand, soldiers say openly that . . . there is a real unwillingness to carry on, that 'we hear only curses and discontent . . . an atmosphere

[55] Eustace, Lean, Livingston, Plamper, Reddy, and Rosenwein, "*AHR* Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," 1510.

[56] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, ll. 72–73.

[57] Ibid., d. 2937, l. 377. Illiterate soldiers commonly dictated letters to comrades from their own villages or regions who could read and write. Wounded and hospitalized soldiers dictated theirs to nurses.

[58] Ibid., f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1182, l. 112; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2933, ll. 124–125, and d. 3856, ll. 263–269. Soldiers must also have learned that the Okhrana was checking up on their recipients, as the reports about Jewish correspondence suggest.

permeated everywhere with anger.'"[59] Letters from the 8th Army "are shaded with melancholy [*grust'*] and thoughts about the possibility of death . . . so many losses that many view the possibility of survival as hopeless."[60] At least some censors thus seemed determined to validate their generalizations about a unit's "good spirits" by emphasizing the exceptions, as if the exceptions made them more credible. Others might have hoped that the exceptions would raise doubts among army commanders themselves.

Instead, "negative" (*otritsatel'nyi*) excerpts may actually have undermined the censors' credibility by challenging ingrained assumptions. In December 1915, for example, the commands of the Moscow Military District and the Southwestern front demanded to know why there were so many critical excerpts accompanying summary reports that soldiers were "in good spirits and feeling patriotic." These were communicating "a clearly negative general tone," suggesting that the censors' own biases were tendentiously affecting their selections. The censors' response was understandably defensive. The tone of their summaries had "never been negative, because there was no basis for this; from the first days of the campaign, there was not one point at which the good-spirited notes from the army did not far exceed the number of despairing [*beznadezhnyi*] and cheerless [*bezradostnyi*] ones." The "impression of increased negativity" was only because of the "natural tendency" of soldiers not to dwell on the positive, as in the saying "to speak about the bad [*skvernyi*] things but stay silent about the good."[61] When a special report was circulated in the fall of 1915 detailing "critical problems" everywhere in the mood of the troops on the Western front—including a belief that officers were cowardly, that the army was commanded by traitors of German ancestry, and that goods and money were being stolen from their parcels and replaced by stones and wood—the explanation offered was that a dissident censor must have gotten his evidence from the bin in which only negative letters were filed. Perhaps this occurred because of a "treacherous intention" to undermine the confidence of the High Command in the spirit of its soldiers. A new report was consequently dispatched emphasizing instead that "spirits were high" and that censors were reading letters every day that assured them everything was going well.[62] As late as the fall of 1917, censors were still being enjoined to show "strict objectivity" in preparing their reports, regardless of their "personal sympathies or antipathies."[63]

These pressures were reflected in an additional set of filters through which soldiers' thoughts and feelings were increasingly read: the elaboration of specific categories into which they could be sorted. By the end of 1915, the censors' summaries of mood were commonly followed by a dozen or more headings referencing specific kinds of attitudes and behaviors. Some were clearly derived from the content of the correspondence, like comments about arms and munitions, the postal system, rumors of treason, German strength (*zasil'e*), illness, drunkenness, hospitals and wounded, and the behavior of officers. Others, such as "attitudes toward internal affairs and

[59] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2937, ll. 155–165.
[60] Ibid., f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, l. 6.
[61] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, ll. 5–5ob.
[62] Ibid., f. 2048, op. 1, d. 904, ll. 9–23. Of the 109,849 letters reviewed during the preceding weeks, only 8,228 had sentences blacked out, and only 788 had been destroyed.
[63] Ibid., d. 905, l. 369.

the State Duma," may well have been prescribed by military commands themselves. Here, however, some censors chose to include excerpts from letters that expressed anxiety about the rising cost of living ("so high that my heart is heavy and sick when I think how you are living"), a worry that became so prevalent toward the end of 1915 that it was given a separate category.[64] Comments about specific newspapers or political figures were also configured as expressions of political sentiments. Others, like a review of the "conditions of occupation" experienced during the ill-fated 1915 Galician campaign, were parsed in terms of how troops felt and behaved as occupiers ("We entered Austria and for the first few days were completely drunk . . . The local people say that the Germans did not do as much damage in occupying the village for three weeks as we did in a single day").[65]

Censors also elaborated categories covering conditions at the front and undisciplined behavior, sometimes including a list of subheadings. "Our trenches are flooded with water, it covers my floor, constantly day and night. My legs always ache, my head hurts all the time. As soon as we put the candle out, lice crawl all over our bodies."[66] "We are not defenders of the Russian land, but workhorses . . . who can't even choke down what they feed us."[67] Excerpts such as this were included in censors' reports throughout the war. "Undisciplined behavior" included tales of bribery, abuse, profiteering from the sale of military supplies and food, and accusations against officers. "Thank God I have a little money . . . if you don't send money, I could die. We lie in filth . . . and go around barefoot and naked."[68] One bit of dark humor quoted by censors was that the Germans felt no need to attack a town because Russian generals would sell it to them.[69] Well into the fall of 1916, censors reported that this "well-known situation" remained unchanged.[70]

It is hardly surprising that in preparing their summaries, some censors now admitted that it was "very difficult" in these circumstances to report accurately on a unit's collective mood.[71] Individual pessimism was extrapolated to reveal a collective "collapse of spirit."[72] Letters that seemed to express a hint of "spirit" were excerpted

[64] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2937, l. 160.

[65] Ibid., d. 3853, ll. 75ob.–76. Sir Bernard Pares wrote of these same troops that they showed "great kinship with the majority of conquered people." Pares, *Day by Day with the Russian Army*, 26–27.

[66] RGVIA, f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1184, ll. 52–52ob.

[67] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2935, l. 2.

[68] Ibid., d. 2937, l. 47. Censors also excerpted letters under the rubric of "anti-disciplinary behavior" that complained about "too few high-ranking officers at the front," "hunters" who were dispatched to seek supplies but "rarely returned," desertion as "common," and bribery running rampant, especially among sergeants (3 rubles for one week's leave, 5 rubles to relax discipline in a unit, additional sums to avoid more rigorous field duties or change posts, and even more—420 rubles in one case—to escape military courts or to be released from service altogether). Censors also reported that the large number of letters containing evidence of anti-disciplinary behavior would "undoubtedly" have been even greater had their writers not feared that they would be identified. See, e.g., ibid., ll. 156–160, and d. 2932, l. 144ob.

[69] A. Maksimov, E. Medvedev, and Sh. Iusupov, eds., *Tsarskaia armiia v period mirovoi voiny i fevral'skoi revoliutsii (Materialy k izucheniiu istorii imperialisticheskoi i grazhdanskoi voiny)* (Kazan, 1932), 32; RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2937, ll. 157–158ob. Astashov, "Russkii krest'ianin na frontakh pervoi mirovoi voiny," 80. On desertion, an important piece is A. B. Astashov, "Dezertirstvo i bor'ba s nim v tsarskoi armii v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny," *Rossiiskaia istoriia*, no. 4 (2011): 44–52. See also the discussion in M. M. Smol'ianinov, *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie soldatskikh mass na zapadnom fronte* (Minsk, 1981).

[70] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2937, l. 5.

[71] Ibid., l. 398.

[72] Ibid.

as evidence that morale was "fine," that soldiers and officers collectively remained "in good spirits and feeling patriotic" despite their experiences and concerns: "We have burrowed deep into the ground during these three weeks of constant deprivation . . . and I have become accustomed to the constant shooting. I'm even used to people dying around me. But there is one thing I cannot endure: the anguish I feel for my country that tears at my heart and is the cause of such great spiritual despair."[73]

Over time, moreover, even as the war deepened, casualties reached unprecedented levels, and the outlook became more bleak, barefoot and hungry soldiers were apparently still "thrilled" when the emperor visited their posts, his words "touching deeply into their hearts and souls."[74] "Letters from ordinary soldiers" revealed "their intellectual level to be incomparably higher than one might normally think" (August 1915).[75] "The mood is good, excellent: the soldier literally does not hold back, won't tolerate any delays" (July 1916).[76] Even letters touching on what was categorized as "internal affairs" could be read as evidence of high spirits. While some comments about political figures were read as dissident (Duma leaders "are speaking for us"), others were excerpted as evidence of a deep commitment to the fight ("they are traitors!"). For the first third of February 1916, for example, correspondence expressing "hostility toward Petrograd" was suggested as the reason why the number of letters reflecting "good spirits" constituted only 50 percent of the total reviewed.[77] Here some censors were especially clever in filtering their readings. Critical comments about the government reported under "internal affairs" were ignored in summary assessments about "good spirits," while industrial strikes and other protests were summarized as producing "a horrible impression," condemned by soldiers "in the harshest terms."[78]

Leaving aside for the moment the epistemological problems of reading soldiers' moods, there is clearly much in the mountain of material censors worked through that describes soldiers' concerns and behaviors. Correspondence from the Northern, Western, and Southwestern fronts includes extensive references to the lack of food, inadequate clothing, and the shortage of arms and munitions; the horrific conditions and neglect of the wounded in and outside of field hospitals; the awful consequences of gas attacks; deep frustration over not getting leave; detailed descriptions of fraternization and surrender; hostility toward workers and others who were "betraying" their "sacrifice" ("hang the rats!"); outrage at being treated "like dogs"; and unease about various rumors that surged through the ranks ("they have shot thousands of women in Moscow!").[79] The Russian historians Aleksandr Astashov and Olga

[73] Ibid., d. 3856, ll. 163–164.

[74] Ibid., f. 2048, op. 1, d. 904, l. 76; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2935, l. 1. See also Porshneva, "Sotsial'noe povedenie soldat russkoi armii v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny," 372–373.

[75] RGVIA, f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1184, l. 12.

[76] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2935, l. 30.

[77] Ibid., l. 77.

[78] Ibid., d. 2932, ll. 78–79.

[79] Among the huge number of references to shortages, see, for example, ibid., f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, especially l. 25; f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1184, ll. 149–150; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, ll. 8–9, 16, and d. 2933, ll. 21–22,

Porshneva are especially good at cataloging these, even as their emphasis on collective peasant mentalities echoes that of contemporary observers such as Washburn and Lobanov-Rostovsky, reinforcing the historical circulation of preconception.[80]

Soldiers also wrote that they felt their lives were being wasted, that the boredom of inactivity in the trenches increased their desire for "action," and that morose feelings found an aggressive outlet in brutal military assaults.[81] As censors seemed increasingly to squeeze "in good spirits and feeling patriotic" from a growing volume of complaints, one can also get some idea of how the expression of soldiers' feelings changed as the war dragged on. In September 1916, for example, a soldier in the 7th Army wrote, "the mood here is horrible, hellish, we suffer life here without ever seeing a single happy face," yet the censors continued to insist that the "overall mood" of his unit was "exceptionally optimistic," an assertion that beggars belief.[82] Members of the General Staff may well have been right to suspect that censors included such excerpts in their reports in order to counter the positive tone of their summaries.

In this connection, censors carefully parsed what soldiers wrote about their hopes for peace, a near-constant longing to be home, and their anxiety over the rising cost of living ("In Petrograd they are saying that [people] will soon be starving and freezing to death").[83] Comments such as these were also linked to rumors of treason as a reason why the war was not being won ("Finally, Rasputin is dead . . . [but] we still know very well what our internal enemies are doing . . . Things will be bad for them

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110–111, 179. The difficulties of wounded soldiers and hospital conditions are cited among other places in ibid., f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, l. 225; op. 2, d. 669, l. 26; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, ll. 16–17, d. 2935, l. 154, and d. 3853, ll. 72–74. Correspondence and censors' comments about gas attacks can be found in f. 2003, op. 2, d. 669, ll. 13–14, and f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2937, ll. 50–50ob. Frustrations over leave were commonly referenced, but see especially ibid., d. 2933, ll. 12–13, where more than 90 percent of the letters from the 7th Army were reported to express a "longing" for leave. Descriptions of fraternization and surrender are in ibid., f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1181, ll. 334–336, and d. 1183, ll. 167, 172–176; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2937, ll. 399–400; d. 3853, ll. 72–74. See also Astashov, "Russkii krest'ianin na frontakh pervoi mirovoi voiny," 79–80. For hostile references to workers and outrage about treatment, see, for example, RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2933, ll. 107–109, 124–125, and f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, l. 56; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, l. 73ob. The rumor about women being shot is in ibid., d. 2937, l. 467.

[80] See especially Astashov, "Russkii krest'ianin na frontakh pervoi mirovoi voiny" and "Russkie soldaty i pervaia mirovaia voina," as well as Porshneva, "Sotsial'noe povedenie soldat russkoi armii v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny." Using a content analysis of "critical" letters withheld by censors in the Kazan Military District, Porshneva offers her own categories of soldiers' complaints, structured by the frequency with which they were mentioned: harsh discipline (in 11.4 percent of the correspondence); bad food and clothing, hunger, and cold (10.6 percent); the military superiority of the enemy along with the inadequacy of Russian arms and the venality of officers (9.8 percent); the senselessness of the war and its sacrifices (5.7 percent); and the mercenary interests in the war of the "bourgeoisie" and government "bureaucrats" ("some fight, others make millions from the war") (4.9 percent). "Sotsial'noe povedenie soldat russkoi armii v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny," 386–397.

[81] RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, ll. 40, 45–45ob.; f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1184, ll. 21–21ob., 52ob., 591–591ob.; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3856, ll. 163–164, 218.

[82] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2935, l. 578ob.; f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1184, l. 574.

[83] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, l. 176. Astashov and Porshneva both interpret this longing to be home as an aspect of Russian peasant mentality, but it characterized the letters of French soldiers in 1917 and 1918 as well. Astashov, "Russkii krest'ianin na frontakh pervoi mirovoi voiny," 73; Porshneva, *Mentalitet i sotsial'noe povedenie rabochikh, krest'ian i soldat Rossii v period pervoi mirovoi voiny*, 103–104; Englander, "The French Soldier," 62. See also Barbara Alpern Engel, "Not by Bread Alone: Subsistence Riots in Russia during World War I," *Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 4 (1997): 696–721.

if we manage to get home").[84] And while there was soon ample evidence that soldiers were saying—"practically with one voice," as one letter expressed it the late fall of 1916, and with "a staggering lack of discipline"—that "the time has come to quit fighting," censors continued to read this as a desire to bring the war to "a rapid and victorious end."[85] It is difficult to imagine how army commands might have used this information usefully in tactical terms.

Related to this are some prominent silences in soldiers' correspondence throughout the war. There is very little acknowledgment of fear, for example, or related concerns about proving oneself manly. While many wrote that they were waiting for death "day by day," "every minute," "any second," few admitted to being afraid, much less struck with terror. Letters expressing fear hardly revealed a military secret, and there is no indication that being afraid was somehow emotionally illegitimate or that it compromised masculinity on the Russian front, as long as it was not acted out in cowardice. Censors would likely have sent these letters on. But writers may well have suppressed these feelings simply because they knew their correspondence was being screened, an effect of what Anthony Giddens has called "reflexive monitoring," and which Jan Plamper has thoughtfully elaborated in terms of accessing what may be suppressed through "a hermeneutics of silence."[86] Some censors also read "waiting for death" as expressing a patriotic stoicism, but there is no doubt that even the most stoic experienced some degree of fear at the front, as soldiers do everywhere. Perceptions of cowardice were another matter. As the army began to unravel in 1917, a "Women's Battalion of Death" was organized and deployed to shame male troops into bravery.[87]

When soldiers actually acknowledged their fears, their letters were especially poignant. "I find it difficult to get used to the endless sea of blood each day, which tears my heart from my chest"; "I find myself in the hands of fate, fearful and trembling, because blood is flowing and the ground is shaking and there is always the smoke of gunfire"; "we clearly saw they were leading us like cattle to the slaughter"; "I am seized with fear that I will be badly wounded, and then how will they manage the bandages every day, since that is what one's mother does, the one who has given you life."[88]

WHY DO LETTERS LIKE THESE SEEM to take us to the writers' real feelings? And how successful could Russian military censors possibly have been in reading them more

[84] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, l. 176; f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, l. 252. See Astashov, "Russkii krest'ianin na frontakh pervoi mirovoi voiny," 81–84, on "internal enemies" reflected in soldiers' letters.

[85] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2937, l. 398, and d. 2932, l. 111.

[86] Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Cambridge, 1991); Jan Plamper, in Eustace, Lean, Livingston, Plamper, Reddy, and Rosenwein, "*AHR* Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," 1529. For a perceptive memoir sensitive to how Russian soldiers selectively monitored their feelings in their relations with each other, see L. N. Voitolovskii, *Vskhodil krovavyi mars: Po sledam voiny* (Moscow, 1998), especially 52.

[87] Stoff, *They Fought for the Motherland*; Stockdale, " 'My Death for the Motherland Is Happiness' "; Shcherbinin, *Voennyi faktor v povsednevnoi zhizni russkoi zhenshchiny v XVIII–nachale XX v.*, especially 424–444 on the First World War.

[88] RGIA, f. 1088 [Letters from Soldiers to S. D. Sheremetev], op. 2, d. 164, l. 1; RGVIA, f. 2048, op. 1, d. 905, l. 269ob.; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2937, l. 32, and d. 3856, l. 164.

broadly to describe an army unit's collective mood during World War I? These questions engage the difficult issues faced by all historians concerned with emotions. At their core is the very question of whether the gap between emotional experience and its expression can be bridged, the dichotomy between the subjectivities of feeling and its objectification in textual, visual, or physical forms. In effect, the problem for historians mirrors that of the Russian military censors themselves.

The first point to emphasize is that commanders and censors were both after *collective* feelings: what remained most important throughout the war in Russia was ascertaining the mood of an army unit as a whole so that mutinous attitudes could be controlled and units effectively deployed. While the identification of individual dissidents (and those they wrote to) was part of the broader effort by Russia's military community to manage emotions and ensure a unit's discipline and effectiveness in the extraordinary circumstances of the First World War, it also reflected broad patterns of surveillance that were deeply ingrained in Russian administrative culture and thoroughly institutionalized. The Okhrana, the Ministry of Interior's not-so-secret secret police, had offices and agents everywhere, even abroad. Especially after the upheavals of 1905, tsarist politics were molded in the wariness of insecurity. The tasks of the military censors in 1914 thus fit into a broader range of state practices and assumptions in Russia, ones that continued in even more exaggerated forms, as we know, after Lenin and Stalin came to power.

But the censors' tasks were also different in several important ways. What made them so was not their "Russianness" or their place in a surveillance political culture, but the very assumption that collective moods could be effectively accessed, and accessed at some distance through correspondence. The very effort to identify collective moods presumes organic notions of social groups that do not literally feel (or, in the case of social memories, literally remember). As a substantial literature demonstrates, their individual members may share similar thoughts and feelings (or "remember" in similar ways a social past they did not actually live) because they engage similar kinds of social practices and interactions. Patriotic rallies and ceremonies may evoke shared sentiments among marching soldiers even if those individuals' feelings are mediated by different emotional vocabularies. In the event itself, officers and recruits, peasants and workers, may well feel "as one," at least for a time. The social circulation of feeling here may well be strong enough for a collective mood to be accurately expressed by the action itself.

Yet Russian military censors were situated at some remove from the soldiers and officers they surveilled. Okhrana informants (and their Soviet successors) commonly interacted with those they spied upon, joining meetings, working shop floors, and participating in conversations. Their own experience engaged and interpreted a range of expressions. Military censors were limited to what soldiers wrote. The language of correspondence was the only medium through which they could read individual feelings, distill collective moods, and prepare their reports. A central issue raised by their examination of the massive body of soldiers' cards and letters is thus whether *collective* experience in the unprecedented context of World War I could in fact be usefully distilled in this way, or even distilled at all.

What seems clear from the summaries with which censors began their reports is that this depended on how the correspondence engaged their own presumptions and

prescriptions. The rich materials reviewed here show the constraints in play on both sides. If soldiers commonly wrote what they thought (or were told) they should, censors also read what they thought (or were told) they should, meeting "patriotic" expectations by reducing the tone and content of individual letters into acceptable and readable summaries. As Samuel Hynes has argued in *The Soldiers' Tale*, the enthusiastic story has been a central element of military mobilization in every modern conflict.[89] In 1914 and throughout the war in Russia, both soldiers and censors were constantly enjoined to tell the "right" story, one that reflected and reinforced the primary narrative of stoic and loyal subjects "prepared to give their lives for Tsar and Country, bidding farewell to their relatives with no hope to survive," as one censor put it.[90] Nicholas II's decision to assume command of the army in the summer of 1915—one of the worst decisions he could have made—was largely based on this narrative. So, in part, was Kerensky's decision to launch a full-scale offensive in June 1917.

Yet censors did more than read the right story into the materials they surveilled. The categories of behaviors and conditions they elaborated as the war progressed essentially broke a complex emotional landscape into implied sets of discrete feelings, each of which reflected what censors and army commands reasonably assumed that conditions at the front would create. Descriptions of shortages were read as anger at the officers responsible for supplies, even if accusations were not literally made. Venality and profiteering were assumed to generate hostilities that "negatively" affected the willingness to fight. Desertion implied homesickness, especially for peasant soldiers far from their villages. Reports for the 11th Army in the early summer of 1915, for example, blamed a "significant lowering of the soldiers' mood" on the behavior of the "higher-ups" (*nachal'stvo*), whom they "personally blamed for their suffering."[91] Not surprisingly, soldiers continued to complain in massive numbers about the quality of food, discomfort, and conditions that became part of military life everywhere during the war even as the supply situation improved in 1916 and the army again went on the offensive. Charged with describing collective moods, censors readily associated unexpressed feelings with the emotional states these conditions were assumed to produce. Going on the offensive, for example, had "a very good effect on soldiers' state of mind"; "the older an officer, the better," and the younger the soldier, "the more ready he was to face death."[92]

In some cases, categorization itself configured new attitudes and ways of thinking. "Offenses against discipline" became in some reports "crimes of an anti-disciplinary and socialist nature." Comments about newspapers or political figures were configured as subversive political sentiments. Paradoxically, and perhaps most important in terms of the longer course of events, the category "desire for peace" became in some hands a form of arguing that the war should go forward, that soldiers understood that peace depended on victory. Even in November and December 1916, when some censors expanded the category to "desire for peace and refusal to go on the offensive," and then in April 1917, when soldiers "propagandized by Leninists" were

[89] Samuel Hynes, *The Soldiers' Tale: Bearing Witness to Modern War* (New York, 1997).
[90] RGVIA, f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, l. 126.
[91] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, l. 433.
[92] Ibid., d. 2935, l. 137, d. 2937, ll. 161–162, and d. 3853, l. 74ob.

writing that notions of victory were "complete nonsense," censors' summaries were still insisting that "the huge majority" wanted peace only after "finally crushing the enemy"; "no one" wanted peace "before the enemy is vanquished!"[93] Censors here moved beyond their own presumptions of feeling to those embedded in the regime's own political vocabularies. Here too, perhaps, is further reason for Kerensky's misreading when he sent the army on its fatal offensive in June 1917.

In effect, categorization mapped an army unit's whole presumptive emotional field for commanders to make of what they could, or, perhaps more to the point in terms of military tactics, what they wanted. Commanders who continued to believe even amidst the war's unprecedented horrors that stoic Russian peasants would endure any hardship to defend tsar and country could read patriotism even in expressions such as "waiting to die." In the case of any individual letter, the censors' assumptions about how certain conditions made the writer feel may have been reasonable enough, given the vividness of description and the degree to which writer and reader shared cultural norms. The deployment of political vocabularies to characterize certain kinds of attitudes or behavior was also an understandable reflection of the censors' official purpose. Yet conflating both into collective moods that identified at times even a large army group's state of mind required a correspondingly large creative leap. Imaginative reading turned the circularity of presumption into a collective emotional fact. The censors' summary reports about a unit's mood, in other words, became something of an art form.

The same can be said, however, for much of the soldiers' correspondence itself. Jewish soldiers complained about abuses in ways that showed that they were trying to hide concerns about their own well-being. Forbidden to write in Yiddish (though many still did), they wrote in Yiddish with Cyrillic characters, or what censors called "Jewish Russian."[94] (Some censors offered this as evidence of Jewish treachery, echoing sentiments expressed by some soldiers themselves that Jews "should be wiped from the face of the earth.")[95] Undoubtedly, soldiers of all ethnicities and backgrounds suppressed their anxious or hostile feelings to avoid trouble or reassure loved ones. Could the censors then move beyond assumptions and creative leaps in accessing individual feelings? Poignant letters like the one acknowledging profound fear "because blood is flowing and the ground is shaking and there is always the smoke of gunfire" clearly seem to express actual emotional states, however much they are filtered through expression.

William Reddy has suggested an imaginative answer to this question, based in part on cognitive psychology. Using the concept "emotive" to characterize expressions that not only describe an emotional state but exert an emotional change, he suggests that the expression itself in individual cases helps stimulate the feelings it describes. Writing that they were afraid, or that they were "in good spirits" or "eager to crush the enemy," may thus have made soldiers feel that way.[96] However, even

[93] Ibid., f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1486, l. 79; f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1181, l. 20; f. 2048, op. 1, d. 905, ll. 87–87ob.; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2933, ll. 2–3.

[94] "More than anyone else," censors reported, Jewish soldiers tried to avoid the military censors in communicating these sentiments. See, e.g., ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, ll. 73–74ob., 144ob.; f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1184, ll. 163–163ob.; f. 2048, op. 1, d. 904, ll. 60–62ob.

[95] Ibid., f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3853, l. 74ob.

[96] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 96–111. Reddy emphasizes the open-ended nature of emotives:

here and with emotives more generally, the form of expression itself as a rendering of experience seems central.[97]

As we know, a rich literature has explored how all lived experience acquires coherence as its fragments are passed into narrative forms, and how these forms then acquire individual and social meaning in various (and variously structured) languages of expression.[98] A large and related literature has amply demonstrated that social memory also works this way.[99] Yet the context of modern war that emerged in the fall of 1914 was unprecedented in its scale and scope, unimaginable in both literal and figurative ways. Much of the experience at the front in this sense was new. How it could be processed and described was empirically as well as epistemologically uncertain. To extend this in Reddy's terms, the narration of war's horrors into patriotic sacrifice (or an awful waste, or even both) may actually link the certainties of expression to the *uncertainties* of feeling. For many soldiers, perhaps especially those who were illiterate and had to dictate to others how they felt, the safe use of patriotic or "spirited" (*bodrye*) narratives, prefigured everywhere during the war on posters and cards, in films, newspapers, books, and journals, as well as in countless military ceremonies, may simply have reflected a longing to connect with home rather than a concurrence of expression and feeling.

The roles of counternarratives would seem especially important in this regard precisely because they involved uncertainty and risk. At least until February 1917, soldiers wrote against the patriotic grain at their peril. Especially early on, repression in the army was usually brutal and swift. As Boris Kolonitskii has shown, even sanctions against slandering the tsar and the members of the royal family were quite severe.[100] Even if they were only "a small percentage" and "mostly from the lower

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they are emotional expressions that can, but need not, change states of feeling. In Reddy's most succinct definition, an emotive is "[a] type of speech act different from both performative and constative utterances, which both describes (like constative utterances) and changes (like performatives) the world, because emotional expression has an exploratory and a self-altering effect on the activated thought material of emotion." Ibid., 128. My thanks to Jan Plamper for stimulating my thoughts on this issue.

[97] Barbara Rosenwein has pointed out that Reddy's emotives "privilege words over other forms of emotional behavior, but in some cultures (for example, that of medieval Iceland) reddening, trembling, and swelling play a more important role than utterances," all of which seems to suggest that the form of emotional expression plays a more important role than the concept originally envisioned. See her review of *The Navigation of Feeling* in *American Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (October 2002): 1181–1182. On this question, see also Plamper, "The History of Emotions: An Interview," 241–242.

[98] For a recent review of the issues, see Frank Ankersmit, Ewa Domańska, and Hans Kellner, eds., *Re-figuring Hayden White* (Stanford, Calif., 2009). A still important discussion by John Toews, Carlo Ginzburg, Joan Scott, Thomas Holt, and others originally published in *Critical Inquiry* is in James Chandler, Arnold I. Davidson, and Harry Harootunian, eds., *Questions of Evidence: Proof, Practice, and Persuasion across the Disciplines* (Chicago, 1991), 363–509.

[99] The classic work, of course, is by Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1925), translated by Lewis A. Coser as "The Social Frameworks of Memory," in Coser, ed. and trans., *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, Ill., 1992), 37–189. Two good general studies of social memory are Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989), and James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992). Kerwin Lee Klein reviews the literature in "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (2000): 127–150. See also *Between Memory and History*, Special Issue, *History and Anthropology* 2, no. 2 (1986); *Memory and Counter-Memory*, Special Issue, *Representations* 26 (1989); and the more recent discussion by Allan Megill, *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: A Contemporary Guide to Practice* (Chicago, 2007), pt. 1: "Memory."

[100] Boris I. Kolonitskii, *"Tragicheskaia erotika": Obrazy imperatorskoi sem'i v gody pervoi mirovoi voiny*

ranks," military censors reviewed huge numbers of letters they categorized as expressing "negative" emotions.[101] They rarely, however, crafted them into summary counternarratives or "secondary" narratives, as Samuel Hynes describes them. It was only after the collapse of the old regime, for the most part, that politicized linkages between the awful carnage soldiers experienced, imperialism, and "the last stage of capitalism" gained an open foothold at the front, helping to launch Lenin to power.

Yet there is ample evidence that counternarratives were current in some form among Russian soldiers from the moment of mobilization. Although there were few overt protests against the draft in July and August 1914 (in contrast to riots fueled by the rituals of excessive drinking), some observers saw little sign of anything but resistance or resignation in the countryside. One even described new recruits responding sullenly to the enthusiastic welcome of their commander: "One could see that the appeal of a quick victory over the Germans was not met with sympathy in the soldiers' hearts. Everyone looked gloomy and stressed, and listened to the speech as if they had to."[102]

Like the dominant narratives of patriotism and good spirits, secondary narratives also found expression in many letters, telling a different story of bravery at the front ("You ask when the war will end? The war will end only when the idiot peasants have all been slaughtered, and there are many of them in Russia").[103] These counternarratives were also sure to engage at some point the radically new experiences of modern battle in World War I, even if they were not easily or safely written out in letters home: the feelings of astonishment, fear, panic, uncertainty, and emotional confusion that sometimes beggared labels. Even in the first months of the war, some soldiers managed to express these experiences as their own: the "terrifying sound of German guns" from which there was "no place to run"; the "unexpected ferocity" of bombs from the air; the confusion of "smoke and smoking bodies."[104] Here, too, one can overcome the expression/feeling dichotomy by recognizing that the letters themselves also created the emotions they described. But in contrast to the "enthusiastic" story, the risks soldiers took in going against the enthusiastic grain also

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(Moscow, 2010), forthcoming in English as *"Tragic Erotica": Images of the Imperial Family during the First World War* (New Haven, Conn., 2015).

[101] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2932, l. 225.

[102] D. Os'kin, *Zapiski soldata* (Moscow, 1929), 75, a compilation of notes he made each day. On mobilization and draft riots in Russia, see especially Joshua Sanborn, "Besporiadki sredi prizyvnikov v 1914 g. i vopros o russkoi natsii: Novyi vzgliad na problem," in Smirnov et al., eds., *Rossiia i pervaia mirovaia voina*, 202–215; Eric Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: The Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 15–17; and Jahn, *Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I*. Colleen Moore and A. V. Posadskii both argue that draft riots in Russia were entirely about looting liquor stores after the sale of alcohol was officially banned, and the result of feelings of "entitlement." Moore, " 'The Vodka Belongs to the State, and So Do We': Peasant-Soldiers and Wartime Prohibition in Russia in 1914," unpublished paper presented at the St. Petersburg Colloquium "Little People and Big Wars in Russian History" (June 17–20, 2013), and forthcoming in N. V. Mikhailov and J. Plamper, eds., *Malen'kii chelovek i bol'shaia voina v istorii Rossii, seredina XIX—seredina XX v.* (St. Petersburg, 2015); A. V. Posadskii, *Krest'ianstvo vo vseobshchei mobilizatsii armii i flota 1914 goda (po materialam Saratovskoi gubernii)* (Saratov, 2002). Reports to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for July 1914 largely support this view, but contain at least some evidence of state offices being set on fire and rioters ripping up the Russian flag. See RGIA, f. 1292, op. 1, d. 1792, ll. 24, 43–44.

[103] RGVIA, f. 2031, op. 1, d. 1184, l. 599.

[104] Ibid., f. 2003, op. 1, d. 1886, l. 298; f. 2067, op. 1, d. 3586, ll. 146–147, and d. 3853, ll. 73–73ob.

authenticate their emotional expressions by giving them a greater "ring of truth." Although the epistemological problem of accessing others' feelings through their written expression remains, the "ring of truth" means that letters of this sort can carry readers convincingly to the emotions they are read as reflecting. For military censors and historians alike, the problem of access itself seems much less an impediment to emotional understanding.

Even as some soldiers shed their emotional restraints in particularly awful circumstances, however, here too was evidence of a further problem in the connecting of feeling to expression brought into the open during World War I. In the spring of 1915, Russian soldiers experienced their first gas attacks, in which, as the British historian C. R. M. F. Cruttwell has written, "without protection individuality was annihilated," the soldier in the trench becoming "a mere passive recipient of torture and death."[105] One of the first attacks on the Russian front sent nine hundred men—a whole battalion—to an agonizing death. Many ran in terror, unable to properly affix their masks. "Only fifty escaped, bedraggled, haggard, so dazed by their experiences *that they were unable to tell us anything*."[106] Here precisely is the source of shell shock, the condition that familiarly became a lasting consequence of the war everywhere in Europe, and to the nature, treatment, and social implications of which so much useful attention has been paid ever since.[107] Truly traumatic emotional events (as opposed to the popular "so-called" variety) are rare episodes, distinguishable by their location outside the common realms of emotional discourse. Those who have them are often literally "dumbstruck," unable to integrate the feelings they produce into any comprehensible narrative. Only skillful therapeutic intervention can sometimes manage to situate these "unspeakable" experiences in meaningful (i.e., speakable) ways.[108]

Even historians skeptical about the extent to which individual experience is accessible as a source of knowledge understand how narrative forms render it into evidence. Some may still essentialize experience as the rock-bottom foundation of "historical reality," as if this reality were grounded in individual perceptions of what "really happened." What experience and its memory retrieve, however, are now widely understood as representations mediated by the concepts, practices, and languages that give them form and meaning. As Allan Megill has expressed it, historical experience "is not the deluded and blithely arrogant conviction that we have experienced the past as people in the past experienced it. Rather, properly under-

[105] C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War, 1914–1918* (Oxford, 1936), 153–154.

[106] RGVIA, f. 2067, op. 1, d. 2937, l. 50; Lobanov-Rostovsky, *The Grinding Mill*, 133, emphasis added.

[107] Within a large literature, see especially *Shell-Shock*, Special Issue, *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 1 (2000), especially the contribution of Catherine Merridale, "The Collective Mind: Trauma and Shell-Shock in Twentieth-Century Russia," 39–55.

[108] See, e.g., Cathy Caruth, "Introduction" to pt. 2: "Recapturing the Past," in Caruth, ed., *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore, 1995), 151–157; Laurence J. Kirmayer, "Landscapes of Memory: Trauma, Narrative, and Dissociation," in Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, eds., *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* (New York, 1996), 173–198; and Amos Funkenstein, "The Incomprehensible Catastrophe: Memory and Narrative," in Amia Lieblich and Ruthellen Josselson, eds., *The Narrative Study of Lives* (Newbury Park, Calif., 1993), 21–29.

stood, it is the experience of a rift, a break, between what *we are* now and what *others were* then."[109] Feelings can readily be expressed nonverbally through cultural conventions or instincts, but they can be the most difficult part of an experience to express orally or in writing. After the fact, even the painful experiences of soldiers at war can also never actually be re-*felt*, only remembered in linguistically mediated form and sometimes (although rarely) reenacted. The same can be said for the feelings and moods that contemporary Russian historians want to retrieve from the Soviet period, however important these might have been to how that system was maintained.

The efforts of military censors during World War I suggest instead that the attention of historians to how experience may be expressed must be complemented by an equally careful exploration of how it may be read. There seems to be a difference in this regard, however, between relatively stable times and times of crisis such as war. Although the epistemological issues remain, even something that historians might reasonably call collective feelings in "ordinary" times would seem to find convincing expression in, say, cheering at soccer games, grieving at funerals, applauding at concerts, or singing in church. There may also be suppressed counternarratives here, but if their expression carries no real social risk, they play the same roles in reading feelings and raise the same problems that dominant narratives do. During crises such as wartime, even cheering during military parades or public lamentation at military funerals is likely to conceal or even reflect the conflicted or dissident emotions that help constitute why the moment itself is a crisis. At the very least, their reading is more complicated. It may also be compromised by cultural values and emotional norms that resist or deny their possibility, as we might suspect was the case with *Times* correspondent Washburn and the officer-scholar Lobanov-Rostovsky.

In both peacetime and war, however, reading configures emotions and socially ascribes their meanings. What may be particular to Russia in this regard is only the sets of presumptions and cultural constructs that Russian censors brought to their tasks. Understanding how they read their mountains of correspondence can help us make sense of how they construed as "negative" the states they assumed were associated with certain kinds of conditions and behaviors even if the letters themselves did not express them. And while filtering them into prefigured descriptive categories made administrative sense in terms of managing a staggering volume of correspondence, it also eased the task of making judgments about how soldiers actually felt that were likely to draw the wrath of superiors, and which in any case were otherwise unverifiable. The potential objections of commanders, like those of the defenders of dominant narratives everywhere, not only tended to sanitize censors' reports; they discouraged the more careful readings, and hence the better judgments about how soldiers may have been feeling, that were historically in their interest.

Despite the particularities of Russian emotional norms and the exceptional circumstances of the First World War, the military censorship materials reviewed here are broadly instructive. For historians of Russia, they inform us not only about the ways a stressed tsarist regime tried to manage feeling and loss on the eve of its

[109] Megill, *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error*, 213, emphasis in the original.

collapse, but about the likely distortions in subsequent Soviet surveillance of "mood," a key element in the technology of Stalinist rule. More broadly, they show both the difficulties and the importance of understanding the historical roles that emotions may have played in other times and places. For historians engaged, like the censors, in configuring feelings from the ways in which they are expressed in writing, they also demonstrate how these roles are constituted by the ways in which feelings are read.

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AHR Roundtable

You the People

Introduction

NICOLAS BARREYRE, MICHAEL HEALE,
STEPHEN TUCK, and IRMINA WAWRZYCZEK

DOES IT MATTER FROM WHERE we write history? Is there something specific about writing the history of a foreign country? In our case, is there a distinctive "angle" in our research projects because we write the history of the United States from Europe? The question comes up often, not just in conversations but also in print. More than half of the twenty-five European contributors to this *AHR* Roundtable have received a review of their work in either the *Journal of American History* or the *American Historical Review* that mentioned their nationality, implying that it made a difference.[1] The nationality of an author is rarely mentioned as a problem but is often offered as a detail worth mentioning for understanding the reviewed scholarship (in a way that, say, the historian's gender, race, religion, or class rarely is). But does it matter where American history—indeed, any history—is written, and if so, why?

A century ago, the answers to these questions were taken for granted, and seemed straightforward. Because of distance, isolation, and the fact that professional history as a discipline was born in service to the nation-state, foreign historians were presumed to be outsiders to the national history of the United States—bringing all the benefits and problems that implies. In 1884, Andrew White began his inaugural presidential address to the American Historical Association with a discussion of who could best write U.S. history: "An individual standing outside of the country may be so disengaged and disentangled as to take a clearer view of questions in which re-

[1] On the few occasions that a reviewer, having identified the author's nationality, offered a further comment, it was almost always to commend the fact that this was a foreign author. The assumption that foreign authorship made a difference underlay a substantial project sponsored by the American Historical Association in the 1980s, namely Lewis Hanke, ed., *Guide to the Study of United States History outside the United States, 1945–1980*, 5 vols. (White Plains, N.Y., 1985), with contributions by "five hundred scholars in many countries" (1: 2), some of whom speculated from personal experience on issues addressed here. For some specific examples, see Jeremi Suri, "Twelve Months with Dr. K," *Times Literary Supplement*, January 29, 2010; Paul V. Murphy, "The Age of (Scoop) Jackson," *Reviews in American History* 39, no. 4 (2011): 735–740. The *AHR*'s review of the first book by one British contributor to this roundtable began by referring to the Beatles and Rolling Stones (somehow relevant, apparently, to the civil rights topic), while the review of his second book in the *Journal of American History* had virtually the same opening paragraph—though minus the Beatles. Jack E. Davis, review of Stephen G. N. Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940–1980* (Athens, Ga., 2001), *American Historical Review* 107, no. 5 (December 2002): 1595–1596; Steven F. Lawson, review of Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, *Journal of American History* 97, no. 2 (2010): 479–480.

ligious or patriotic prejudices are involved than most scholars within the country are likely to do." "Still," continued White, because historians of their own nation have "closer access to its documents and finer appreciation of its modes of thought . . . the large rule is unquestionably that the main work in the development of historical knowledge concerning any country must be done by the scholars of that country." "Scholars in other nations," he warned, "must, as a rule, give the maximum of labor to the minimum of result."[2]

Today, in an era of globalization and frequent academic interchange, and when leading members of the U.S. academy have championed the internationalization of historical writing for more than two decades, the answer is less obvious.[3] "European work on American History," Eric Foner asserted in an interview with an Italian scholar in 1994, "is either good or bad . . . but . . . there is nothing very distinctively European about it."[4] The authors of this introduction would have applauded Foner's assessment at the time, since we initially resisted the idea that the history we were writing could or should be different from that of our American colleagues: our aim, after all, was to write U.S. history that was fully engaged with U.S. historiography.[5] Yet personal goals do not make an epistemological argument.

Indeed, at the heart of the internationalization project was a presumption that foreign scholars would bring new perspectives to the writing of U.S. history. David Thelen, then editor of the *Journal of American History*, justified the journal's 1992 international innovations—including international contributing editors, a major survey into overseas U.S. historians' views, and an annual award for, and translation of, an outstanding article and book on U.S. history in a foreign language—with the promise that overseas writers would reinvigorate the discipline at home.[6] And even Foner's comment about the indistinct nature of European writing was as much a lament as an observation. "Somebody in France ought to be doing a Braudelian study

[2] Andrew D. White, "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization," http://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/presidential-addresses/andrew-dickson-white-%281884%29.

[3] On internationalizing the writing of U.S. history by bringing non-U.S. historians into the discourse, see David Thelen, "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992): 432–462; Thelen, "The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (1999): 965–975. On the need for global and transnational history that de-centers the U.S., see Akira Iriye, "The Internationalization of History," *American Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (February 1989): 1–10; Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002).

[4] Maurizio Vaudagna, "The American Historian in Continental Europe: An Italian Perspective," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992): 532–542, here 534.

[5] This view has been expressed most forcefully by Tony Badger, "Confessions of a British Americanist," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992): 515–523. See also François Weil, "Do U.S. Historical Narratives Travel?," in Bender, *Rethinking American History*, 317–342. For one thing, the sheer size and approachability of the American academy in recent decades has made aligning with it all but irresistible.

[6] Thelen, "Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons"; David Thelen, "Editor's Annual Report, 1991–1992," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992): 753–756. For survey design, see Thelen, "The Practice of American History," *Journal of American History* 81, no. 3 (1994): 933–960, here 933; for survey results, see "A Statistical Summary of Survey Results," ibid., 1175–1217. The laudable interest in non-U.S. views was somewhat undermined by the fact that all non-U.S. views were lumped together in a single category. Thelen, "Editor's Annual Report," 753. Interestingly, virtually all the examples cited were from countries beyond Europe.

of some aspects of American history," he exhorted. "Somebody in Italy ought to be using Gramsci."[7]

Unfortunately, though, there has been little serious discussion about why national location might, let alone ought to, matter. Recent overviews of U.S. historical writing ignore the issue, even those studies that address other aspects of historians' identity, such as race and gender, in shaping their research agendas.[8] This lacuna in the literature stands in stark contrast to the voluminous discussions of U.S. history (as opposed to historiography) in a global or transnational context.[9] Meanwhile, the few valuable surveys on U.S. history as it is taught and written abroad often serve more as a barometer of global interest in U.S. history than as an analysis of how and why national location might shape research.[10] The very few historians who have addressed the issue have usually done so only in brief autobiographical form.[11]

Our contention, though, is that consideration of writing U.S. history from abroad is important because it addresses a much larger epistemological question: What conditions shape historical scholarship in general? Looking at how historians of the United States and North American colonies are shaped by their structural and cul-

[7] Vaudagna, "The American Historian in Continental Europe," 541.

[8] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988); John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (1983; new ed., Baltimore, 1989); Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994); Anthony Mohlo and Gordon S. Wood, eds., *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past* (Princeton, N.J., 1998); Melvyn Stokes, ed., *The State of U.S. History* (Oxford, 2002); Manisha Sinha and Penny Von Eschen, eds., *Contested Democracy: Freedom, Race, and Power in American History* (New York, 2007); Eric Foner and Lisa McGirr, eds., *American History Now* (Philadelphia, 2011).

[9] The topic was introduced in *Internationalizing the JAH*, Special Issue, *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992), but there has been little interest since. This contrasts with the plethora of reflections on transnational history, e.g., Frederick Cooper, "What Is the Concept of Globalization Good For? An African Historian's Perspective," *African Affairs* 100, no. 399 (April 1, 2001): 189–213; Jürgen Kocka, "Comparison and Beyond," *History and Theory* 42, no. 1 (2003): 39–44; Patricia Clavin, "Defining Transnationalism," *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 421–439; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire Croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50; C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, "*AHR* Conversation: On Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1441–1464; Michael Kazin, "The Vogue of Transnational History," *Raritan* 26, no. 3 (2007): 155–167; Kiran Klaus Patel, " 'Transnations' among 'Transnations'? The Debate on Transnational History in the United States and Germany," *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 54, no. 3 (2009): 451–472; Ian Tyrrell, "Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice," *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 3 (2009): 453–474.

[10] Sigmund Skard, *American Studies in Europe: Their History and Present Organization* (Philadelphia, 1958); Hanke, *Guide to the Study of United States History outside the United States*; Cornelis A. van Minnen and Sylvia L. Hilton, eds., *Teaching and Studying U.S. History in Europe: Past, Present and Future* (Amsterdam, 2007). The latter has a very helpful introduction, sketching general trends in teaching and studying U.S. history in Europe in relation to recent political developments. See also Vaudagna, "The American Historian in Continental Europe." There is some work comparing European and U.S. uses of public history; see David K. Adams, Maurizio Vaudagna, Günter H. Lenz, and Peter J. Ling, eds., *Transatlantic Encounters: Public Uses and Misuses of History in Europe and the United States* (Amsterdam, 2000). On European-U.S. historical (though rarely historiographical) connections, see Vaudagna, "The American Historian in Continental Europe." Tibor Frank, " 'Through the Looking-Glass': A Century of Self-Reflecting Hungarian Images of the United States (1834–1941)," in Lehel Vadon, ed., *Multicultural Challenge in American Culture* (Eger, 1999), 21–36.

[11] See the various essays in *BAAS Jubilee Issue*, *Journal of American Studies* 14, no. 1 (1980); in *The View from Abroad*, Special Issue, *Reviews in American History* 14, no. 4 (1986); and in *Internationalizing the JAH* (1992). See also Harry C. Allen, "United States History in Great Britain and the European Association for American Studies: A Personal Memoir," in Hanke, *Guide to the Study of United States History outside the United States*, 1: 46–85; and Max Silberschmidt, "My Life Experience with the United States and Its History," ibid., 1: 86–101.

tural contexts opens up consideration of how all historians are shaped by their location. As the following essays will show, such conditions cannot be reduced to the national identity of individual historians. Scholars are entangled in much more complex webs of sociological factors. Some of those factors are common to all of us; others differ. The hypothesis upon which this roundtable builds is that the way our field is structured makes a difference in the scholarship we collectively produce. This includes the concrete organization of the profession, the paths into academic careers, the audiences that need to be addressed, and the institutions that hire us and determine our work duties and opportunities. When those issues are discussed, it is generally as part of professional debates separate from our intellectual exchanges on historiography. This roundtable, on the contrary, offers some reflection on the way both realms are intrinsically linked.

The following coffee-break-length essays address this broad issue through the example of the writing of U.S. history by European scholars.[12] It is, of course, not the only example that could be chosen, and we are well aware that there are academics in other parts of the world who are also writing American history. Further, many other historians write history from "abroad," not least the substantial numbers that engage in imperial history. Indeed, in countries that were once part of European empires, the rewriting of their histories by native-born scholars gave rise to lively debate on the nature of the exercise as they contested the narratives of imperial historians—debate that necessarily drew attention to the question of where history is written.[13] But we believe that European writing on the North American colonies and the United States—in addition to being the field we are familiar with—provides a good case study for both its exemplarity and its peculiarities. Overseas historians of the United States and its antecedents are but a subset of all historians working on foreign nations and overseas lands. As such, they share the same difficulties of distance and differences in national cultures.[14] They also share the position of being specialists in foreign history in a profession that still heavily bears the imprint of its national, even nationalist, past.

Yet a historian in, say, Belgium who specializes in the history of the United States is making a decidedly different choice than is one who focuses on the history of Japan, Italy, or India. This has to do with the role of the U.S. as the world's (almost) uncontested superpower, the global reach of the English language, and the current

[12] By "U.S. history" in these essays, we mean the history of the United States and of the colonies and territories that formed it. It has been suggested that this subject could be covered by the term "USAmerica," but it seems unlikely to catch on. In some countries the noun "America" is frowned upon as shorthand for the United States, but we have sometimes resorted to it for convenience, and the use of "American" as an adjective is inescapable. Some of what we say here may also apply to Canada, but only a few European historians are doing research in Canadian history. For a more in-depth and wide-ranging exploration of various aspects of writing U.S. history abroad, to which the process of composing those essays contributed, see Nicolas Barreyre, Michael Heale, Stephen Tuck, and Cécile Vidal, eds., *Historians across Borders: Writing American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2014).

[13] See, e.g., Vinay Lal, "Imperial Nostalgia," *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, no. 29–30 (July 17–24, 1993): 1511–1513 (review essay on C. A. Bayly, general ed., *The Raj: India and the British, 1600–1947* [London, 1990]); Lal, *The History of History: Politics and Scholarship in Modern India* (New Delhi, 2003); Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limit of World-History* (New York, 2003).

[14] These are all reasons mentioned by the few historians who have put their reflections on paper. See Badger, "Confessions of a British Americanist"; Vaudagna, "The American Historian in Continental Europe"; M. J. Heale, "American History: The View from Britain," *Reviews in American History* 14, no. 4 (1986): 501–522.

hegemony and mass production of the American academy. Put simply, an American historian of the United States can spend his or her entire career without meeting a non-U.S. specialist in the same field, while a French historian of France simply cannot ignore the voluminous historiography produced at U.S. universities.[15] This, we believe, says nothing about a comparative willingness to be open; even less is it a claim that European historians are more receptive to the work of foreign scholars. On the contrary, it simply tells us something about the conditions in which we work.[16]

Focusing on this particular case of European historians of the United States offers several advantages in making sense of the influences and constraints that shape every historian's scholarship. European historical writing has a long, entangled relationship with its U.S. counterpart. But this case also affords two useful comparative perspectives: between American and European historians of the United States; and between the various European historians of the United States, since they hail from different national academies. Each Americanist in Europe is potentially a double outsider—to the U.S. academy and to his or her own national academy, with both academic worlds largely dominated by historians studying their own nation.[17] Moreover, Europe is not one homogeneous block. The national academies of Europe share common traits, and yet—the uniformizing pressures of the European Union notwithstanding—they are also diverse, thus highlighting the particular influence of the institutions and structures that each historian works within.[18] (Of course, institutional settings vary within European countries, too, as indeed they do, often markedly, within the United States.) There is also a third comparison, between those European historians who work on aspects of U.S. history directly related to their own domestic history—notably those who work on U.S.-European diplomatic history, on European colonization, or on emigration to North America—and those who focus on what are usually regarded as purely "internal" American history topics.

In order to make these comparisons most effectively, the following essays were written in a truly collaborative process by twenty-five historians of different aspects

[15] The high level of production of historical writing on U.S. history in recent years also means that U.S. historians are often hard-pressed to engage with work on foreign nations by colleagues at their own universities. On the problem of overproduction, see, e.g., Stephen Tuck, "The New American Histories," *Historical Journal* 48, no. 3 (2005): 811–832.

[16] It would be wrong to exaggerate the distinction between the U.S. and European academic communities. European scholars not infrequently make their careers in the United States, and U.S.-born historians of American history have often served in visiting or even permanent posts in Europe. But U.S. visitors are now only a small proportion of the scholars practicing American history in Europe, and for the most part research in American history is carried out by men and women reared in their own country's culture, shaped by its educational institutions, subject to its academic traditions and structures, and conditioned by the political and popular expectations placed on their activities.

[17] The degree to which national histories dominate their respective national academies varies between countries, and the American academy shows much more commitment to the study of other countries than usually obtains in the European academies. Robert B. Townsend found that around 40 percent of faculty members in U.S. history departments work on North America, and an equal number on Europe as a whole; Townsend, "A Profile of the History Profession, 2010," *Perspectives on History* 48, no. 7 (October 2010), https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/october-2010/a-profile-of-the-history-profession-2010. A subsequent survey by Luke Clossey and Nicholas Guyatt put the proportion of U.S. historians working on North American history at one-third; Clossey and Guyatt, "It's a Small World after All: The Wider World in Historians' Peripheral Vision," *Perspectives on History* 51, no. 5 (May 2013), https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2013/its-a-small-world-after-all.

[18] Martin Conway and Kiran Klaus Patel, eds., *Europeanization in the Twentieth Century: Historical Approaches* (Basingstoke, 2010).

of American history from twelve countries spanning the regions of Europe. At an initial workshop in Paris, network members reported on the practice of American history in their own countries, and in discussing the problem of writing history from abroad identified a number of salient dimensions. Each of these was assigned a multinational team of three to five members, who met, physically and online, to write their papers together. A second general conference in Oxford allowed the whole group again to contribute specific ideas and examples across the range of essays presented here.[19] Subsequent online communications furthered this collaborative process. Given the technology now available, it may be that other subjects in transatlantic or global history could be pursued using a model of this kind.

In the first essay, "Characteristics and Contours: Mapping American History in Europe," Susan-Mary Grant, Michael Heale, Halina Parafianowicz, and Maurizio Vaudagna trace the trajectories of historical writing about the United States in Europe since the Second World War (there had been little of it previously), demonstrating that national location has made a difference in the past—though in ways that changed across time, place, and subject matter.[20] The heritage of totalitarian regimes, of course, left its inescapable marks on this scholarship. In Eastern Europe, much of the early writing focused on American political and economic history, but the lifting of the constraints on academic freedom after the collapse of those regimes resulted in a broadening of the scope of political explorations and in new attention to other kinds of history.

The next three essays discuss some of the reasons why location makes an important difference. "'Brokering' or 'Going Native': Professional Structures and Intellectual Trajectories for European Historians of the United States," by Nicolas Barreyre, Max Edling, Simon Middleton, Sandra Scanlon, and Irmina Wawrzyczek, addresses the career dilemmas of American history specialists in European university structures, poised as they are between two academic communities (the U.S. academy and colleagues preoccupied with European history), and hence their choice of strategies, either "brokering" between the two—that is, identifying research topics that bridge American and European historiographies—or "going native," fully embracing the course of American historiography so that they can "pass" as U.S. historians in the United States. These scholars need to teach, too, which for the most part means large classes of undergraduates who know little about the United States apart from what they have gleaned from popular culture; thus the next essay, "Teaching in Europe and Researching in the United States," by Trevor Burnard, Jörg Nagler, Simon Newman, and Dragan Živojinović, discusses the relationship between

[19] Where network members made substantive contributions to an essay besides their own, their help is acknowledged in a footnote. More information about the network and its activities can be found on the website, http://youthepeople.history.ox.ac.uk/. In addition to thanking all the network members, we would especially like to thank François Weil, who co-directed the project during its founding year; Eleanor Thompson, the indefatigable network facilitator; and Steven Tuffnell, who has helped administer the drafting of these essays. Thanks also to the Leverhulme Trust; without its generous funding, the network's activities would have been severely constrained. Further underlining the fact that there is no simple Europe vs. U.S. divide in an era of globalization, a third of the network were not based in their home institution for a major part of the year during which this collaboration took place—between network meetings, conversations had to be scheduled across multiple time zones.

[20] Thus any convergence in the present needs explanation, although, as the authors make clear, such convergence also has very real limits.

scholarship and teaching regimes, such as the implications of developing very broad survey courses, which can sometimes impact on European writing in insights prompted by the comparative dimension or the *longue durée*. It also underlines the importance of the state in influencing the research and teaching strategies of the European academies (enlarging on an important feature briefly noted in the "brokering" essay). For an academic genre to flourish successfully in a particular country, it needs to be made "relevant" to that country's perceived needs, and so the fourth essay, "American History and European Identity," by Mario Del Pero, Tibor Frank, Martin Klimke, Helle Porsdam, and Stephen Tuck, discusses the political and popular pressures that can bear on historians, the need to respond to public expectations and nurture support for their activity, and thus the importance of finding within the American experience something that touches a chord with domestic audiences.

What historians write, then, is shaped to a significant degree by *where* they write. The final two essays explore some of the consequences of these influences for historical research and the writing of U.S. history, focusing on the proclivity for comparative history and the translation of concepts across national boundaries. Writing American history in Europe, insist Susanna Delfino, Marcus Gräser, Hans Krabbendam, and Vincent Michelot in "Europeans Writing American History: The Comparative Trope," is inevitably a comparative exercise, whether wittingly or not, as is the writing of any foreign history, saying something about the society in which it is written as well as the society that is written about; and it argues further that an explicitly comparative approach may serve to counter the hegemonic tendency of U.S. historiography. The final essay, "The Weight of Words: Writing about Race in the United States and Europe," by Manfred Berg, Isabel Soto, and Paul Schor, reflects on the medium of language in historical writing, for not only may something be lost (or gained!) in translation, but the same word or concept can have differing connotations in different cultures. The various essays in this roundtable reflect on the ambivalence of European historians about notions of American exceptionalism, as they also raise questions about the hegemony of the American academy. They also reveal that the internationalization project, if it is to realize its goals, requires historians to understand the context of the production of scholarship in different parts of the world, rather than simply to read or translate such work.

These essays are short; they cannot be detailed expositions. They are intended to be suggestive rather than definitive, interventions rather than surveys, in order to spark discussion rather than be comprehensive. They focus on the particular issue of writing U.S. history in Europe, but, by implication and comparison, they raise questions about the structures that shape the writing of U.S. historians of their own country or of other parts of the world—structures that are all too easily presumed to be normative, even though they are specific. Shifting our gaze from the center of the production of U.S. history, where the nation and history coincide, to the periphery, where there is a disconnect, helps to put them into sharper relief. Above all, we trust that these essays will raise issues of wider relevance to anyone who reads them—issues that remind us that even in a liberal democratic age, we are not free-

floating individuals, and that even in a global age, the nation can still shape our scholarship in unexpected ways.

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AHR Roundtable

Characteristics and Contours: Mapping American History in Europe

SUSAN-MARY GRANT, MICHAEL HEALE,
HALINA PARAFIANOWICZ, and MAURIZIO VAUDAGNA

THAT THE WRITING OF HISTORY IS CONDITIONED both by the place from which it is written and by the time in which it is written is illustrated in the writing of American history in Europe. European specialists in American history do not produce scholarship identical to that of U.S. historians. As is true of historians everywhere, their scholarship has been informed by their backgrounds and training, by the career structures they inhabit and the publishing opportunities afforded them, by local contemporary issues and public expectations, even by the language they speak. Thus European writing about American history has always betrayed characteristics and followed trajectories of its own.

A major characteristic is its novelty. While there were rare excursions into American history before the Second World War, inspired by the story of Europe in America, it was the unprecedented presence of the United States in Europe (and the world) from 1945 that jump-started the serious study of the subject among Europeans. Shaping its development were that formidable presence, on the one hand, and the particular circumstances of the European academies, on the other. Yet another tension was that imposed by multiple audiences. In the early years, European scholars were primarily addressing their own countrymen, but eventually many sought also to reach the American academy, though this could mean offering somewhat different texts to different readers. Further, they were often expected to offer broad surveys of the whole of American history (as taught courses or books) in their own languages, while also engaging in specialized archival research. There were political influences, too, whether in the form of liberal agendas that emerged in some Western European countries in the early postwar era or the Marxist orthodoxy of Eastern Europe, though these were to be shed with the passage of time. And there were also other competing demands, such as the centrifugal forces arising from the variegated nature of European geography and culture and the countervailing political and intellectual pressures looking to a common purpose. These various tensions, creative or otherwise, guided the course of this scholarship.

The bare handful of American history specialists in Europe at the end of World War II grew to over three hundred by the close of the century, particularly in its later decades, constituting what the compilers of a 1994 survey called "a critical mass."

A third of them were in the United Kingdom, more than sixty in Russia, and about fifty apiece in Germany and France. In Norway nine were identified, in Switzerland and Hungary three each, and in Bulgaria one.[1] The figures can only be suggestive, reflecting the willingness of individual scholars to identify themselves, but American history had become an undoubted if small presence in the European academy. (It was also dwarfed by the academic battalion studying American literature.)[2]

The distinctiveness of the highly varied writings of these authors has tended to reside more in the issues and themes considered salient than in profoundly different methodological approaches (although the unrepentant empiricism of the British may be contrasted with, say, the methodological and theoretical rigor expected in Sweden). Traditional disciplinary boundaries—the organization of academic departments—seem to be less firm in Europe than in the United States, which may allow greater receptivity to a range of disciplinary influences, but European writing about American history has broadly operated within the Western historiographical tradition.[3] Nonetheless, some visions of American history prevail over others.

Political history came to have a higher profile in Europe than it did in the American academy—the United States offered the model of "a more perfect union" both after 1945 and again toward the end of the century when many European countries had to rebuild their systems of government.[4] Similarly prominent was cultural history, in part because departments of English on the Continent proved hospitable to the American studies movement. Geographical distance from the United States also served to encourage a measure of selectivity. The American experience with race was of perennial interest to European scholars bemused by the presence of slavery and racial discrimination in a country ideologically identified with freedom.[5] Further, American history took off in Europe at a time when influential U.S. scholars were

[1] Willi Paul Adams and Wolfgang J. Helbich, eds., *Directory of European Historians of North America: Addresses, Publications, Research in Progress*, 3rd revised ed. (Berlin, 1994). The figures refer to scholars in academic posts, a few of whom had Canadian interests, and include international relations and other specialists whose research contained significant American elements. There is currently no comprehensive contemporary record, but a survey of eleven countries in 2010–2011 found close to two hundred American history posts in the United Kingdom, about sixty each in Germany and France, and eight in Hungary (survey in possession of the authors, compiled by Eleanor Thompson, now of Leicester University). The recent proliferation of books on U.S. domestic history by Europeans suggests that the number of full-time posts has increased significantly, and European scholars for whom the United States is only a partial interest may now be less inclined to identify themselves as American specialists.

[2] An online bibliography of American studies books published in English by scholars in thirteen European countries whose first language is not English lists 46 titles under "History," 185 under "Literature," and 87 under "Culture." "Political Science" and "Social Sciences" together account for 42. The bibliography, which mostly focuses on the 1990s and early 2000s, is incomplete but conveys some sense of the relative proportions of the different disciplines within American studies on the European continent. European Library of American Studies, *European Journal of American Studies*, Document 1: The European Library of American Studies: A Bibliography, http://ejas.revues.org/8535.

[3] Strictly, there is no single Western historiographical tradition, but primarily the scholarship examined here is in the secular, source-based Rankean mode. For discussions of Western historiography, see, e.g., Jörn Rüsen, ed., *Western Historical Thinking: An Intercultural Debate* (New York, 2002); and Patrick O'Brien, "Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 1 (2006): 3–39.

[4] This is not to suggest that political history was always dominant—at times economic and social history have been important—but rather that it has been a recurring theme of European Americanists from the beginning.

[5] Early studies include Manuel Fraga Iribarne, *Razas y racismo en Norteamérica* (Madrid, 1950); Daniel Guérin, *Décolonisation du noir americain* (Paris, 1963); and Claudio Gorlier, *Storia dei negri degli Stati Uniti* (Bologna, 1963).

advancing notions of American exceptionalism, an approach that intrigued but for the most part did not convince European practitioners.

Historiographical traditions in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had done little to make space for American history. In an age of nationalism, academic historians had focused overwhelmingly on the histories of their own countries, and shrugged off American history as a somewhat wayward by-product of European history. The United States represented the future, not the past, and while an impressive array of European intellectuals brilliantly dissected the American scene, historians were rare among them. There were lone individuals who explored American history, though not without hazard. The Russian constitutional historian Maksim M. Kovaleskii was expelled from Moscow University in 1887 because of his sympathy for American liberal constitutionalism.[6] In the United Kingdom during the 1930s, there was just one chair in American history tenable by a Briton, and its incumbent almost despaired of his colleagues who "in their heart of hearts have believed that history stops, let us say, in 1815," which did not leave much purchase for American history.[7] The succumbing of a large part of the Continent to totalitarian regimes in the interwar years hardly furthered the serious study of a country dedicated to individual rights. As an academic subject, American history in Europe in 1945 had yet to be constructed.

THE ERUPTION OF THE UNITED STATES into Europe after the war meant that academic establishments could no longer ignore its history, though it would be years before it was accorded a secure place in universities. A Eurocentric and snobbish academic conservatism doubted that much could be learned from a country that scarcely had a history, but there were other barriers, too. As the Cold War took hold, Americans promoted the idea of a common past as the basis of a joint "Atlantic civilization" and launched a massive exercise in cultural diplomacy, including generous lubrication by both governmental and private bodies for American studies programs.[8] But many Europeans proved unresponsive. West Germans, for example, recently released from one state-sponsored political ideology, were wary of submitting to another.[9] In some countries, including Italy and France, there were large Communist

[6] Evgeny Badredinov, "Problems of Modernization in Late Imperial Russia: Maksim M. Kovalevskii on Social and Economic Reform" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 2005), Introduction.

[7] H. Hale Bellot, *The Study of American History: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at University College, London, on 5 February 1931* (Oxford, 1932), 6. Bellot held the Commonwealth Fund Chair in London, established in 1930. There were occasional visiting Americans: the Harmsworth Chair of American History, established at Oxford in 1922, was held for some years by Samuel Eliot Morison and then by Robert McElroy; it became an annual appointment in 1939. The Pitt Professorship of American History and Institutions at Cambridge, established in 1944, was also an annual appointment.

[8] The European Association for American Studies (EAAS) was founded at the American Seminar in Schloss Leopoldskron, Salzburg, Austria, in 1954, preceding the creation of most national associations of American studies. (The British Association appeared in 1955 following a number of Fulbright conferences at Oxford and Cambridge.)

[9] Philipp Gassert, "Between Political Reconnaissance Work and Democratizing Science: American Studies in Germany, 1917–1953," *GHI Bulletin* 32 (Spring 2003): 33–50. As noted in the essay in this roundtable by Manfred Berg, Paul Schor, and Isabel Soto, "The Weight of Words," German historians in the immediate postwar period, conscious of the Nazi past, were also reluctant to address the topic of American race relations, an inhibition that no longer obtains given the huge outpouring of publi-

parties suspicious of American designs, and even in the Netherlands and Denmark there were those who recoiled from the Manichean images emanating from the U.S. State Department. Europeans might welcome the Americans as liberators, but they also remembered Stalingrad and the huge human sacrifices made by the Soviet Union during the war.[10] In some countries, too, such as Italy and Spain, a strong Roman Catholic subculture resisted American modernity. In contrast, Cold War imperatives promoted the study of the United States in the Soviet Union.[11]

The English Channel also represented a divide. Language as well as water separates the United Kingdom from the Continent, and there was an exceptional takeoff of American history in Britain in the immediate postwar decades.[12] Academic liberals were attracted by the apparent openness of American society and intrigued by the New Deal's attempt to reconcile democracy with capitalism, which could offer a model for their own society, while the advent of the Cold War sharpened an appreciation for the importance of the United States in maintaining global order.[13] Welsh professor Brinley Thomas accompanied his formidable study of the nineteenth-century Atlantic economy with a plea for Britain to cleave to an Atlantic rather than a Commonwealth alliance: "Whether or not atomic bombs are going to rain down on Britain depends on the deterrent effect of that alliance and not on any narrow scheme of Commonwealth defence."[14]

While other Western European countries were much slower to embrace American history, the appeal of a liberal narrative was not confined to the United Kingdom. Ingrid Semmingsen, a prodigious historian of Norwegian immigration, wrote warmly of Franklin Roosevelt and American liberalism, and in France Raymond Aron asserted a distinctive liberal sensibility and was one of the few public intellectuals to give some sympathetic attention to the United States.[15] But perhaps most significant was the example afforded to European liberals by American political forms. In countries experimenting with new governing structures, there were scholarly examinations of American constitutionalism. Aldo Garosci's *Il pensiero politico degli autori del "Federalist"* (1954) was just one of a rash of Italian studies of the ideas of the American founders, and a little later the revolutionary period attracted the

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cations in this field in recent years; see Simon Wendt, "Transnational Perspectives on the History of Racism in North America," *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 54, no. 3 (2009): 473–498.

[10] Doeko Bosscher, "The Study of U.S. History in the Netherlands," in Cornelis A. van Minnen and Sylvia L. Hilton, eds., *Teaching and Studying U.S. History in Europe: Past, Present and Future* (Amsterdam, 2007), 175–193, here 177.

[11] Nikolai N. Bolkhovitinov, "American History in Russia: Retrospect and Prospect," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992): 524–529.

[12] There were perhaps half a dozen academics engaged in U.S. history in the UK immediately after the war, with that number rising to seventy-four by 1967; Harry C. Allen, "United States History in Great Britain and the European Association for American Studies," in Lewis Hanke, ed., *Guide to the Study of United States History outside the U.S., 1945–1980*, 5 vols. (White Plains, N.Y., 1985), 1: 46–85, here 57. There was also significant expansion in the Soviet Union from the mid-1950s, though figures are elusive.

[13] Michael Heale, "The British Discovery of American History: War, Liberalism and the Atlantic Connection," *Journal of American Studies* 39, no. 3 (2005): 357–369.

[14] Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, 1954), 240.

[15] Ingrid Semmingsen, *En verdensmakt blir til: De forente staters historie* (Oslo, 1946); Raymond Aron, *Dix-huit leçons sur la société industrielle* (Paris, 1958); Aron, *République impériale: Les États-Unis dans le monde, 1945–1972* (Paris, 1973).

attention of German doctoral students, some of whom went on to publish distinguished works, such as Willi Paul Adams's *The First American Constitutions* (1973). But Western Europe's liberal intellectuals made slow headway in societies in which both conservatives and radicals, for different reasons, were often strongly anti-American. While a few won U.S. publication, these scholars naturally enough were talking mainly to their own national audiences. So were historians in the Eastern Bloc. By the 1950s and 1960s, Soviet historians were publishing extensively on American history, in studies of American imperialism, labor, African Americans, the Civil War, and other topics that advanced a Marxist-Leninist perspective.[16]

The American liberal tradition may have given comfort to some Western European scholars, though they were not overly disposed to endorse the consensus school that then occupied a prominent place in U.S. historiography. Labor historians, intrigued by U.S. claims to exceptionalism, quite regularly inspected American labor conditions, and such practitioners as Henry Pelling in Britain, Daniel Guérin in France, and Alfredo Gradilone in Italy saw no reason to minimize class issues.[17] But by far the most expansive area in American history scholarship in the 1950s and 1960s consisted of studies of European-American connections. European scholars exploited their own archives in explorations of migration or economic or diplomatic relationships.[18] They were, after all, studying aspects of their own history. At the same time, this trajectory did little to bring European scholars together. The "European idea" may have been animating some European statesmen, but studies of bilateral connections remained discrete exercises, running along parallel rather than converging lines.

Studies of connections often pointed up the variations in the American experience but did not render the United States unique. Other European scholarship also tended to resist notions of American exceptionalism; regular publications on American race relations and the Civil War hardly suggested a consensual past. European Americanists could admire American liberal traditions, though they were drawn more to the conflicts than to the continuities in American history. Even the influential Sigmund Skard, noted for his untiring support of American studies in European curricula, was ready to point to the dehumanizing aspects of capitalism in the United States and the presence of racial inequality.[19]

By the late 1960s, with the Cold War assuming new configurations, fresh American influences and socioeconomic changes in Europe were again interacting to af-

[16] N. N. Bolkhovitinov, "The Study of United States History in the Soviet Union," trans. Marin Pundeff, *American Historical Review* 74, no. 4 (April 1969): 1221–1242; Grigorii N. Sevost'ianov, "The Study of United States History in the Soviet Union: Research Trends and Accomplishments," in Hanke, *Guide to the Study of United States History outside the U.S.*, 3: 526–561. There were, of course, able scholars writing within a Marxist framework, and some chose to work on relatively "safe" areas such as early American history or Russian-American relations; e.g., Nikolai N. Bolkhovitinov, *The Beginnings of Russian American Relations, 1775–1815*, trans. Elena Levin (Cambridge, Mass., 1975).

[17] Henry Pelling, *American Labor* (Chicago, 1960); Daniel Guérin, *Le mouvement ouvrier aux États-Unis: De 1866 à nos jours* (Paris, 1969); Alfredo Gradilone, *Storia del sindicalismo: Stati Uniti* (Milan, 1960).

[18] See the many entries in Hanke, *Guide to the Study of United States History outside the U.S.*

[19] Sigmund Skard, *Amerikanske Problem* (Trondheim, 1949); Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II* (New York, 1997), 114; Geir Lundestad, "Research Trends and Accomplishments in Norway on United States History," in Hanke, *Guide to the Study of United States History outside the U.S.*, 3: 247–302, here 253–254, 258–259.

fect the course of this scholarship. Facilitating the academic growth of American history through much of Europe was the expansion of higher education, creating at least some jobs for American specialists. The convulsions of the sixties on both sides of the Atlantic and the emergence of the New Left meant that European scholars who had not seen much to commend in the United States began to find its history more interesting. Anti-Americanism, once an obstacle, now provided a route into American history. The various protest movements engaged the attention of younger scholars who themselves had grown up imbibing American popular culture. Often seeing themselves as radicals, they balanced their suspicions of American power structures with their appreciation of the individualist or anarchist thrust present in American political culture. New Left history also reinforced the European disposition to be skeptical about American exceptionalism, as illustrated, for example, by Élise Marienstras's study of the roots of the American political tradition, with its exposure of the myths associated with consensus history.[20]

U.S. historians may have taken the initiative in generating new histories of race, class, and gender, but in the United States they were competing with resilient traditional narratives sustained by a large part of the profession. In many countries of Europe, there was little or no such traditional U.S. history, and studies of the elements of the "other America" took center stage (occasionally abetted by American expatriates appointed to develop U.S. history!). This was reinforced by the tendency on the Continent (as opposed to Britain) for American history to evolve in language and then area studies departments. Literary history and cultural studies expanded, and students of culture readily found their way into the fields opened up by New Left history. As the new history was being eagerly embraced by younger (and some older) European scholars in the 1970s, the American model that had excited some Europeans in the immediate postwar era was fading. U.S. credibility was savaged by the Vietnam experience, and the troubled economic times called into question the virtues of capitalism. American dissent, past and present, was among the areas being probed in the European academies, as was the nature of American capitalism.[21]

While American history was becoming visible in Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, and the Netherlands, in particular, the political changes of the 1970s also advanced the subject elsewhere. Détente helped to open up the study of American history in Eastern Europe, where it was less obliged to serve the state. From 1974, annual conferences on American literature and culture were held at Moscow State University, and in 1976 the American Studies Center was established at Warsaw University. The collapse of the right-wing regimes in the Iberian Peninsula opened space for American history there, from a distinctive perspective that embraced Latin America.[22]

[20] Élise Marienstras, *Les mythes fondateurs de la nation américaine: Essai sur le discours idéologique aux États-Unis à l'époque de l'indépendance, 1763–1800* (Paris, 1976).

[21] E.g., Klaus-Bert Becker, *Die Muckrakers und der Sozialismus: Eine Untersuchung zum politischen Bewußtsein in der Progressive Era* (Berne, 1974); A. N. J. den Hollander, ed., *Contagious Conflict: The Impact of American Dissent on European Life* (Leiden, 1973); Susanne Kleemann, *Ursachen und Formen der amerikanischen Studentenopposition* (Frankfurt, 1971); Marianne Debouzy, *Le capitalisme "sauvage" aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1972); Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "Der Übergang zum organisierten Kapitalismus in den USA: Thesen zum Problem einer aufhaltsamen Entwicklung," in Heinrich A. Winkler, ed., *Organisierter Kapitalismus: Voraussetzungen und Anfänge* (Göttingen, 1974), 172–194.

[22] Sylvia L. Hilton, "Identities and the Usable Pasts of Colonial Borderlands: Spanish Historians and

The expansion of higher education continued, sometimes fitfully, through the rest of the century, though the very diversity of topics being embraced by American specialists soon defied generalization.[23] Studies of transatlantic connections and U.S. foreign policy remained dominant, but in the 1980s European scholars could be found examining such varied subjects as American populism, white-collar workers, Native Americans, McCarthyism, and the civil rights movement.[24] Détente had not lasted long, and Russian publications remained heavily devoted to international relations, though they included such domestic topics as Daniel De Leon, John Dos Passos, Henry Clay's American System, and the connections between American business and politics.[25]

By the 1990s, the number of European publications was multiplying rapidly, and with the fall of the Berlin Wall, as the specter of censorship began to disappear, new influences came into play, among them a greater willingness in Eastern European countries to address American history. Russian scholars were soon distancing themselves from Soviet-style history.[26] Globalization had replaced the Cold War, with major implications for scholarship throughout Europe.

With transatlantic travel a commonplace by the late twentieth century, European scholarship was in some danger of being drawn into the American academic orbit. While British historians were most vulnerable in this respect, even Continental scholars occasionally acknowledged the degree to which they felt absorbed by the American academy. What is significant about this perspective is that European scholars were no longer necessarily focusing primarily on their domestic audiences. Some, at least, were trying to make contributions to U.S. historiographical discussions.

But where history was written continued to matter. Forms of cultural and intellectual history have flourished on both sides of the Atlantic, but they have occupied a larger part of the agenda in Europe than in the United States, partly because of institutional homes in "studies" departments. The book series European Contributions to American Studies, launched by Rob Kroes in 1979, was flourishing by the 1990s, its titles addressing such topics as postwar cultural change, the American West, American film and photography, and European anti-Americanism. Perhaps predictably, geography and culture came together in generating a lively scholarship on the theme of Americanization, of which Kroes's *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall* (1996) is one of the better-known examples. In recent years, several Eu-

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the North Pacific Frontiers of the Spanish Empire," in Steve Hackel, ed., *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation, 1769–1850* (Berkeley, Calif., 2010), 801–888, here 816.

[23] The percentage of college-age Western Europeans at university rose from about 7 percent in the 1960s to 15 percent in the 1980s, and to between 30 and 50 percent in the mid-1990s; Pells, *Not Like Us*, 124.

[24] E.g., Valeria Gennaro Lerda, *Il populismo americano: Movimenti radicali di protesta agraria nella seconda metà dell'800* (Genoa, 1981); Jürgen Kocka, *White-Collar Workers in America, 1890–1940: A Social-Political History in International Perspective* (London, 1980); Markku Henriksson, *The Indian on Capitol Hill: Indian Legislation and the United States Congress, 1862–1907* (Helsinki, 1988); Román Gubern, *La caza de brujas en Hollywood* (Barcelona, 1987); Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens, Ga., 1987).

[25] See, e.g., publications by Mark Lapitsky, Sophia Nicolaeva, Marina Vlasova, Nikolai Sakharov, and other Russian scholars cited in Adams and Helbich, *Directory of European Historians*, 115–145.

[26] Ivan I. Kurilla and Victoria I. Zhuravleva, "Teaching U.S. History in Russia: Issues, Challenges, and Prospects," *Journal of American History* 96, no. 4 (2010): 1138–1144, http://www.journalofamericanhistory.org/textbooks/2010/kurilla.html.

ropean countries have experienced a rise in racial and ethnic tensions as they too have experienced substantial immigration. This helps to explain a recent explosion of writing on American racial issues. Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson's study of black women and the civil rights movement and Alessandra Lorini's exploration of the public rituals of black activists in New York are but two of many examples.[27] Native American history has attracted increasing attention, not least in Scandinavia.[28] Within the broad category of race, there has been a preoccupation with the South. The 9th Annual Middelburg Conference of European Historians of the United States in April 2011, on "The U.S. South and Europe," featured papers by historians from Spain, Germany, Italy, Poland, Turkey, and Britain. In the 1950s and 1960s, Europeans were told by Americans that the South was "not really America," which perhaps deterred all but a few from examining it; with the "southernization of American politics," as delineated by Dan Carter and other modern American authors, its study has burgeoned.[29]

Their location in Europe has also made contemporary European Americanists receptive to transnational history, which they could claim they had long been practicing. Certainly Frank Thistlethwaite's seminal 1960 essay "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," calling for a global perspective in migration research that would better integrate immigrant reception with places of origin, could be seen as an early example of the genre.[30] At any rate, they were ready to respond to the invitations of American scholars to participate in "internationalizing" ventures, and what has remained a minority interest within the American historical profession has been a major one for Europeans. Francesca Lidia Viano's recent global history of the Statue of Liberty provides one illustration of this genre, and another is Paul Quigley's demonstration that evaluating the South in a transnational context can shed new light on the origins of the American Civil War.[31] The transnational and cultural turns have been important, too, in giving a powerful boost to Atlantic history, dramatically reviving what once seemed a fading interest

[27] Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson, *From Protest to Politics: Schwarze Frauen in der Bürgerrechtsbewegung und im Kongress der Vereinigten Staaten* (Frankfurt, 1998); Alessandra Lorini, *Rituals of Race: American Public Culture and the Search for Racial Democracy* (Charlottesville, Va., 1999).

[28] Scandinavian scholars interested in Native Americans include Gunlög Fur (Sweden), Sami Lakomäki (Finland), Rani-Henrik Andersson (Finland), and Lars Elenius (Sweden). See also the programs of the biennial Maple Leaf and Eagle Conference on North American Studies at the University of Helsinki, http://www.helsinki.fi/areaculturalstudies/mle/index.html, and the website of the American Indian Workshop, http://www.american-indian-workshop.org/index.html.

[29] Dan T. Carter, *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963–1994* (Baton Rouge, La., 1996); John Egerton, *The Americanization of Dixie: The Southernization of America* (New York, 1974); Peter Applebome, *Dixie Rising: How the South Is Shaping American Values, Politics, and Culture* (New York, 1996).

[30] Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Comité international des sciences historiques, *XIe Congrès international des sciences historiques, Stockholm, 21–28 Août 1960, Rapports V: Histoire contemporaine* (Stockholm, 1960), 32–60.

[31] Francesca Lidia Viano, *La statua della libertà: Una storia globale* (Rome, 2010); Paul Quigley, *Shifting Grounds: Nationalism and the American South, 1848–1865* (New York, 2011). The transnational turn can also be seen, *inter alia*, in studies of student protest in West Germany and the United States and in comparisons of American and European use of the death penalty: Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton, N.J., 2010); Austin Sarat and Jürgen Martschukat, eds., *Is the Death Penalty Dying? European and American Perspectives* (Cambridge, 2011).

in the colonial and early national eras.[32] American women's history had begun to appear in European academies in the 1980s, but it has burgeoned in recent years as it has been powerfully boosted by the vigor of transnational feminism.[33]

European circumstances have also sustained political history. Toward the end of the twentieth century, some U.S. historians, reeling before the pervasive thrust of a range of new historical fashions, were lamenting the eclipse of American political history. They wanted "to bring the state back in," a call bemusing to Europeans, for whom the state had never gone away, conscious as they were of the welfare state and the so-called "European social model."[34] Notwithstanding the nurturing role of area studies, in some Continental countries historians had often remained close to the political and social sciences, to which some U.S. historians were again turning for inspiration. The upheavals in European governance underlined the importance of political institutions, as a number of Eastern European countries rebuilt their political systems after 1989. The uneasy evolution of the European Community, not to mention the unification of Germany and the fragile nature of political parties in such countries as Italy, also served to raise the profile of the political. American models, perhaps, had not altogether lost their utility. Major studies have included Sweden's Max Edling on the creation of the republic as a process of state formation also found in early modern Europe, Italy's Raffaella Baritono on a later political and institutional crisis of American government, and Russia's Vladimir O. Pechatnov on the Democratic Party's approach to the electorate.[35]

As some of these examples suggest, it is possible for European writing not only to favor certain topics but also to betray distinctive approaches. The role of the United States in the world has ensured that European scholars have given ample attention to foreign affairs, leading some, such as Michael Cox and Odd Arne Westad, to question U.S.-centered analyses of international relations.[36] In Germany, the "cultural turn" has taken a different form from that in the United States, where it was conditioned by identity politics and culture wars; instead, the rather theoretical discussions among German scholars emerged out of a strongly historicist historiographical tradition.[37] It is possible for European scholars to take some advantage of their distance from the prevailing discourse in the United States, as illustrated in

[32] J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in Europe, 1492–1830* (New Haven, Conn., 2006); Jérôme Baschet, *La civilisation féodale: De l'an mil à la colonisation de l'Amérique* (Paris, 2006).

[33] Ferdinando Fasce, Maurizio Vaudagna, and Raffaella Baritono, eds., *Beyond the Nation: Pushing the Boundaries of U.S. History from a Transatlantic Perspective* (Turin, 2013), 14.

[34] William E. Leuchtenburg, "The Pertinence of Political History: Reflections on the Significance of the State in America," *Journal of American History* 73, no. 3 (1986): 585–600. Some U.S. scholars consciously promoted a "new" political history, whether via "American Political Development," owing much to political sociology and political science, or through policy history or what is sometimes called the new institutionalism. Some Europeans have been associated with this approach; e.g., Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan* (Lawrence, Kans., 2007).

[35] Max M. Edling, *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State* (Oxford, 2003); Raffaella Baritono, *Oltre la politica: La crisi politico-istituzionale negli Stati Uniti fra Otto e Novecento* (Bologna, 1993); V. O. Pechatnov, *Ot Dzheffersona do Klintona: Demokraticheskaia partiia SShA v bor'be za izbiratelia* (Moscow, 2008).

[36] Michael Cox, "Another Transatlantic Split? American and European Narratives and the End of the Cold War," *Cold War History* 7, no. 1 (2007): 121–146; Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge, 2009).

[37] Volker Depkat, "The 'Cultural Turn' in German and American Historiography," *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 54, no. 3 (2009): 425–450.

studies of the American Civil War, when more than a generation ago Raimondo Luraghi's Gramscian approach did attract the attention of U.S. scholars, while more recently John Ashworth's distinctive interpretation has also been subject to debate.[38]

While European historians have increasingly replaced an interest in Atlantic connections with topics in American domestic history, their geographical locus has remained pertinent, if less visible. As the varied Cold War passions have faded, American history need no longer be pressed so urgently into a European cause. And there is detachment of a different kind, too. Since European scholars usually do not have an ancestor who sailed on the *Mayflower* or an older brother who served in Vietnam, the personal does not inform their perspectives. They can be well versed in U.S. historiography while remaining detached from American life itself.

Two concurrent trends have impacted on their scholarship over the last two decades: increasing contact among its practitioners within Europe and the internationalization of American history. The former has been somewhat belated, for European specialists in American history have been less interested in the idea of a "European identity" than many of their political and intellectual leaders. The European Union (which contains only twenty-seven of the fifty European sovereign states) has provided funding for certain kinds of research, such as into migration patterns, though research projects are mostly pursued within national and local institutional structures. The series of reforms known as the Bologna Process has promoted the harmonization of European higher education (making it easier, for example, for students to move between different countries in the course of their degrees). But such unifying measures have so far sat lightly on Americanist academics, who are more likely to devote their limited resources to visits to the United States than to other European countries. Nonetheless, European practitioners of American history have been improving mutual contacts. The Middelburg Conference of European Historians of the United States has met biennially since 1993; the *European Journal of American Studies* has been online since 2006, promoting awareness of work done across the Continent. The co-authorship of this *AHR* Roundtable represents a confluence of time and place.

But if some scholars in Europe have now begun to think of themselves as "European," the technological conquest of distance has also exposed them to globalizing influences. European scholars are well positioned to pursue the opportunities afforded by transnational and global history, and some have begun to contextualize American events and processes in supranational trends. They may see the need increasingly to interact not only with colleagues in the United States but also with those in Latin America, Asia, and Oceania. Their local roots will remain relevant, for in integrating elements of American history into broader studies of issues and themes,

[38] Raimondo Luraghi, *Storia della guerra civile americana* (Turin, 1966); John Ashworth, *Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1995, 2007), discussed in "A Symposium on the American Civil War and Slavery," *Historical Materialism* 19, no. 4 (2011): 33–205.

they will select those that resonate within their own institutional and situational contexts.

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AHR Roundtable

"Brokering" or "Going Native": Professional Structures and Intellectual Trajectories for European Historians of the United States

NICOLAS BARREYRE, MAX EDLING, SIMON MIDDLETON, SANDRA SCANLON, and IRMINA WAWRZYCZEK

HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP IS RARELY a purely intellectual exercise. Our inquiries take place within national and institutional contexts that influence careers and research agendas, thereby shaping our development in ways that encourage and enable or discourage and sometimes even prevent our research endeavors. Most scholars, we suspect, would acknowledge this general claim. Yet we rarely pause to reflect on the intimate relationship of these conditions to research itself, which is too often assumed to exist on a separate intellectual plane. Historiographical debates, when they stray beyond the internal logic of the field, generally discuss the social or political relevance of new paradigms or approaches, but rarely do they examine the extent to which our scholarship may be shaped by the institutional makeup of our profession. This is the question we explore here, from the specific perspective of European Europe-based historians of early America and the United States.[1] Viewpoint and situated experience matter in approaching this topic, and we believe that our particular situation offers some valuable insights to reflect on the larger issue of the impact that professional conditions and structures have on the history we write.

The following thoughts—more tentative clues than definitive statements—arise out of shared professional experience as much as our understanding of our field. We are situated at the intersection of two sets of scholars who do not engage in routine communication: historians of the colonies and United States (mostly Americans) and our respective national peer groups of historians (rarely Americanist).[2] To become and remain successful academics within our field, we need to interact with both sets. This communication involves more than intellectual exchanges in both worlds, in the form of books and articles, conferences, and public debates. It also requires that we have a voice and are in a position to be heard: that we secure the necessary training, have access to a critical audience for our work, and are able to develop careers over

[1] Throughout this essay, we use "American history" as a shorthand for the history of colonial North America and of the United States—recognizing that, even with the many redefinitions of the field, it is a professional reality that those are often institutionally bundled together.

[2] See one explanation of this disjunction in François Weil, "Do American Historical Narratives Travel?," in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 317–342.

the longer term. All historians face such professional imperatives. Our own situation is but a specific set of opportunities, constraints, and challenges. Yet its distinctiveness may shed some light on how historians (and social scientists more generally) come to ask the questions they ask, and to answer them the way they do. It offers at least two advantages for exploring the subject. First, it confers a comparative viewpoint, at the intersection of two or more academic communities, between institutional settings, the standards of our academic communities, professional expectations, and the scholarship that historians produce. Second, hailing from different national contexts yet working in the same field might help us differentiate between the impact of doing American history while outside of the American academy (a structural reality in itself) and the particular arrangements within each European academy.[3]

This is not meant as a survey, still less as a comprehensive look at the issues outlined above. Instead, we focus on the two intellectual strategies that European scholars of American history have historically followed: "brokering" and "going native." Both paths, we suggest, make salient some of the ways in which professional structures and institutional pressures orient intellectual production. Their very existence, in fact, sheds light on the structural discontinuities of a common field—history—that we generally think of as continuous. We hope that the very specific viewpoint we offer here can spark a larger discussion on the way the institutional makeup of academia shapes our historical scholarship and conditions our collective historiographical endeavors.

THERE IS NOT *ONE* EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE on American history. As institutional conditions vary from country to country, so do the prospects for historians and their telling of American history. This very diversity sheds light on some of the conditions necessary for American history simply to exist in European academies. The first factor is demography. Britain stands out with the largest research community in the field and an undergraduate offering at many universities—the result of an expansion started in the 1960s with junior posts at provincial universities across England, Scotland, and Wales.[4] Numbers on the Continent are smaller: although Germany and France have sizable communities in U.S. history, followed by Italy, some countries have only a handful of tenured scholars in the field, and others none.[5] Institutionally, two situations prevail: while in the UK, Germany, and Italy most historians belong

[3] This article is co-authored by five historians with experience working in France, Ireland, Poland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

[4] Oxford and Cambridge started with visiting chairs, the Harmsworth Professorship (1922) and the bi-annual Pitt Professorship (1944), respectively. They were offered to senior American scholars, and arguably represented a mixed blessing regarding the development of U.S. history; the prestigious appointments ensured a regular presence of leading U.S. historians, but did not foster the development of the subject at either institution. For a long time, only two established chairs were open to home-grown scholars: the Commonwealth Professorship in American History at the University of London (1930) and the Rhodes Professorship at Oxford (1968).

[5] On numbers, see Susan-Mary Grant, Michael Heale, Halina Parafianowicz, and Maurizio Vaudagna, "Characteristics and Contours," this issue, and its fn. 1. For Italy, see Ferdinando Fasce, "American Studies in Italy," pt. 2: "U.S. History in Italy at the beginning of the 21st Century," *European Journal of American Studies* 1 (2006), http://ejas.revues.org/404.

to history departments, in the rest of Europe they are found mainly in American studies, often within language departments. In those countries, including France, courses on the U.S. are only rarely offered within history departments.

Those basic conditions are important elements for understanding the continuities and discontinuities created in the common field of American history across national borders. They shape, for instance, the availability and contours of Ph.D. training, arguably a key moment in the intellectual formation of historians. In some European countries, conditions discourage graduate students from training in the U.S. or elsewhere if they aim for an academic career at home. That is the case in Sweden, for instance, where familiarity with the Swedish system and established networks are key to securing one of the scarce positions in a country where priority is given to a national history that, it is not unreasonably felt, is often ignored abroad. Larger academies have more positions to offer: that creates a legitimate basis for substantial graduate programs in U.S. history and/or American studies. For those intending to pursue a "local" career, it is often a better strategy to enroll in the best available national programs rather than undertake graduate work in the United States: each academy has its own idiosyncrasies and local networks, and institutional knowledge can give a future candidate a crucial edge.[6] In France, if American studies positions in English departments are open to U.S.-trained historians—and several American scholars have secured posts in recent years—in history departments junior hires are also often required to teach classes in French and/or European history; in a tight job market, selection committees often prefer French-trained candidates who can cover national historiography and teach in French. The situation is similar in Poland: in history departments, positions are scarce, are advertised nationally, and require the ability to teach in Polish. Positions in American studies (a younger field, started in the 1980s) are more open to foreigners, if only because courses are taught in English; but they are few, and financial conditions—salaries and research funding—do not make them internationally attractive. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Polish students who get their Ph.D.'s in the U.S. are most likely to seek positions there.

Thus hiring practices can create discontinuities in a field that we tend to think of as more fluid and transnational when we approach it intellectually. Discontinuity is not a rule everywhere, however. In some countries, a Ph.D. from the United States is an advantage in the academic job market—a trend that facilitates the dissemination of American paradigms. In the Netherlands, for instance, universities are developing programs taught in English, in large part to attract more international students, and hiring committees are keen to attract U.S.- and UK-trained academics, all the more as the pool of homegrown scholars is small.[7] In Ireland, the traditional

[6] Although rarely acknowledged publicly, purely institutional considerations are part of the routine advice given to students by their advisers on both sides of the Atlantic. Mundane factors become real obstacles to international hiring: résumés, for instance, are difficult for committees in other countries to decipher because of the peculiarities of each academic system. With such uncertainties, personal knowledge through common networks can often be relied on, or the reputation of advisers or of schools attended. On the importance of local networks in academic hiring in France, see Olivier Godechot and Alexandra Louvet, "Academic Inbreeding: An Evaluation," *Books and Ideas*, April 22, 2010, http://www.booksandideas.net/Academic-Inbreeding-An-Evaluation.html.

[7] In 2012, there were ten doctoral students in American history training in the Netherlands (thanks to Hans Krabbendam for this figure). The most recent hires there at that date were Mark L. Thompson (Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University) and Michael Foley (Ph.D., University of New Hampshire) at the

preference for faculty with U.S. Ph.D.'s and substantial connections with historians working in the U.S. is longstanding.[8] As a result, graduate study of America in Ireland is a relatively recent development. In the United Kingdom, trends also suggest that American or other U.S.-trained candidates are performing well in job searches.[9] In the increasing international competition for junior scholars, the luster of an Ivy League graduate program and the teaching, archival experience, and publications that come with a longer and often more generously funded U.S. Ph.D. can offset the advantages national candidates might have in terms of a firmer grasp of the changeable and complex UK funding structure and institutional priorities. In these academies, the centrality of training in the U.S. helps smooth national peculiarities in the common field of American history, but often at the price of familiarity with home historiographies and audiences, creating new sets of discontinuities.

We insist on Ph.D. training because it is one of the main loci where the intellectual exchanges and discontinuities within the field of American history can be observed. Academic market conditions affect historians' chances to make a career, and thus the profile of academic communities in American history. Training in Europe can create significant differences in the kind of work one undertakes. Logistical aspects intervene: access to archives and good library monograph collections is arguably more difficult from Europe than from the U.S., even though things have improved.[10] Yet hints abound that professional and institutional conditions also make a substantive difference to the scholarship produced. Some are keyed to the human context: there are few full professors of American history, with the consequence that those who do make it to senior positions can exert an outsized influence on the topics students turn to, even in a large community such as Britain's. For instance, Tony Badger's key position at Cambridge for the past quarter-century partly explains the sizable group of scholars of civil rights, race, and the postwar South there, of whom his former students make up a substantial subgroup.[11] Sometimes specific institutional contexts come into play. In France, where training often includes French history and historiography, and where Ph.D. committees (made up of four to six professors from different universities) rarely consist only of subject specialists, candidates find themselves pushed to engage with the larger intellectual conversations in the French academy as well as American historiography. This can feed into

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University of Groningen, Ann Wilson (Ph.D., Harvard University) at the University of Leiden, and George Blaustein (Ph.D., Harvard University) at the University of Amsterdam.

[8] Of the six historians of the United States currently employed full-time at Irish universities, three earned their Ph.D.'s in the United States, two in the United Kingdom, and one in Ireland.

[9] In 2008–2011, British universities made approximately ten permanent appointments in American history. Six of those appointees received their Ph.D.'s in the United States, one in Canada, and three in the United Kingdom. In 2011, Oxford University selected Pekka Hämäläinen (officially a Ph.D. from Helsinki, but trained in the U.S. and with a career at the University of California, Santa Barbara) to fill its most prestigious position in U.S. history, the Rhodes Professorship.

[10] The Internet has revolutionized the practice of history on both sides of the Atlantic, of course, and somewhat evened the playing field, so to speak, although many databases are too expensive for European universities, and would be even if American history were a less marginal subfield there.

[11] Former students include Robert Mason (Edinburgh), Clive Webb (Sussex), Stephen Tuck (Oxford), Kate Dossett (Leeds), and Simon Hall (Leeds), who now hold positions in the UK; and Sandra Scanlon (Dublin) and Tim Minchin (Melbourne), with posts overseas. Similarly, Betty Wood's graduate students included many working on slavery and the South, for example Tim Lockley (Warwick), Ben Marsh (Stirling), and Inge Dornan (Brunel).

their scholarship: Paul Schor's study of the construction of racial and ethnic categories through the U.S. Census reflects French debates on demography and social categories; Peter Marquis's dissertation on the Brooklyn Dodgers makes good use of French work on the sociology of sport to explore the relationship between the team and the identity of the borough; Jean-Baptiste Velut's study of political mobilization in U.S. trade policies owes much to the debates around "alter-globalism" in France.[12] In Germany, another institutional requirement tends to favor comparison or the bridging of various historiographies. There, junior scholars intending to become full professors need to do a *Habilitation*, which entails a second, larger dissertation in a field different from that in which they did their doctoral work. Scholars coming to U.S. history at this stage thus have prior research experience in other subjects. Marcus Gräser, for instance, first worked on the welfare state in the Weimar Republic before turning to the U.S., largely informing his thinking on the latter, and pushing him toward comparative history. Heike Bungert first worked on the Allies' views on the left-wing anti-Nazi movement, which played an important role in the founding of the GDR. Her thinking on cultural tensions and national identity later informed her study, for her *Habilitation*, of German Americans' rituals and festivals.[13]

Influences on scholarship are multiple, and it is often difficult to ascribe distinctive traits to specific factors. Yet such examples suggest that institutional structures and constraints do play a part in shaping research, be it in the selection of topics or the intellectual conversations with which it engages. These professional conditions explain why Europe-based historians of the U.S. have followed, on the whole, two distinct intellectual strategies, which we label here "brokering" vs. "going native." In truth, most academics pursue a mix of the two (in various degrees), but it is helpful to draw the contrast conceptually.

THE FIRST PATH, "BROKERING," IS the more longstanding. It insists on what connects the history of the U.S. with that of Europe (or, more often, of its individual countries). It aims to bridge the historiographies of both sides of the Atlantic. The popularity of this approach is well evidenced by the large number of works out of Europe in two fields: international relations and migrations. Such attraction to scholars is partly due to cultural affinities. For instance, in Britain, the "special relationship" has been an important factor in the development of the field.[14] In Ireland, a strong

[12] Paul Schor, *Compter et classer: Histoire des recensements américains* (Paris, 2009); Peter Marquis, "Brooklyn et 'ses' Dodgers: Base-ball et construction des identités urbaines aux États-Unis, une sociohistoire (1883–1957)" (Ph.D. thesis, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2009); Jean-Baptiste Velut, "'Free' Trade or 'Fair' Trade? The Battle for the Rules of American Trade Policy from NAFTA to CAFTA (1991–2005)" (joint Ph.D. thesis/diss., Paris 3 and CUNY, 2009).

[13] Marcus Gräser, *Der blockierte Wohlfahrtsstaat: Unterschichtjugend und Jugendfürsorge in der Weimarer Republik* (Göttingen, 1995); Gräser, *Wohlfahrtsgesellschaft und Wohlfahrtsstaat: Bürgerliche Sozialreform und Welfare State Building in den USA und in Deutschland, 1880–1940* (Göttingen, 2009); Heike Bungert, *Das Nationalkomitee und der Westen: Das NKFD und die Freien Deutschen Bewegungen aus der Sicht der Westalliierten, 1943–1955* (Tübingen, 1995); Bungert, *Feste und das ethnische Gedächtnis: Die Festkultur der Deutschamerikaner im Spannungsfeld zwischen deutscher und amerikanischer Identität, 1848–1914* (Cologne, 2004).

[14] Michael J. Heale, "American History in Great Britain," in Cornelis A. van Minnen and Sylvia L.

sense of kinship explains that scholarship there often focuses on Irish migration to the United States and the Atlantic world, and on the relationship between Irish and American political thought.[15] Indeed, most European countries have experienced large-scale migration to the U.S. in their past: studying it has direct relevance to their home audience. Further, while domestic American history is virtually ignored in some European countries, the rise of the United States as a superpower has given political relevance to the study of its international relations, especially during and after the Cold War, and such studies make up a large portion of the scholarship produced in many academies.[16]

Yet the importance of "brokering" as a trend in European scholarship cannot be explained only by cultural affinities. It also bears the imprint of the various professional and institutional conditions of historians of the U.S. in European academies. On the one hand, topics that bridge the U.S. and Europe give them a direct connection to their national colleagues, and to the national audience at large—an imperative stronger in Continental Europe, where one is professionally expected to publish in the national language for a home audience. On the other hand, working on transatlantic subjects can make it possible for European scholars to professionally carve out a distinctive place for themselves within U.S. historiography. It builds on comparative advantages such as language skills, knowledge of the works done in their own countries, and local archives. For a long time, this was true of migration studies, for instance.[17] Recently, new twists on this "brokering" trend have made use of such assets to rethink U.S. history and establish a distinct voice in the new field of borderlands history: Tangi Villerbu's current research on Minnesota, for instance, makes heavy use of French church archives held in Lyon, allowing him to recon-

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Hilton, eds., *Teaching and Studying U.S. History in Europe: Past, Present, and Future* (Amsterdam, 2007), 133–146.

[15] See, e.g., David Noel Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen, and Revolutionary America, 1760–1820* (Dublin, 1981); Doyle, *Irish Americans, Native Rights, and National Empires: The Structure, Divisions and Attitudes of the Catholic Minority in the Decade of Expansion, 1890–1901* (New York, 1976); and Maurice J. Bric, "The Irish Immigrant and the Broadening of the Polity in Philadelphia, 1790–1800," in Eliga H. Gould and Peter S. Onuf, eds., *Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Baltimore, 2005), 159–177. Historians of both Ireland and the United States examine national histories within the context of the Atlantic world; see, e.g., Nicholas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560–1800* (Baltimore, 1987); Canny, "Writing Atlantic History; or, Reconfiguring the History of Colonial British America," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999): 1093–1114; and Maurice J. Bric, *Ireland, Philadelphia and the Re-invention of America, 1760–1800* (Dublin, 2008). This transnational or comparative approach is also reflected in the work of Enrico Dal Lago—e.g., *Agrarian Elites: American Slaveholders and Southern Italian Landowners, 1815–1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 2005). It is not distinctive to historians, as evidenced by anthropologist A. Jamie Saris's project "The American Irish—A Visual Ethnography," http://www.ucdclinton.ie/research_theamericanirish.

[16] Of the fifteen dissertations on American history defended at Swedish universities between 1976 and 2005, five dealt with foreign relations. This pattern appears to be the same throughout Europe. See Stefan Eklöf Amirell, *Svenska doktorsavhandlingar i historia, 1976–2005* (Stockholm, 2007); Heale, "American History in Great Britain"; Jørn Brøndal, "The Study of U.S. History in Denmark," in van Minnen and Hilton, *Teaching and Studying U.S. History in Europe*, 83–100; Philipp Gassert, "The Study of U.S. History in Germany," ibid., 117–132.

[17] For a few overviews, see Anna Maria Martellone, "Italian Emigration to the United States: Italian Perspectives," *Storia Nordamericana* 1, no. 2 (1984): 183–196; Hans Norman and Harald Runblom, eds., *Transatlantic Connections: Nordic Migration to the New World after 1800* (Oslo, 1988); Wolfgang Helbich, "German Research on German Migration to the United States," *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 54, no. 3 (2009): 383–404; Hans Krabbendam, *Freedom on the Horizon: Dutch Immigration to America, 1840–1940* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 2009).

ceptualize settlement patterns and the social history of the region. It follows the more established use of similar Spanish archives to study the southwestern borderlands of the U.S.[18]

Importantly, research linking American and European history is sometimes literally built into institutions as research centers, thereby providing a powerful professional incentive to scholars in terms of opportunities, recognition, and funding. Such centers often exist because their relevance is more easily sold to politicians and state administrators, or because they align with larger national policies. For instance, the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland, explicitly links research on the U.S. and Polish migrations in one Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora.[19] Maybe the best-financed of such institutional support is the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C., which sends German scholars to the U.S. and creates connections between the academies, and the historiographies, of both countries. The institute explicitly promotes such endeavors. One of many examples is *On the Road to Total War*, an edited collection that brings together studies of the U.S. Civil War and the European wars of the same period: it built on this "brokering" imperative to view as a whole conflicts that had already been studied at length, but separately.[20]

This path, however, has become less dominant across Europe. As academies become more connected, a second strategy for Americanists is growing in importance, one we have labeled "going native."[21] The key idea here is that a successful historian of the U.S. in Europe should be able to "pass" as an American historian *in* the U.S., in terms of topics, research, and intervention in the field. Some prominent European professors advise their students to immerse themselves completely in American historiography and universities. Long stays in the United States and full engagement with American scholars are priorities in training Ph.D. students. Those scholars who explore U.S. social, cultural, and political histories focus on "going native" by directly engaging in the historiographical debates on U.S. history that are prominent within the U.S. academy.[22] Whether they engage with their home-based colleagues is clearly less important than it is for "brokers." The "going native" strategy aims to connect with American scholars on their turf. The criterion of success almost implies the denial of any European specificity. There is an intellectual rationale for such an approach: to engage the American historiography on any topic in U.S. history is to

[18] Tangi Villerbu, "La fabrique d'une société: Religion, métissage et communautés dans l'Ouest américain. Minnesota, 1830–1860" (*Habilitation* thesis, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre, 2013). On Spanish historians and the borderlands, see Sylvia L. Hilton, "Identities and the Usable Pasts of Colonial Borderlands: Spanish Historians and the North Pacific Frontiers of the Spanish Empire," in Steven W. Hackel, ed., *Alta California: Peoples in Motion, Identities in Formation* (Berkeley, Calif., 2010).

[19] TransAtlantic Studies of the Jagiellonian University, "About the Institute," http://www.transatlantic.uj.edu.pl/institute/about.

[20] Stig Förster and Jörg Nagler, eds., *On the Road to Total War: The American Civil War and the German Wars of Unification, 1861–1871* (Washington, D.C., 1997). The German Historical Institute is very active in this regard, as evidenced by its website, http://www.ghi-dc.org/.

[21] After Weil, "Do American Historical Narratives Travel?"

[22] Some scholars have indeed gone completely "native" by taking positions at American universities—e.g., Olivier Zunz at the University of Virginia and Michal Jan Rozbicki at St. Louis University—though most of them are British. Others have moved to the U.S. at the Ph.D. level and continued their career there, such as Sven Beckert at Harvard. They remain the exception, however, and most non-Americans hired in U.S. history departments do non-U.S. history (a trend mirrored in European countries).

confront a continent. And there is often a sense that, to be heard, scholars need to follow the parameters of this continent, its specific rules of the game.[23]

There are professional and institutional reasons as well for the growing importance of this approach. In smaller academies, such as in Sweden, historians of the U.S. are so few and far between that their only counterparts are in the U.S.: there is not enough of a community at home to sustain the kind of "brokering" described above. In larger academies, institutional pressures on the profession as a whole have pushed European historians of the U.S. toward more assimilation into U.S. historiography. In Britain, where for the past quarter-century a periodic state census of "research outputs" has maintained a focus on "productivity," the worth of scholars is measured in part by their inclusion in U.S. publications and their reception by the U.S. community. Arguably, the larger size of the Americanist community, a common language, and the tighter connection between the U.S. and UK publishing worlds (with Cambridge and Oxford University Presses being major actors in the field of American history writ large) have facilitated this trend.[24] Yet in other countries as well, the idea has developed that professional legitimacy in American history can only be granted in the U.S. academy. It is partly a matter of numbers: there are not enough historians outside of the U.S., in so many different languages, to provide adequate expertise and supervision. It also reflects a change in professional standards and institutional pressures: often born in experimental and mathematical sciences, where a derivative of English is universally used, the pressure to publish in English (which is often seen as the mark of "truly" international science by the bureaucrats overseeing such changes) now bears on all the social sciences and humanities. In some European countries, local university presses have started publishing in English.[25]

In such settings, more and more scholars from Continental Europe—where English is not the native language—have started publishing directly with U.S. presses for a professional audience that is primarily based in the U.S.[26] This trend reflects on

[23] Winfried Fluck suggested that these very parameters are an impediment to a true internationalization of American history, as expertise on other countries or efforts at transnational history are only one of the ways to create distinction and originality, which is the core professional imperative. Fluck, "The Modernity of America and the Practice of Scholarship," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 343–366.

[24] In the UK, the number of American historians made viable the creation of professional organizations especially dedicated to the field: the British Group of Early American Historians (BGEAH), the Association of British American Nineteenth Century Historians (BrANCH), and Historians of the Twentieth Century United States (HOTCUS). This is a relatively recent phenomenon; before, historians of the U.S. were included in larger associations dedicated to American literature, history, and culture, under the vocable "American studies." Such national associations exist everywhere in Europe, and are federated into a European Association for American Studies.

[25] For instance, VU University Press in Amsterdam regularly publishes in English, including on American history. Maurizio Vaudagna's last two edited books were also international projects published in Italy directly in English: *The Place of Europe in American History: Twentieth-Century Perspectives* (Turin, 2007) and (with Alice Kessler Harris) *Democracy and Social Rights in the "Two Wests"* (Turin, 2009). The Maria Curie-Skłodowska University Press in Lublin, Poland, has also published in English; see Zbigniew Mazur, *Settlers and Indians: Transformations of English Culture in Seventeenth-Century Virginia* (1995) and *The Power of Play: Leisure, Recreation and Cultural Hegemony in Colonial Virginia* (2010); and Irmina Wawrzyczek, *Planting and Loving: Popular Sexual Mores in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (1998). Yet such books are difficult to find in U.S. bookstores and libraries.

[26] For the French case, see, *inter alia*, François Weil, *Family Trees: A History of Genealogy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013); Jean-Christian Vinel, *The Employee: A Political History* (Philadelphia, 2013); Romain D. Huret, *American Tax Resisters* (Cambridge, Mass., 2014).

the growing importance of American colleagues in their professional careers. Until recently, most books published in the American market by Continental Europeans were translations (unlike articles). Such works thus reached two important audiences: one at home, the other in the U.S. Bypassing this home audience may have consequences, however, for the intellectual product itself. Most Europeans who have had their work translated have experienced the differences in expectations that university press editors have on both sides of the Atlantic—an awareness that sometimes leads to substantial rewriting. Thus Manfred Berg's book on the NAACP was purposefully rewritten in a narrative style that the German version did not have. Similarly, Rob Kroes revamped many of his examples in the American version of his study of the diffusion of American consumer culture, first written in Dutch.[27] Writing directly for U.S. presses, within their guidelines, for the same audience as U.S. historians might be the ultimate in "going native." It should certainly improve European scholars' visibility to their American peers. Yet the growing isolation of their research endeavors from the requirements of their home audience and colleagues could also impoverish the collective intellectual infusion suggested above.

In truth, European scholars rarely choose exclusively between "brokering" and "going native." More often their careers combine the two, in proportions that vary between countries, and have recently evolved. Institutional pressures themselves can prove crosscutting. The top-down bureaucratic reorganization of university systems that has swept through Europe in the past decade has pushed scholars to publish in English (the criterion of "international" publication) while simultaneously re-centering their research on Europe in the name of "relevance." The common denominator throughout the Continent is a turn toward the short-term management of research through evaluation, scoring, and ranking according to benchmarks and quantitative measures of "quality" and "impact." A second common feature is the justification of this evaluation of university research and teaching in terms of market imperatives, such as the needs and desires of future employers of university graduates.[28] Across Europe, regular and sizable block grants that once provided for some measure of research autonomy are being replaced by smaller, less predictable funding streams that frequently come with constraining preconditions and expectations.[29] The pressure at universities to apply for these grants influences the kinds of projects that are pursued by European historians of the U.S. For instance, recent European-funded projects in Ireland have focused on international or transnational approaches to aspects of American history, on such topics as "War and American Identity," "The United States and Northern Ireland," and "Photography and International Conflict,"

[27] Manfred Berg, *The Ticket to Freedom: Die NAACP und das Wahlrecht der Afro-Amerikaner* (Frankfurt, 2000); Berg, *The Ticket to Freedom: The NAACP and the Struggle for Black Political Integration* (Gainesville, Fla., 2005); Rob Kroes, *De leegte van Amerika: Een massacultuur in de wereld* (Amsterdam, 1992); Kroes, *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: Europeans and American Mass Culture* (Urbana, Ill., 1996).

[28] On this application of management to universities, see Simon Head, "The Grim Threat to British Universities," *New York Review of Books*, January 13, 2011, http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2011/jan/13/grim-threat-british-universities/. The French situation was the subject of *La fièvre de l'évaluation*, Special Issue, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 55, no. 4 (2008).

[29] In many countries, the plan is to finance research through three- or four-year projects through one national public agency, such as the Agence nationale de la recherche in France, the Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek in the Netherlands, or the Narodowe Centrum Nauki in Poland. The European Union follows the same path through its European Research Council.

partly because the EU only finances projects involving Europe.[30] This can foster cooperation between Americanists and historians of Europe and other areas, but it certainly powerfully exemplifies how funding structures affect scholarship and its content.

Those reforms drive home the fact that institutional settings and professional constraints have a substantive impact on scholarship, even in more stable, better-funded periods. Even if there is not *one* European perspective on American history, the developments above suggest that there is good reason to believe that the institutional setting of European academies does shape both the scholarship of European scholars of the U.S. and their relations with U.S.-based historians.[31] Their case suggests a larger point: as we are engaged in vast historiographical debates about the internationalization of U.S. history, and more largely about transnational and global history, we need to reflect on the substantive impact of professional factors within national borders, in the U.S. and elsewhere.

[30] Liam Kennedy co-directs "Photography & International Conflict," an interdisciplinary project, with James Carville of the Institute of Art, Design & Technology, Dun Laoghaire, Dublin. David Ryan of University College Cork directed "War and American Identity," while Maurice Bric of University College Dublin directs "The United States and Northern Ireland: A Transatlantic Perspective on Problems and Solutions, 1968–2000." All were based at the UCD Clinton Institute for American Studies, University College Dublin. See http://www.ucdclinton.ie/research.

[31] As noted in Grant, Heale, Parafianowicz, and Vaudagna, "Characteristics and Contours," this issue, initiatives to bring together European scholars of the U.S. have been growing, and the more recent include two aimed at graduate students: Heidelberg University's Spring Academy in Germany and the Seminar for Young Americanists organized by the Centro Interuniversitario di Storia e Politica Euro-Americana (CISPEA) in Italy.

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AHR Roundtable

Teaching in Europe and Researching in the United States

TREVOR BURNARD, JÖRG NAGLER,
SIMON NEWMAN, AND DRAGAN ŽIVOJINOVIĆ

THE SOLE U.S. HISTORIAN AT THE University of Copenhagen in Denmark devotes virtually all her undergraduate teaching time to general surveys of colonial American and U.S. history and literature, while her graduate courses range from a survey of American legal history to a global history of human rights. A U.S. historian in Bologna, Italy, teaches a comprehensive course on the entirety of American history to third-year students in international studies, and one on transatlantic relations to American exchange students. At Belgrade University, undergraduate teaching in American history is integrated into courses on contemporary political history and international relations that are taught within the Faculty of Political Sciences and the Faculty of Philosophy. In Britain, in contrast, the larger research universities may have separate American studies departments, in which, as at the University of Nottingham, there are as many as ten academics who are specialists in American history, or sometimes several American specialists in history departments that encompass many kinds of history (not unlike the situation at many U.S. universities). But what impact does this diversity have on the teaching of American history in Europe?

European historians of colonial America and the United States are very often generalists in their undergraduate teaching, and this poses interesting issues in an educational environment being rapidly transformed by the demands of research productivity, which have become more insistent in recent years. Of course, being a generalist in teaching is not unique to Europe: in the United States, outside the large research universities, most teachers of American history do not have the luxury of specializing in small teaching areas. Yet, we argue, generalist teaching is done differently in Europe than it is in the United States, with significant consequences for how teaching is approached and thus in how research in American history is undertaken. What historians of America in Europe have to do is something that seems deceptively obvious, but is tricky to achieve: teach the history of the United States not as insiders within a national historical discourse, but as outsiders teaching about a foreign country. European students often know a great deal about the United States, from popular culture, personal experience, and, not least, academic scholarship (very often produced in America and designed to elucidate national characteristics for an American rather than a European audience), but they see it—as do their teachers—as a country separate from the one in which they reside. Teaching the history of America as a foreign country is challenging but rewarding. It does lead

to differences in approach and in conclusions, in teaching as much as in research. Location does matter in how the narrative of American history is conveyed to students in teaching. That teaching experience has its effects on writing, too.

European American historians work in systems in which the demands of providing teaching and research into nation-state history are more dominant than in the United States, where a greater proportion of scholars than anywhere in Europe work in areas outside American history. According to a recent survey, only one-third of U.S.-based historians at selected research universities describe themselves as American historians. By contrast, in Britain—the European country that is least provincial in its teaching provision at university level—41 percent of historians work on the history of Britain and Ireland, and 77 work on British or European history. Just 6 percent teach American history. We do not have data on the extent of the dominance of the nation-state in teaching patterns for any other European country, but it is highly likely that the tendency to study one's own country is more pronounced outside Britain. In any case, the number of those who teach American history in Europe is not large. Apart from Britain, where nearly two hundred university teachers consider themselves specialists in American history, only Germany and France claim more than fifty each, most countries have fewer than twenty, and in some the number is in single figures.[1]

The numbers are important to provide a perspective on the continuing marginality of American history within every history department in Europe except in Britain: the number of historians of the U.S. in Germany or France or Italy is less than the number of historians in the history department at a large state university such as the University of Texas at Austin, the University of California at Berkeley, or Ohio State University. That marginality is not necessarily a disadvantage, especially in systems that encourage, to a greater extent than is normal in the United States, a degree of collaboration in teaching patterns at the undergraduate level, with emphasis on shared courses and team teaching. European historians of the U.S. are encouraged through their daily teaching practices to connect with historians teaching in other areas in ways that can be fruitful only in a discipline being rapidly transformed by developments in transnational and global history. These developments promise to subvert or at least transform traditional understandings of nation-state history. Historians who customarily teach across national boundaries, including many historians of America teaching in Europe, are well-placed to respond to the current fascination with America's spatial dimensions. This interest in thinking about space can be seen in such disparate teaching areas as the Atlantic world and America in a global context.[2] As Anne Gerritsen, a Dutch-born, American-trained historian

[1] See Susan-Mary Grant, Michael Heale, Halina Parafianowicz, and Maurizio Vaudagna, "Characteristics and Contours," this issue, and its fn. 1. The relationship between the teaching of national history and the history of all parts of the world is discussed in Luke Clossey and Nicholas Guyatt, "It's a Small World after All: The Wider World in Historians' Peripheral Vision," *Perspectives on History*, May 2013, https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/may-2013/its-a-small-world-after-all; and in Anne Gerritsen, "Not 'Them,' but 'Us,'" *Perspectives on History*, June 2013, https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/summer-2013/aha-roundtable-its-a-small-world-after-all/not-them-but-us.

[2] American history, of course, is taught in many places other than Europe and the United States. European Americanists, just like American historians in the United States, seem to have difficulty treating American history as a constituent part of global history. Teaching America solely in comparison with

of China at the University of Warwick, states, "'We' now inhabit multicultural cosmopolitan worlds within which national boundaries have lost a great deal of their organizing agency and legitimacy."[3] Teaching American history in Europe is one way of introducing students to this kind of complexity.

Teaching broadly has had an impact on scholarship—providing opportunities as well as constraints, in different ways in different nations. Recently, too, the relationship between teaching and research has changed, both within and across European nations. While the research practices of U.S. historians in the United States and in European countries have begun to converge, their teaching practices have remained distinct. For the first time, European-wide reforms of higher education are seeking a homogenized European teaching model, which (unintentionally) gives new impetus to the generalist tradition. This series of reforms is generally known as the Bologna Process; initiated in 1999, it is still underway, aimed at harmonizing higher education assessment and teaching practices throughout Europe. The goal is to dissolve educational borders in Europe in the same way that economic borders have been broken. As with economic integration, the Bologna Process is highly contested, but it is, as one American observer puts it, "the most far reaching and ambitious reform of higher education ever undertaken."[4] It demonstrates, among other things, the much greater role of European states and the European Union in laying down rules for homogenized education systems in ways that are not possible in the more variegated American system of higher education—a system in which extreme diversity in teaching practices as a result of very different higher education structures, including a greater percentage of private institutions, is accepted as inevitable and possibly desirable. These developments present particularities that shed light not only on the scholarship of European historians of the United States, but more generally on the many links, synergies, and conflicts between what we teach and what we write.

It is a bold undertaking to generalize about the teaching of American history in a diverse Europe, with its multitude of educational practices and purposes, diverse means of funding, diverse student bodies, and all the complications of size, ambition, and institutional and academic culture that differentiate one university or college from another. Teaching American history in 2014 in the perilous university environment of Greece or Spain is not the same as teaching American history within a department in English studies in France or at a major research university in Germany or Britain, where teaching might take second place to research.

We admit to having some biases. We have concentrated here mostly on teaching at universities where there is a significant research responsibility for academics. We do this not because research universities are more important than other places of instruction, but because we want to focus on how teaching influences the research

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Europe, as if both areas were not part of large-scale global processes and also as if Europe has some special place in its relationship with America, is highly unsatisfactory.

[3] Gerritsen, "Not 'Them,' but 'Us.'"

[4] Clifford Adelman, *The Bologna Process for U.S. Eyes: Re-learning Higher Education in the Age of Convergence* (Washington, D.C., 2009), viii.

direction of Europeans doing American history, and especially because we want to connect our findings on the teaching of American history to the contentions put forward in the other essays in this roundtable. We also concentrate on the teaching and research nexus in Germany, France, and Britain: that is where the major centers of scholarship on America have traditionally been located, they are the areas we know best, and they provide sufficient contrasts for our purpose.

We also admit to a more significant bias that shapes how American history specialists in Europe view American history. We compare ourselves to certain institutions in the United States rather than to others. The nature of international exchanges means that European academics are familiar primarily with the teaching practices at the older, richer, and research-intensive U.S. universities. Such distinctive American institutions as liberal arts colleges have few equivalents in Europe, where very little higher education is done outside the aegis of the state. Certainly the prestigious European institutions are state institutions. Although sources of funding are becoming more diverse, university education is overwhelmingly a state preserve. So our understanding of American teaching practices is both incomplete and biased. Nevertheless, it is useful to have these biases explicated, since in-depth knowledge about teaching practices around the world is rare, even for very well traveled academics. Few Americans, for example, have much knowledge of such important features of teaching as the external examination process in Britain, which ensures a rough equality of exam results throughout the country; or the *agrégation* exercises in France, which help determine student entry into universities; or the various ways in which university degrees can be gained in Germany. Such limitations to our understanding mean that our reflections can only hint at the complex connections between teaching and scholarship.

European educational practices are thus neither constant nor unproblematic. Nevertheless, there is a strong move toward making the European educational experience more uniform, and there are strong pan-European forces that condition how American history might be taught that differentiate teaching practices in a European context from teaching practices in an American setting.

Three recent imperatives are shaping how scholars do their work. First, European universities have worked hard to try and harmonize their teaching practices in recent years under the Bologna Process.[5] This establishes firm distinctions between undergraduate education, coursework toward a higher degree, and research training for a Ph.D. Students are expected to do three years in the first area; two years in the second, obtaining a master's award of some description; and three or four years in the third stage. The process is designed to enhance the research capacities of students and staff, thus increasing the research potential of European universities. That European universities, at least outside Britain and to an extent Germany, do not have the kind of organized system of research training that is found at leading U.S. universities and serves them well in international rankings has been an urgent concern for university leaders throughout Europe. France, for example, has been a leading proponent of the Bologna Process in part because its system of universities and

[5] "The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999: Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education," http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/bologna_declaration.pdf.

grandes écoles does not fit the criteria used in international comparisons.[6] For historians of America operating in Europe, the trend toward greater uniformity of teaching practices and increased concentration on research training and graduate education has proven to be both an opportunity and a problem.

Second, the systems of higher education in Europe, at least in recent years, are more willing to separate research from teaching than are those in the United States. In some Continental countries, a good deal of research into American history is done at specific research centers where there is little undergraduate teaching.[7] One reason for the greater prevalence of such systems—a central tenet of which involves a willingness to do research outside of the traditional humanities teaching/research nexus—is related to the more significant involvement of European universities with the state. Everywhere in at least Western Europe, governments have been keen to break down old traditions of unitary block funding to universities, with funding based on purpose. They hold back much of what used to go as block grants to institutions for teaching and research in order to give monies to research councils, either national or pan-national, to distribute to deserving applicants for research. At many institutions, scholars who wish to do serious research are involved, like scientists, in extensive research grant writing. If successful, the rewards can be substantial. The European Union customarily gives out multi-million-Euro grants, sometimes to individuals but more often to research centers.

The effect on normal teaching patterns can be immense. A somewhat higher proportion of scholars, at least in Britain, Germany, and France, especially the more distinguished, are effectively research-only academics for significant periods of their careers, although their numbers are still small. The development of a research grant culture has been accompanied by a more intrusive and elaborate auditing, accounting, and evaluation culture for both research and teaching. This auditing culture is most advanced in Britain, where the Research Assessment Exercise (now called the Research Excellence Framework) has reshaped the university landscape in the last two decades, not only for research but also for teaching. To a degree not yet replicated in the United States, there is considerable variety in workplace designations in European academia, even within institutions. The advent of a research culture has also had a substantial impact on academic hiring. It is more common in some countries than in the past for the best junior researchers to spend a period following the award of a Ph.D. on a new research project in which their teaching responsibilities may be light.[8] And the growing number of such short-term jobs has seemingly been at the expense of junior positions similar to U.S. assistant professorships. This "privileged insecurity" means that teaching positions, when they are eventually filled,

[6] Jacques Attali et al., *Pour un modèle européen d'enseignement supérieur* (Paris, 1998).

[7] The École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) in Paris is an example of an institution that takes research and research training as its primary remit. The science model also obtains in some Eastern European countries, most notably in this context the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

[8] In Germany, the states have established new junior professorships, alongside the old system of full professorships requiring the *Habilitiationsschrift* (the second dissertation/book). A new evaluation system has been implemented for these positions that influences how much academics are paid. Currently, bonuses can be obtained only through research performance, with teaching merely taken into consideration.

often go to candidates who are both older and also better-published than they used to be.

Such a research culture has, of course, an effect on teaching, with greater emphasis on higher-level teaching and more rewards for excellent research performance than in the past. There has been a considerable increase in the amount of productivity required for university academics in research, and the recent burgeoning of research publications discussed in other essays in this roundtable may owe something to this. In some systems, publishing expectations can be considerable. British university academics, for example, are expected to have four quality publications every five years—a degree of productivity often obtained by publishing journal articles rather than books (though for historians a book ideally would be among the four). Academics who are unable to maintain this level of output face the possibility of being transferred to teaching-only contracts, or may even lose their jobs. Auditing cultures have accompanied a research grant culture as well, meaning that teaching is more openly monitored and evaluated than previously.

Third, the research and teaching environment in Europe is in a process of rapid change. Some of the changes—the rise of MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) and various experiments in online learning, the pressure to teach larger groups of students more effectively—are common to university systems across the world. But there are particular pressures in the European environment that differentiate it from systems elsewhere. Here, too, the greater involvement of the state in the provision of both teaching and research in higher education and its increasing willingness to insist that its financial largesse be accompanied by rigorous regulation and evaluation is changing how academics work. Europe remains a rich part of the world. But, to state a banal truism, Europeans' automatic assumption that their history and culture are intrinsically more important than those of other cultures—a Eurocentric assumption mandated by the global reach of Europe—is less commonly expressed than before, especially as other parts of the world become more powerful and as historical writing becomes more concerned with global movements and with interrogating the place of both America and Europe in larger contexts.[9]

European historians of America are in a peculiar, possibly privileged, position with respect to reevaluations of the centrality of Europe in world history. They do not teach European history, but they do teach in an area where there is a vast scholarship, and which fits uneasily into a world of colonizers and colonized. Ideally, they can act as brokers between teachers of European history and teachers of other parts of the world, for in the frequent tripartite division of history departments, they do not fall into the category of historians of the nation-state or historians of Europe, but are often placed with historians of Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.[10] The common experience of teachers of American history and teachers of other non-European histories often placed in area studies programs accentuates this broker role.

Historians of America both benefit and also suffer from the general changes in

[9] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, new ed. (Princeton, N.J., 2008).

[10] At British universities, for example, Clossey and Guyatt show that American historians are the dominant group among the 23 percent of historians who do not study European history; Clossey and Guyatt, "It's a Small World after All."

the European higher education landscape. They have been remarkably productive in the last half-century, arguably benefiting as much as any other group of humanists and social scientists from the expansion of a research culture, not least in access to research grants. But the development of the research and audit culture sits uncomfortably with some aspects of the teaching experience of European historians of the United States. Their students usually come into their classes with relatively little knowledge of the subject beyond superficial gleanings from popular culture. And what understanding they do have is generally filtered through their understanding of the historical patterns of their own country and its involvement with the U.S. This filtering process means that European historians of the United States tend to teach general survey courses tracing American history from European settlement to the present. Virtually every European teacher of American history would be expected to know significant information about the Puritans, as well as how to pronounce "9/11."

Thus it is the undergraduate level— where a very high proportion of teaching in American history is at a general and introductory level—rather than the graduate level that differentiates European and U.S. practices for teaching American history. And given that undergraduates take up the majority of a post holder's teaching time, and that the undergraduate market far outweighs that of graduates, it is also undergraduate teaching duties that have the most impact on research. This remains true even in the rapidly evolving European higher education environment, in which research and research training are emphasized. In the first place, it has affected the kinds of publications that Continental European historians write, namely, textbooks.[11] In most countries, teachers cannot easily assign textbooks designed and published in the United States for American students. This is due largely to language barriers, and also partly to price in countries where students are not expected to pay large sums for their higher education. It is also due to teaching norms and practices. In France and Britain, for example, survey course lectures are accompanied by tutorial classes, where students learn to work on primary sources (through the formalized exercise called in France *commentaire de documents* and sometimes referred to in Britain by the undignified name of "gobbets") but are rarely assigned monographs to discuss. Textbooks are now supplemented by online resources that provide overviews of the topic at hand, serve as valuable portals to research websites, or point the reader to primary and secondary print materials. Nevertheless, in a culture in which original research is highly prized, this necessary pedagogical function that university teachers perform is increasingly undervalued. Moderating between research imperatives and the particular responsibility that scholars have toward their undergraduate students' learning is a difficult balancing act.

Generalist teaching also partly accounts for a tradition in some European countries of writing interpretive syntheses of American historical topics. Indeed, especially for historians based in Continental Europe, becoming generalists in teaching American history need not be a disadvantage. It must enhance the capacity noted

[11] Hélène Trocmé and Jeanine Rovet, *Naissance de l'Amérique moderne, XVe–XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1997); Yves-Henri Nouailhat, *Les États-Unis de 1917 à nos jours* (Paris, 2009); Giuseppe Mammarella, *Storia degli Stati Uniti dal 1945 a oggi* (Rome, 1992); Oliviero Bergamini, *Storia degli Stati Uniti* (Rome, 2002; new ed., 2010); Krzysztof Michałek, *Amerykańskie stulecie: Historia Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 1900–2001* (Warsaw, 2004).

elsewhere in this roundtable for Europeans to bring a comparative perspective to bear when they write American history. It can enrich understanding about *longue durée* processes, with the potential to nurture conceptual innovation.[12] It also provides a means of satisfying the demands of the general public. The relative scarcity of American historians in Continental Europe, at a time when the United States has become ever more prominent in European concerns, helps to explain their relative prominence in public life, for example in giving media interviews and participating in government-sponsored symposia on American matters. They are very aware of the need to address non-specialists. If there is only one U.S. Civil War historian in a particular country, he or she must write and even broadcast for all American historians, or lose an audience.[13]

Just as teaching structures encourage European historians to think broadly about U.S. history, they also provide opportunities to think across disciplines, and collaboratively—in other words, more broadly still. On the Continent, American history is often taught not only in American studies programs but also as part of broader subjects, such as Anglophone studies (along with Britain and, if need be, Ireland: the rest of the English-speaking world is usually given short shrift). In Spain, "Americanists" traditionally and overwhelmingly teach literature and cultural studies; American history teaching has grown out of its sister disciplines, and remains intimately interconnected with them. The single compulsory history course at Complutense University of Madrid is now called "Anglophone Worlds: Historical and Cultural Perspectives"—at once both interdisciplinary and generalist. Interdisciplinary teaching is matched by international teaching—U.S. history specialists may teach in the context of international relations, global history, and the Anglophone world more generally. Again this reinforces the generalist focus of teaching, since many American specialists dedicate only some of their teaching hours to American history, however broadly conceived. Having to teach other subjects can provide Continental European historians of the United States with some of the tools they need to communicate American history to their publics, by drawing links with national historiographies and with the English language itself. These conditions can inspire collaborative projects, in both teaching and research, making a virtue out of the minority position of historians of North America in Europe.

As always, the teaching of history at the university level is connected to multiple changing environments—changes in the direction of higher education, changes in Europe's place in the world, and changes in technology and understanding that make the world a more integrated place and distant places within it less unfamiliar terrain. The United States may be a foreign country to Europeans, but it is not all that foreign, and it is less foreign than it was to the pioneering generation of European Americanists in the early postwar decades. Consequently, the origins and the history

[12] For successful publications that have taken the long view, see, for instance, Jean Heffer, *Les États-Unis et le Pacifique: Histoire d'une frontière* (Paris, 1995); and François Weil, *Histoire de New York* (Paris, 2000).

[13] See Jörg Nagler, guest ed., "Lincoln's Legacy: Nation Building, Democracy, and the Question of Civil Rights and Race," *American Studies Journal* 53 (2009), http://asjournal.org/archive/53/index.html.

of the United States look ever less "exceptional" to students and teachers. Even in a globalizing world, with increasing interest in American history and adoption of U.S. research practice, the tension—sometimes problematic, often creative—between teaching and researching the subject in Europe is growing faster than in any previous generation. These tensions are not to be lamented but simply to be recognized. In a world where it will be increasingly difficult to assume that either Europe or America plays the principal role in shaping the worldview of European students, the challenge will be to work out ways in which teachers can use their experience to continue to convey a distinctively European perspective on American history that ideally enriches both European and American understandings.

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AHR Roundtable
American History and European Identity

MARIO DEL PERO, TIBOR FRANK, MARTIN KLIMKE,
HELLE PORSDAM, and STEPHEN TUCK

ON THE FACE OF IT, U.S. SCHOLARS are better placed than their European counterparts to make U.S. history more directly and explicitly relevant to their present, as evidenced by the common use of "we" and "our" in forewords and epilogues in historical monographs by American scholars.[1] In turn, European historians might be presumed to be dispassionate observers of American domestic history because it is the history of a foreign nation (since the colonial period, at least). Indeed, reviews in American journals of historical monographs by European scholars often comment on the author's perch across the sea. But this does not mean that there is, or has been, a contrast between engaged U.S.-based historians and detached European writers when it comes to American history. Studying the history of a different nation can be a political statement in itself and at times has been quite a bold one, especially when the nation in question is a Cold War superpower or, more recently, the preeminent global power. Rather, it is the nature of the engagement that differs. For European scholars, the implicit comparison with one's own country and continent can make reflections on the United States a "self-perception from a distance."[2]

In Europe as in the United States, the relevance of American history has meant different things to different authors at different times (and, of course, many authors on both sides of the Atlantic have explicitly chosen not to make the past relevant at all).[3] In the European case, though, this variation has also been a response to the

[1] European scholars of U.S. colonial history, U.S.-European diplomatic history, and the history of migration can, of course, claim an equal stake in the American past.

[2] Tibor Frank, " 'Through the Looking-Glass': A Century of Self-Reflecting Hungarian Images of the United States (1834–1941)," in Lehel Vadon, ed., *Multicultural Challenge in American Culture* (Eger, 1999), 21–36, especially 33–34; Claus Offe, *Selbstbetrachtung aus der Ferne: Tocqueville, Weber und Adorno in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Frankfurt, 2004), published in English as *Reflections on America: Tocqueville, Weber and Adorno in the United States*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Cambridge, 2005).

[3] On differing ways to make U.S. history relevant, see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988); Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York, 1997). On explicitly not making history relevant, Oxford's Rhodes Professor of American History, Richard Carwardine, wrote in 2007, "I treasure an episode involving the Pulitzer prize-winning historian, sometime Harmsworth Professor, and Lincoln scholar, Don Fehrenbacher. The burning issue of the day was the busing of schoolchildren in the cause of desegregation. Speaking to a general audience, he was asked: 'What would Abraham Lincoln have done about busing?' Fehrenbacher paused, reflected, and replied, 'I guess he'd have said: "What's a bus?"' " Carwardine, "The History Buoys? American Historians and the Tides of Culture," *Oxford Historian: A Magazine of the Faculty of History for Oxford Historians* 5 (June 2007): 5–7, here 7.

connections between, and relative standing of, Europe and the United States. There has been no single pattern in Europe because each country, or region, has had its own distinct relationship with the U.S. Following World War II, Eastern European historians studied the American past in order to criticize the American present, while many Western European historians sought to learn lessons from a country that seemed to provide a model for prosperity and political harmony. In recent years, the rise of transnational history and the perception of America as a global trendsetter have renewed the relevance of the American past, especially the more recent past, for the European present. Some European historians of international relations have sought to reclaim Europe's place in post–World War II global history, while historians of American domestic politics and society have been able to look across the Atlantic for a past that can inform contemporary domestic European concerns.

DESCRIBING ANOTHER NATION OR GROUP contributes to the understanding of the self. This is particularly the case for European writing about the United States, because the countries' histories are so deeply intertwined and the American image looms so large in Europe. Thus European writing about the United States and its history, whether explicitly or, most often, implicitly, invariably reflects on national self-perception.

This is particularly true for those Western European countries, such as Britain, France, Germany, and Ireland, that have had direct connections to the United States through conquest, migration, or political alliances. Most famously, Alexis de Tocqueville's *De la démocratie en Amérique* (*Democracy in America*) was written to inform democracy in France. But interest in the newly independent United States has also been widespread in Central and Eastern European countries that have broken free of Continental empires. In the case of Hungary, for example, observing America as a means of self-perception has a long history, as the country sought to assert its constitutional rights within, and then national independence from, the Habsburg Empire.[4] Sándor Bölöni Farkas published his *Útazás Észak Amerikában* (*Journey in North America*) in 1834, a year before Tocqueville's *De la démocratie*. Bölöni Farkas observed that Jacksonian democracy gave people greater control over their own lives, and argued that such reforms were the reason for America's success—and could be key to realizing Hungary's potential.[5] He made the contrast with the regime of Prince Metternich explicit.[6] The Habsburg government certainly got the message, and promptly censored major sections of the book.[7]

This practice of self-perception through observation, consciously or subcon-

[4] See Géza Závodszky, *Az Amerika-motívum és a polgárosodó Magyarország a kezdetektől 1848-ig* [*The America Motif and the Rise of the Hungarian Middle Class from the Beginnings to 1848*] (Budapest, 1992), 118–183.

[5] Sándor Bölöni Farkas, *Útazás Észak Amerikában* (Kolozsvártt, 1834), published in English as *Journey in North America*, trans. and ed. Arpad Kadarkay (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1978).

[6] "A closer study of the Revolutionary era and constitutional history convinces [the foreigner] that America's uniqueness is not accidental." Bölöni Farkas, *Journey in North America*, 96.

[7] On anti-American censorship in Hungary, see Mályuszné Császár, *Megbíráltak és bírálók: A cenzúrahivatal aktáiból (1780–1867)* [*The Criticized and the Critics: From the Papers of the Censorship Office, 1780–1867*] (Budapest, 1985), 232. On censoring the Hungarian translation of de Tocqueville's *De la démocratie en Amérique* in pre-March Hungary, see Tibor Frank, "Censorship in Metternich's Hungary:

sciously, has informed European scholarship right up to the present—particularly in the fast-growing scholarship on the United States in Eastern European countries following Soviet domination.[8] But the ways in which historians in Europe have sought to use the American past have been contingent on both the state of politics in individual countries and the status of America. In Italy, for example, because of the postwar polarization between Christian Democrats and communists, the impact of the fascist experience on national pride, and the loyalty of the main public cultures to foreign references (notably the U.S. and the USSR), American history was a particularly heated avenue of self-perception.[9]

There have been regional patterns, though. For mid-twentieth-century Western European societies seeking to recover from depression and war, the "exceptional" history of a stable and united democracy across the Atlantic was not just an ideal to be admired but a model to be studied and imported.[10] As the Cold War heated up, the U.S. state was only too happy to help by promoting American studies in Western Europe as part of its program of cultural diplomacy.[11] In contrast, the Soviet state ensured that in Eastern Europe, historical writing on the United States in the 1950s and 1960s was mostly politicized and negative.[12] Attention focused instead on the "other America," initially of slavery and, in due course, of the civil rights movement.[13] Meanwhile, historians in the poorer countries of Southern and Central Eu-

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The Case of János Reseta, 1832–1848," in Frank, *Ethnicity, Propaganda, Myth-Making: Studies on Hungarian Connections to Britain and America, 1848–1945* (Budapest, 1999), 193–202, here 197.

[8] The issue of self-perception has received increasing attention in the field of imagology. The pioneering work in this field was written by Géza Závodszky, who addressed the political role of the America motif up to 1848. Závodszky, *Az Amerika-motívum és a polgárosodó Magyarország a kezdetektől 1848-ig*.

[9] Moderate centrist scholars studied the history of American constitutionalism and political culture as a way to respond to the concern over the stability of the new Italian liberal democracy against the threats of communists and fascist nostalgia. Meanwhile, Italian communist labor historiography and the history of popular culture and oral history at the rank-and-file level have focused on Italian radical Americanists in the Industrial Workers of the World and on the shop floor.

[10] Pier Paolo D'Attorre, "Sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea," in D'Attorre, ed., *Nemici per la pelle: Sogno americano e mito sovietico nell'Italia contemporanea* (Firenze, 1991), 15–67, here 28; Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Cornelis A. van Minnen and Sylvia L. Hilton, eds., *Teaching and Studying U.S. History in Europe: Past, Present and Future* (Amsterdam, 2007); Maurizio Vaudagna, "American Studies in Italy: Historical Legacies, Public Contexts and Scholarly Trends," *Storia della Storiografia* 51 (2007): 17–64.

[11] It met with some, though not total, success. U.S. history in Western Europe after 1945 was also partly based on the U.S. military presence in that area (again, notably in West Germany) following denazification, the spread of English as a second language, and the ever-growing influence of American popular culture. Thanks to the Fulbright Program, many Western European historians were able to study in the United States, too. Many European historians of the United States still pursue their research thanks to U.S. governmental programs. Liping Bu, *Making the World Like Us: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century* (Westport, Conn., 2003); Richard T. Arndt, *The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* (Dulles, Va., 2005); Tibor Frank, *Az Egyesült Államok és a németországi nácitlanítás a II. világháború után* [*The United States and Denazification in Germany after World War II*] (Budapest, 2014, in press).

[12] The Marxist approach in and of itself should not delegitimize such work, though—and, indeed, it parallels the work of U.S. Marxist scholars such as Herbert Aptheker and Herbert G. Gutman.

[13] Rainer Schnoor, ed., *Amerikanistik in der DDR: Geschichte—Analysen—Zeitzeugenberichte* (Berlin, 1999); Uta A. Balbier and Christiane Rösch, eds., *Umworbener Klassenfeind: Das Verhältnis der DDR zu den USA* (Berlin, 2006); and Maria Höhn and Martin Klimke, "Heroes of the Other America: East German Solidarity with the African American Freedom Struggle," chap. 7 in Höhn and Klimke, *A Breath of Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle, African American GIs, and Germany* (New York, 2010), 123–142.

rope tended to focus on emigration to a country of exceptional economic opportunity.[14]

As American-based historians began to reject various models of American exceptionalism, there was no longer a single, reproducible model available to their Western European counterparts. In any case, from the 1960s, anti-Americanism became much more pronounced in Western Europe. But it was the very pluralism of post-1960s American historiography that meant it remained usable, since European scholars could focus on whichever version of the American past(s) best fit with their own national narratives and concerns.[15] As ever, how they did so varied from place to place, but one common feature of Western European scholarship was that historians of the United States learned from (and contributed to) the American academy's way of doing history as much as from the actual history of the United States.[16]

In Eastern Europe, by contrast, the state continued to sanction—and increasingly to fund—critical historical writing on the United States. Ironically, though, the main center for such writing, the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, also became one of the intellectual centers for questioning the Soviet regime during the later Cold War.[17] Following the breakup of the Soviet Union, a comprehensive U.S. cultural diplomacy effort to promote scholarship about America sought to build on the popularity of the U.S. in the former Eastern Bloc. Post-communist Hungary and especially Poland remained consistently pro-American, and the scholarship followed suit, with particular interest in recent military, diplomatic, and political history. But for the most part, the United States also came to be viewed a lot more critically among historians in Eastern Europe.[18]

While some European historians engaged in explicitly pro-, and later anti-, American scholarship after World War II, another tradition of historical writing—often

[14] On returning large amounts of money from the U.S. by *Gastarbeiter*, see Julianna Puskás, *Ties That Bind, Ties That Divide: One Hundred Years of Hungarian Experience in the United States*, trans. Zora Ludwig (New York, 2000), 304. For the financial implications, see Neil Larry Shumsky, "'Damned If You Do and Damned If You Don't': American Hostility to Return Migration, 1890–1924," in Daniela Rossini, ed., *From Theodore Roosevelt to FDR: Internationalism and Isolationism in American Foreign Policy* (Keele, 1995), 93–112. Emigration was particularly studied with regard to the former Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires. On Spanish historical writing about the export of Spanish civilization to the New World, see Sérgio Campos Matos and David Mota Álvarez, "Portuguese and Spanish Historiographies: Distance and Proximity," in Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, eds., *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (New York, 2008), 339–366, here 350.

[15] How this worked varied from place to place, and in different times. See Tibor Frank, ed., *The Origins and Originality of American Culture* (Budapest, 1984); Daniele Fiorentino, ed., *La storia americana e le scienze sociali in Europa e negli Stati Uniti* (Rome, 1996); Anthony Mohlo and Gordon S. Wood, eds., *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past* (Princeton, N.J., 1998); Tiziano Bonazzi, "American History: The View from Italy," *Reviews in American History* 14, no. 4 (1986): 523–541; Maurizio Vaudagna, "The American Historian in Continental Europe: An Italian Perspective," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992): 532–542.

[16] Sergio Bertelli, "Tamburi lontani" ("Distant Drums"), in Ester Fano, ed., *Una e divisibile: Tendenze attuali della storiografia statunitense* [*One and Divisible: Trends in American History-Writing*] (Firenze, 1991), 347–350, here 350.

[17] Clifford J. Levy, "Georgi A. Arbatov, a Bridge between Cold War Superpowers, Is Dead at 87," *New York Times*, October 2, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/03/world/europe/03arbatov.html.

[18] American foreign policy toward the Middle East and toward China, the anti-terrorism policy of George W. Bush, and American oil policy are the topics of doctoral dissertations in progress in Poland. On Hungary, see Steve Ickringill, Zoltán Abádi-Nagy, and Aladár Sarbu, eds., *The Early Republic: The Making of a Nation, the Making of a Culture* (Amsterdam, 1988).

by journalists, travel writers, and other such "public intellectuals" rather than by academic historians—ostensibly sought to avoid any overt political message. Instead, such writers sought to introduce their publics to American history and culture. Yet far from producing a detached version of history, this educational mission served to deepen transatlantic political alliances, first in Western Europe during the early Cold War, and then in Eastern Europe after it ended.[19] In France, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber's 1967 bestseller *Le défi américain* (*The American Challenge*) presented a vision of Europe's potential economic defeat by the United States, and thus, by implication, a rationale for a European Union.[20] In Poland in the 1990s, the publication of *Historia Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki* (*A History of the United States*), consisting of survey essays commissioned from thirty-five American and eleven Polish authors, sought to fill the historiographical void produced by almost half a century of isolation.[21] Although such authors positioned themselves as educators with a neutral perspective on the American past, their work served to deepen the political alliance across the Atlantic in the present.

THE FADING OF COLD WAR IMPERATIVES, the greater convergence of academic cultures in Europe and the United States, and—especially with the new century—the rising interest of U.S. scholars in the global dimensions of U.S. history might seem to mark the end of distinctively European ways of making the American past relevant, or even the end of distinctively European approaches at all. Indeed, as German scholar Winfried Fluck argued in 2011, "transnationalism has been good to me and other American studies scholars from outside the United States." Fluck felt that before the rise of transnational history, "when we came to the United States, we were poor relatives; now we are sought-after messengers from another world who seem to possess the magical power of leading Americans into a new age of cosmopolitanism."[22] The

[19] In the case of West Germany, the educational mission was also part of a U.S.-induced democratization of science and scholarship that helped to inscribe the post–World War II development of the country into a larger history of the "free World." Philipp Gassert, "Between Political Reconnaissance Work and Democratizing Science: American Studies in Germany, 1917–1953," *GHI Bulletin*, no. 32 (Spring 2003): 33–50; Wilfried Mausbach, "Erdachte Welten: Deutschland und der Westen in den 1950er Jahren," in Manfred Berg and Philipp Gassert, eds., *Deutschland und die USA in der Internationalen Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts: Festschrift für Detlef Junker* (Stuttgart, 2004), 423–448; Sabine Sielke, "Theorizing American Studies: German Interventions into an Ongoing Debate," *European Journal of American Studies* 1, no. 1 (2006), http://ejas.revues.org/470.

[20] Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *Le défi américain* (Paris, 1967). Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Jacques_Servan-Schreiber. *Le défi américain* sold 600,000 copies in France alone, was translated into fifteen languages, and would continue to be a point of reference for journalists and politicians in discussing the effects of American capitalism in Europe through to the end of the century. Douglas Martin, "J.-J. Servan-Schreiber, French Man of Ideas, Dies at 82," *New York Times*, November 8, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/08/world/europe/08servan-schreiber.html. There were similar educational developments in Britain. Alastair Cooke's *America: A Personal History of the United States* was broadcast on the BBC in 1973. Cooke took U.S. citizenship.

[21] Andrzej Bartnicki and Donald T. Critchlow, eds., *Historia Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki*, 5 vols. (Warsaw, 1995). For examples of recent Polish scholarship, see Halina Parafianowicz, ed., *Polish Perspectives on American History: Insights, Interpretations, Revisions* (Białystok, 2013).

[22] Winfried Fluck, "A New Beginning? Transnationalism," *New Literary History* 42, no. 3 (2011): 365–384, here 380. Fluck himself, however, is intensely critical about the practice and proclamations of transnationalism nowadays. The call for transnational studies dovetailed with the work of many well-established scholars that had already laid out the complex and multidimensional processes of "Americanization" with respect to their own societies. Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular*

relevance of European historians, then, would be for present-day American purposes rather than European ones.

Yet in writing transnational history that encompasses the United States, European-based historians found themselves writing "our history" after all (as they had long done with immigration, diplomatic, and colonial history), and thus, like their American counterparts, they had a personal stake in the American story they were telling. But this new approach, and the fragmentation of the nation-state as the dominant historical category, was not simply a reflection of emerging homogeneous (or even Americanized) transatlantic academic communities. And for European historians, writing "our history" did not mean sharing precisely the same influences or having the same agendas as their American counterparts in terms of making U.S. history relevant. Quite the opposite: it also provided opportunities to reclaim ownership of international history.

One such contest for ownership was over the question of Americanization in Europe. For example, at the end of the century, scholars reconsidered the influence of America on German life after World War II.[23] Analyses by German scholars that recast the idea of "Americanization" as "Westernization" emphasized the two-way "continuous recycling of ideas: from Europe to America, and back again."[24] Even those scholars who wrote in terms of Americanization or cultural globalization focused on the way that European countries, far from simply importing American culture wholesale, adapted and renegotiated it for their own purposes, and even, on occasion, repackaged it for export.[25]

This post–Cold War German scholarship was produced by a new generation of Western European–based historians of the United States, such as those sponsored by the European Science Foundation, who sought to reinscribe Europe and its contribution in a transnational, or global, version of American history, a version that paid particularly close attention to the transfer of European culture to early America

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Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865 (Milton Keynes, 1978); David W. Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe: Western Europe, America, and Postwar Reconstruction* (London, 1992); David W. Ellwood and Robert Kroes, eds., *Hollywood in Europe: Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony* (Amsterdam, 1994). On recent work, see R. Laurence Moore and Maurizio Vaudagna, eds., *The American Century in Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003); Robert Kroes, ed., *Straddling the Borders: The American Resonance in Transnational Identities* (Amsterdam, 2004); Maurizio Vaudagna, ed., *The Place of Europe in American History: Twentieth Century Perspectives* (Turin, 2007); David Abraham, "Citizenship Solidarity and Rights Individualism: On the Decline of National Citizenship in the U.S., Germany, and Israel," CCIS Working Paper no. 53, May 2002, http://ccis.ucsd.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/wrkg53.pdf. The Transatlantic Studies Association (est. 2002) and its *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* (2009–) are both products of the 2000s and "provide focus for transatlantic area studies"; http://www.transatlanticstudies.com.

[23] For a contemporary overview, see Philipp Gassert, "Amerikanismus, Antiamerikanismus, Amerikanisierung," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 39 (1999): 531–561.

[24] Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, "Transatlantic Exchange and Interaction—The Concept of Westernization" (paper presented at the conference "The American Impact on Western Europe: Americanization and Westernization in Transatlantic Perspective," German Historical Institute, Washington D.C., March 25–27, 1999), 7, http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/ebook/p/2005/ghi_12/www.ghi-dc.org/conpotweb/westernpapers/doering.pdf.

[25] See, for example, Rob Kroes, "American Empire and Cultural Imperialism: A View from the Receiving End," in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 295–314; Kaspar Maase, "'Americanization,' 'Americanness' and 'Americanisms': Time for a Change in Perspective?" (paper presented to the conference "The American Impact on Western Europe"), 6, 9, http://webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/ebook/p/2005/ghi_12/www.ghi-dc.org/conpotweb/westernpapers/maase.pdf.

and to emigration.[26] Many in this generation were also galvanized by hostility to the foreign (and domestic) policies of the George W. Bush administration.[27] This reclaiming of Europe's place in modern Western history is particularly apparent in the (re)writing of some of the more "triumphal" aspects of later-twentieth-century history—notably the rise of human rights and the fall of communist regimes.[28] For example, the project "An Epoch-Making Decade: 'The Long 1970s' and European-Transatlantic Transformation Processes," funded by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities, focused on the various multilateral diplomatic efforts to convene an all-European security conference with a special focus on human rights and democratization, concluding, "It is thus possible to speak of changes within the European and transatlantic frameworks during the 1970s that reach far beyond the so-called Americanization processes after 1945."[29]

If methodological developments at the turn of the twenty-first century have provided new opportunities for European historians to make America's transnational

[26] The foundation-sponsored 2008–2013 Writing the Nation series is an excellent example of an ESF venture laying the international foundations of national histories in Europe. Stefan Berger, Christoph Conrad, and Guy Marchal, general eds., *Writing the Nation: National Historiographies and the Making of Nation States in 19th and 20th Century Europe* (Basingstoke, 2008–2013). On European historians and early American culture, see the Ellis Island database, http://www.ellisisland.org, initiated and headed by Ira A. Glazier and Luigi de Rosa. Experiences with U.S. immigration history have played a major role in shaping this relatively new field in Europe, too. See Martin Geiger and Antoine Pécoud, eds., *The Politics of International Migration Management* (Houndmills, 2010); Annemarie Steidl, Josef Ehmer, Stan Nadel, and Hermann Zeitlhofer, eds., *European Mobility: Internal, International and Transatlantic Moves in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Göttingen, 2009); Dirk Hoerder and Diethelm Knauf, eds., *Fame, Fortune and Sweet Liberty: The Great European Emigration* (Bremen, 1992); Avraham Barkai, *Branching Out: German-Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820–1914* (New York, 1994); Robert P. Swierenga, *Faith and Family: Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820–1920* (New York, 2000); Jørn Brøndal, *Ethnic Leadership and Midwestern Politics: The Scandinavian Americans and the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin, 1890–1914* (Northfield, Minn., 2004); Tibor Frank, *Double Exile: Migrations of Jewish-Hungarian Professionals through Germany to the United States, 1919–1945* (Oxford, 2009); Dietrich Thränhardt and Michael Bommes, eds., *National Paradigms of Migration Research* (Göttingen, 2010); Simone Cinotto, *Terra soffice, uva nera: Vitivinicoltori piemontesi in California prima e dopo il proibizionismo* (Turin, 2008).

[27] See S. P. Newman, "Losing the Faith: British Historians and the Last Best Hope," *Comparative American Studies* 6, no. 2 (2008): 161–178. Indeed, the recent boom in transnational studies of U.S. history stands in the context of Robert Kagan's assertion that "Europeans are from Venus, Americans are from Mars" and the Bush administration's division of Europe into New and Old. Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review*, no. 113 (June 1, 2002), http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/7107.

[28] Padraic Kenney, "What's New, We Knew: Twentieth-Anniversary Appraisals of 1989," *Diplomatic History* 35, no. 3 (2011): 571–578.

[29] "An Epoch-Making Decade: 'The Long 1970s' and European-Transatlantic Transformation Processes in Political Culture, Discourse and Power,'" http://www.epokeskiftet.saxo.ku.dk/english/om_kopi/. See also Helle Porsdam, *From Civil to Human Rights: Dialogues on Law and Humanities in the United States and Europe* (Cheltenham, 2009); Poul Villaume and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *Perforating the Iron Curtain: European Détente, Transatlantic Relations, and the Cold War, 1965–1985* (Copenhagen, 2010). See also European scholarship on the vibrant transnational Helsinki network after 1975, the debates surrounding the NATO Double-Track Decision of December 12, 1979, and nuclear armament in the first half of the 1980s, as well as environmental and peace movements, including Philipp Gassert, Tim Geiger, and Herman Wentker, eds., *Zweiter Kalter Krieg und Friedensbewegung: Der NATO-Doppelbeschluss in deutsch-deutscher und internationaler Perspektive* (Munich, 2011); "The Nuclear Crisis: Cold War Cultures and the Politics of Peace and Security, 1975–1990," http://www.nuclearcrisis.org; and "Ameri-Danes: Americanization Processes in Denmark, ca. 1945–1975," http://www.sdu.dk/en/Om_SDU/Institutter_centre/ih/forskning/forskningsprojekter/c_ amerikansk_paa_dansk.

past relevant to the European present, America's perceived role as a trendsetter in the West has ensured that the present-day salience of recent U.S. domestic history has also increased for European scholars. Far from being the exception, the United States is now the prototype. Indeed, it is striking just how many aspects of recent American history have had their counterparts in Europe. Social movements relating to racial, gender, and sexual equality, to the environment, and to urban and suburban development, to name but a few, have been key themes of later-twentieth-century life on both sides of the Atlantic.

Thus, as in generations past, the history of the United States once again offered lessons for the European present. But unlike past generations, recent European historians of the United States have rarely explicitly acknowledged the lessons to be learned. Indeed, due to globalization in general and the ascendancy of the American academy in particular, not to mention the pressure to publish in American journals and with American presses, European historians of the United States have actually had a disincentive to assert a domestic agenda of their own—even when the American topics under study are directly relevant to the European present. Rather, such historians have tended to position themselves as historians of America who "happened to live elsewhere," to quote Cambridge professor and New Deal historian Tony Badger's self-description in 1992—none more so than Badger's 150 fellow British scholars of U.S. domestic history who happened to live in the so-called 51st state.[30]

Yet even for British historians, who are more likely to be networked with American than with European colleagues, and who increasingly regard American culture and history as part and parcel of their own, the evidence would suggest that American history provides opportunities for self-perception from a distance. For example, in late-twentieth-century Britain, the history of the U.S. South was a disproportionately large field, and among British southern historians, a disproportionately large group focused on race. For a generation of scholars living in a country grappling with racial tensions and polarization over immigration, the story of American segregation provided warnings to heed, and the example of the American civil rights movement offered inspiration to consider. That so many scholars turned to the United States was also due to the absence of a domestic British or European racial civil rights story in history curricula. In turn, the popularity of the U.S. civil rights movement has reinforced the absence of British racial history in curricula—at the start of the twenty-first century, the U.S. civil rights movement was among the top five most popular history subjects for high school students in their final exams.[31] Recognizing why British historians looked to the U.S. civil rights movement to reflect on British race matters also explains why relatively few British historians of the United States studied the modern American women's suffrage and equal rights movements (scholars wishing to reflect on a modern women's movement in a Western democracy had plenty of high-profile domestic and European examples to turn to) or Native Amer-

[30] Tony Badger, "Confessions of a British Americanist," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992): 515–523. For this essay, we counted 188 salaried academics in Britain working on aspects of U.S. history (38 of whom worked primarily on diplomatic or international history).

[31] The top two were the Nazis and the Tudors. See Stephen Tuck, "King of All Nations," *New York Times*, January 15, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/16/opinion/king-of-all-nations.html.

ican history (since there was no analogous issue in the United Kingdom).[32] British historians have not been alone in turning to the American civil rights movement. German scholars, in particular, have focused on modern U.S. race struggles.[33] European historians' growing interest in American multiculturalism can also be understood in terms of the need to understand a new concept that seems to have originated in America.[34]

LOOKING AHEAD, THE DOMINANT POSITION of the American academy and the increasing academic interchange (in both directions) between European and American scholars may diminish the distinctive ways in which European historians use U.S. history.[35] But the fact that America's global role is often polarizing, that the United States remains the repository for so many European dreams and frustrations, and that European national traditions continue to influence European scholarship suggests that European and American historians of the United States may have different uses for American history for some time yet. The growth of the European Union, and its increasing influence on higher education, may also lead future generations of European-based historians of the United States—especially those working in international relations—to use American history for distinctive purposes.

Despite the differences in the ways that European and American historians have made history relevant in the past and seem likely to do so in the near future, though, the ways in which the demands of the present might affect the research interests and writing style of historians are rarely interrogated in discussions about the internationalization of writing American history. Indeed, the issue of relevance invariably

[32] By our count, only three scholars in Britain focused on Native American history in the late twentieth century; no more than seven scholars worked primarily on women's history since the Civil War (of those, the majority studied subjects that connected women and gender history to African American history). See, for example, Peter J. Ling and Sharon Monteith, *Gender and the Civil Rights Movement* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2004). Of course, the struggle for racial equality was not absent in Britain. See, for example, Stephen Tuck, "Malcolm X's Visit to Oxford University: U.S. Civil Rights, Black Britain, and the Special Relationship on Race," *American Historical Review* 118, no. 1 (February 2013): 76–103. It was just that the British movement was absent from popular memory and ignored by the mainstream media. The situation has begun to change in recent years.

[33] Simon Wendt, *The Spirit and the Shotgun: Armed Resistance and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Gainesville, Fla., 2010); Manfred Berg, *Popular Justice: A History of Lynching in America* (Chicago, 2011); Mischa Honeck, *We Are the Revolutionists: German-Speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848* (Athens, Ga., 2011).

[34] Frank, *Ethnicity, Propaganda, Myth-Making*; Valeria Gennaro Lerda, ed., *From "Melting Pot" to Multiculturalism: The Evolution of Ethnic Relations in the United States and Canada* (Rome, 1990). Meanwhile in Italy, the 150th anniversary of national unity encouraged nineteenth-century studies of American-Italian relations during the Risorgimento and the American Civil War. A notion is emerging that the Civil War was a sort of ideal parallel to the European Risorgimentos and that the North's victory helped Europeans liberate themselves from monarchical authoritarianism. American history itself was therefore seen as a battle between the principles of equal rights and slavery.

[35] Although interchange could also produce fruitful cooperation from different, yet intertwined, political perspectives, rather than simply lead to the Americanizing of European Americanists. See, for example, Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922* (Chicago, 2005); Alice Kessler-Harris and Maurizio Vaudagna, eds., *Democracy and Social Rights in the "Two Wests"* (Turin, 2009); Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie, eds., *Global Perspectives on Industrial Transformation in the American South* (Columbia, Mo., 2005); Thomas Bender, ed., *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); and Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998).

remains hidden in historical writing and is rarely interrogated in historiographical discussions more generally. Insofar as historians refer to the issue at all, it is usually as a debate between those who argue that history should be useful and those who argue for detachment. In the U.S. case, making use of history is most often mentioned in relation to political partisanship in historical writing.[36]

The example of European writing about the United States, though, suggests that the relevance of the past has a rather more subtle, yet more interesting, impact on the motivations for, and forms of, historical writing than the question of whether history serves an instrumental purpose. The distinctive ways in which some European writers have sought to make American history relevant highlight the influence of national academic traditions, contemporary political imperatives, popular expectations of history, and an author's personal investment in historical writing about the United States—influences that affect all historians. Such influences may not affect a historian's methods and conclusions, or even the implications that he or she draws. But they may well affect the topics the historian chooses, and the questions he or she asks in the first place.

[36] See Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Reconstructing History: The Emergence of a New Historical Society* (New York, 1999).

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AHR Roundtable

Europeans Writing American History: The Comparative Trope

SUSANNA DELFINO, MARCUS GRÄSER,
HANS KRABBENDAM, and VINCENT MICHELOT

EVER SINCE JOHN SMITH, EUROPEANS HAVE come to the study of North America hoping to cast some light upon developments in their own society.[1] European institutional conditions, cultural demands, and intellectual developments have converged to make a comparative framework an all but irresistible approach for those Europeans who study American history. The comparative impulse is inherent in their location.

This convergence is especially evident, of course, in the work of those who have employed an explicitly comparative model in their research, and in those subjects that have particularly lent themselves to direct comparison. It is evident, too, in the work of those who have held up the United States as a mirror of Europe and its future. Yet, we contend, it is also implicit in the work of those who, with the globalization (or even Americanization) of the academy over the last generation, have seemingly chosen to pursue the same research agendas on U.S. history as U.S.-based historians.[2] Here it is not so much the subject matter as the methodological framework that tends to focus on comparison. The use of methodologies and analytical tools—which stem from these scholars' distinctly "European" educational training and intellectual formation—means that their writing will always be comparative in a broader sense, even when they do "pure" American history.[3]

Comparative history can come in different guises. It may be conceived of as a form of ongoing conversation, a way in which historians of different cultures exchange and share ideas on matters of mutual importance without necessarily being very specific about what is being compared. But comparative history also allows for attempts to establish systematic areas of direct comparison between places and things that exhibit considerable similarities or dissimilarities. A good comparative

[1] They have also, especially in the nineteenth century, been just as interested in acting as cultural brokers or cultural intermediaries in bringing Europeans knowledge of the confusing if often exciting society across the Atlantic Ocean. Even the British, in spite of a common language, needed such brokers, as James Bryce's work suggests. Klaas van Berkel, ed., *Amerika in Europese ogen* (The Hague, 1990).

[2] See Nicolas Barreyre, Max Edling, Simon Middleton, Sandra Scanlon, and Irmina Wawrzyczek, " 'Brokering' or 'Going Native,' " this issue.

[3] European historians of the U.S., of course, are not unusual in this respect. French historians of China, say, or U.S. historians of Poland would also be subject to such comparative imperatives, mediated by their particular national cultures.

historian will also always know about the traditions of the "other" historiography, because a convincing author needs to be familiar not only with the sources but also with its secondary literature. But comparative historians should always carry with them the qualities of their own national historiographies, which may allow them to see things that historians writing about their own countries do not perceive.

Because of the enormous importance of the nation-state in shaping the lives of its citizens, comparative history in practice, at least when focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has had a national bias, and in recent years has sometimes been challenged by those promoting transnational history or *histoire croisée*. But these various ways of questioning the traditional writing of national history are not necessarily mutually incompatible. Indeed, we would respectfully suggest that comparative history should always be the basis of every kind of transnational history because of the need for a stable core of knowledge of each of the subjects involved in the comparison; it can take into account transnational influences and the characteristics of transfers between (national) cultures. Only a comparison can demonstrate the nexus between a transnational or transregional structure and its specific national, regional, or local shape. Comparative history is transnational history *sans phrase*. The big picture always comes with the comparison.

The relative prominence of comparative history in Europe does not mean that European historians privilege comparative as opposed to transatlantic approaches to their work. Quite the opposite. Transatlantic connections, be they ideas, organizations, or people, have long been a hallmark of European scholarship on U.S. history. Indeed, one of the main interests among European writers today is American conservatism, an ideology that mutated twice, going west across the Atlantic first and then returning loaded to the East. Yet studying those mutations—and their transatlantic connections—also involves comparisons, explicit and implicit, between the various national political contexts and their influence on sets of ideas. The political philosopher and German emigrant Leo Strauss, for example, who had an impact on (neo)conservative thought in the U.S., can be understood only in relation to some of his European contemporaries, such as Carl Schmitt.

The European tradition of approaching American history within a comparative framework is particularly strong in certain subfields, such as labor history, the economic and social processes connected with modernization, and welfare policy, where much seems to be gained from comparing like with (un)like. Comparative welfare state research among historians has long been influential not only in identifying different trajectories of social security but also in detecting different relations between statecraft and society. The differing attitudes of social groups and classes in the United States and Germany, for example, contributed to the establishment of two different concepts of welfare policy: a more society-driven and privately organized welfare system versus a welfare state.[4] Moreover, the problematic rise of executive power, the concurrent decline of legislative branches, and finally the legitimacy of judicial review by independent courts are all trends that can be witnessed both in the

[4] Marcus Gräser, *Wohlfahrtsgesellschaft und Wohlfahrtsstaat: Bürgerliche Sozialreform und Welfare State Building in den USA und in Deutschland, 1880–1940* (Göttingen, 2009); Hans Bak, Frits van Holthoon, and Hans Krabbendam, eds., *Social and Secure? Politics and Culture of the Welfare State—A Comparative Inquiry* (Amsterdam, 1996); Alice Kessler-Harris and Maurizio Vaudagna, eds., *Democracy and Social Rights in the "Two Wests"* (Turin, 2009).

United States and in European countries. In France, for instance, those researching U.S. political institutions were thus able to reconsider the "Gaullist" explanations often put forward in the literature to account for the "presidentialization" of the régime, the failings of the Parliament, or the weakness of the Constitutional Court. This scholarship, in turn, offered a new perspective on the often purely American factors identified and analyzed by many U.S. political scientists and historians.[5] As this instance implies, too, there is no truly European historiography, only the various historiographies in Europe. German practitioners of comparative history, for example, were often really trying to understand the German *Sonderweg* by using the American example as a foil against which the German aberration from the "normal" democratic and liberal way of nation-building could be diagnosed.[6]

The deployment of an explicit comparative framework by European historians in relation to U.S. history, then, often derived from attempts to identify what was distinctive about their own histories (while also hopefully pointing up what is distinctive in American history). Some American themes have resonated in a special way with particular European national histories. In Italy, for example, the so-called "southern question"—the idea that the Italian South is originally different and in many ways deviant from the national character—has a precise counterpart in the historical experience of the American South. Although the two souths are profoundly different in many aspects of their cultural, social, and political/institutional histories, they nonetheless exhibit strong similarities in their political economies: both developed as export-oriented regions producing staple crops. Also familiar were the dynamics of the North-South relationship, which resulted in both the U.S. and the Italian South being indicted for backwardness in the 1850s, and in their subsequent military subjugation, between 1861 and 1865 for the former, and between 1860 and 1866 for the latter. These similarities have, on the one hand, heightened the ambivalence of Italian Americanists toward the issue of American exceptionalism while, on the other, helping to sharpen their sensibilities to it. Work by Italian revisionist scholars aimed at disclaiming assumptions of southern backwardness and inferiority and at

[5] The American Political Development (APD) subfield, however, has always taken a more comparative perspective. There is a stark contrast between a very "American-centered" school of political science, which tends to dominate the profession, especially with scholars using quantitative methods; and a comparative approach, which one finds in the works of academics associated with APD such as Sidney Milkis, Stephen Skowronek, or Theda Skocpol. See Ian Shapiro, Stephen Skowronek, and Daniel Galvin, eds., *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State* (New York, 2006); Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Ruseschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge, 1985); Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *States, Social Knowledge, and the Origins of Modern Social Policies* (Princeton, N.J., 1996). In France, Michel Debré, the author of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic and the nation's first prime minister, viewed the presidency as the "keystone" of the régime. This colored analysis of the U.S. presidency in the 1970s and 1980s, until Marie-France Toinet wrote her seminal *Le système politique des Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1987). Later, such authors as Vincent Michelot (*L'empereur de la Maison-Blanche* [Paris, 2004]) and Élisabeth Vallet (*La présidence des États-Unis* [Montreal, 2005]) adopted the model to the Clinton years and the "new Imperial Presidency" of George W. Bush.

[6] See Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "Comparative Approaches from Germany: The 'New Nation' in Advanced Industrial Capitalism, 1860–1940—Integration, Stabilization and Reform," *Reviews in American History* 14, no. 4 (1986): 614–628. For examples from Italy, see Maurizio Vaudagna, *Corporativismo e New Deal: Integrazione e conflitto sociale negli Stati Uniti, 1933–1941* (Turin, 1981); and Mario Telò, *La socialdemocrazia europea nella crisi degli anni trenta* (Milan, 1985).

explaining their largely ideological origins has inspired comparison with the American case.[7]

Implicit comparison derives from national location, too, even when the subject matter seems to lend itself to connections and the breaking down of borders, and when European historians' research agendas are ostensibly the same as those of their U.S. counterparts. Consider the case of migration—traditionally one of the major gateways for European historians into American history. Many European countries have established strong relationships with the United States via their numerous citizens who crossed the Atlantic, from the settlement of the first North American colonies onward. Migration research has boomed in Europe since the 1970s and has converged with American historiography to such an extent that the two literatures might seem indistinguishable.[8] Yet even if collaboration across borders and academies has flourished, differences in location and national context have brought a comparative dimension to this most *croisé* of topics. Traditionally, this derived from the use of different sources, as on both sides of the Atlantic historians relied on their own local archives. But even today, with travel easier and research ever more interconnected, differences in location and national preoccupations about migration bring different perspectives that demand comparison. European-wide projects tackle the commonalities and the differences between nations.[9]

Researching from countries with an emigrant past brings about perspectives that, explicitly or implicitly, demand comparison to the longer tradition of scholarship that embraces the point of view of receiving countries. The United States, after all, was not the only destination. Considering migration patterns in Germany and the United Kingdom, for instance, has allowed scholars to compare the various destinations of migrants connected to these areas, leading to more global, comparative, and truly transregional perspectives regarding the fact that migrants usually travel between

[7] An early example of comparison between the U.S. and the Italian South is Enrico Dal Lago and Rick Halpern, eds., *The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno: Essays in Comparative History* (New York, 2002). Susanna Delfino, "The Toll of Reconciliation: North and South in Post-Unification Italy and the Post–Civil War United States," in Flavia Brizio-Skov, ed., *Reconstructing Societies in the Aftermath of War: Memory, Identity, and Reconciliation* (Boca Raton, Fla., 2004), 103–117; Delfino, "The Idea of Southern Economic Backwardness: A Comparative View of the United States and Italy," in Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie, eds., *Global Perspectives on Industrial Transformation in the American South* (Columbia, Mo., 2005), 105–130. See also Enrico Dal Lago, *Agrarian Elites: American Slaveholders and Southern Italian Landowners, 1815–1861* (Baton Rouge, La., 2005). The issue of northern representations of the South in pre-Unification Italy has been explored by Marta Petrusewicz, *Come il Meridione divenne una questione: Rappresentazioni del Sud prima e dopo il Quarantotto* (Soveria Mannelli, 1998). For a demonstration of the interest in comparative studies by American and Italian scholars not preeminently involved in each other's country's history, see Piero Bevilacqua, "Peter Kolchin's 'American South' and the Italian Mezzogiorno: Some Questions about Comparative History," in Dal Lago and Halpern, *The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno*, 60–72.

[8] Dirk Hoerder, "Losing National Identity or Gaining Transcultural Competence: Changing Approaches in Migration History," in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, eds., *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York, 2010), 247–271; Dirk Hoerder, "Migrationen und Zugehörigkeiten," in Emily S. Rosenberg, ed., *Geschichte der Welt, 1870–1945: Weltmärkte und Weltkriege* (Munich, 2012), 433–588; Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen, and Patrick Manning, eds., *Migration History in World History: Multidisciplinary Approaches* (Leiden, 2010).

[9] The founding and funding of the IMISCOE (International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe) research network in 2004 documents this trend. IMISCOE brings together twenty-five European institutes and approximately three hundred scholars from various disciplines dedicated to international migration research in a program that was originally sponsored by the European Commission but is now an independent and self-funding enterprise. See http://www.imiscoe.org/.

regions, not nation-states.[10] Many other European nations encouraged citizens to settle in colonies elsewhere in the world, offering further cases for comparison. Recent work on the global migration experience has revealed innovations such as new designs for home-building, the introduction of new consumer articles and production methods, new kinds of jobs, and new forms of religious expression.[11]

European scholars have also rediscovered that transatlantic migration during the period 1850–1950 was seldom a straightforward, one-way movement between places, but rather an active ritual process of engagement and disengagement.[12] Further, the shifting perspectives of European nations as they increasingly receive migrants of their own suggest new questions for U.S. historians of migration: the "nation of immigrants" trope could be complemented with connecting analyses of the outmigrant experience.[13] This field affords a range of comparative perspectives—of the set of destinations that each nation had access to, inside and outside Europe; of the level of intensity in transnational contacts between European nations and "their" immigrants in the United States; and of how emigration to the United States factors into current debates about immigration restriction in European countries.

Cultural and institutional contexts in Europe often serve to reinforce the comparative approach. Over the last generation, for example, there has been a marked improvement in several countries in educated Europeans' command of the English language, which means that, say, a French scholar who might previously have confined himself or herself to French history now has the option of considering American phenomena in assessing whether a comparative perspective might be helpful. The seemingly natural inclination of European Americanists toward comparative history is also encouraged by the generalist orientation that most of them espouse. In schools of social science in particular, the space accorded to the United States in the syllabus has expanded in the last decade or so, but often the number of specialized teaching positions in the subject has not. European historians of America

[10] See Dirk Hoerder, *Geschichte der deutschen Migration: Vom Mittelalter bis heute* (Munich, 2010), 18.

[11] Dirk Hoerder, "Migration in the Atlantic Economies: Regional European Origins and Worldwide Expansion," in Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch, eds., *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives* (Boston, 1996), 21–51, here 35. See also Dirk Hoerder and Jörg Nagler, eds., *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1930* (New York, 1995); Nancy L. Green and François Weil, eds., *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation* (Urbana, Ill., 2007); Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford, 2010); Herman Obdeijn and Marlou Schrover, *Komen en gaan: Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam, 2008); Suzanne M. Sinke, "Transnational Visions of Gender and Class Ideologies in Dutch Migration," in Hans Krabbendam and Larry J. Wagenaar, eds., *The Dutch-American Experience: Essays in Honor of Robert P. Swierenga* (Amsterdam, 2000), 103–113; Philip J. Anderson, Dag Blanck, and Byron J. Nordstrom, eds., *Scandinavians in Old and New Lands: Essays in Honor of H. Arnold Barton* (Chicago, 2004); Gottfried Pfeifer, "Deutsche bäuerliche Kolonisation in den Vereinigten Staaten und Brasilien—Konvergenzen und Kontraste," in *Im Dienste der Geographie und Kartographie: Symposion Emil Meynen* (Cologne, 1973), 37–54.

[12] Michael Boyden, Hans Krabbendam, and Liselotte Vandenbussche, eds., *Tales of Transit: Narrative Migrant Spaces in Atlantic Perspective, 1850–1950* (Amsterdam, 2013).

[13] The ratio of immigrants to emigrants was 3 to 1 between 1900 and 1979, 4 to 1 in the 1990s. Arnold Dashefsky, "American Emigration Abroad," in James Ciment, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Immigration*, 4 vols. (Armonk, N.Y., 2001), 1: 311–314. There is a limited body of literature on forced migration out of the U.S.; e.g., Daniel Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007).

need to have a broad compass, both spatially and temporally, which in turn promotes comparison.[14]

The limitations of European audiences reinforce this perspective. Explaining American realities to students and readers who have little knowledge of the United States invites comparison with more familiar native institutions, practices, and artifacts. How can a young French reader understand the shift from the 1950s to the 1960s in the United States without a consideration of the transition from the Fourth to the Fifth Republic in France in 1958? European Americanists, especially those working outside English-speaking societies, continue to write works of American history for which the audience is presumed to be other than American, and their works necessarily have to interact with European concerns. They cannot write about the American civil rights movement while ignoring its connections with past civil rights movements in Europe or the fascination that the American story of civil rights exerts in many European societies in the present. Nor can they brush off the different meanings of the concept of race in the various Continental languages or its different constructions and elaborations in European history.[15]

Thus, while not all European historians of the United States are engaged in formal comparative history, their work is comparative nonetheless. Their ongoing conversation with American historians, in which they exchange ideas on matters of mutual importance, implies a comparison if only because they speak different languages. Language is indeed a major constraint; it influences both the form and the content of our comparisons—and different languages exert different influences. The terms of social and political discourse are inextricably based on cultural, social, and political experiences (in short, on history) that of course vary from country to country. Simply consider, for instance, that where the French would say *État*, Americans might use either "state" or "government," but where Americans would use "administration," the French would use either *gouvernement* or *administration*, depending on the context. Even if we were perfect speakers of English (which British and American historians may claim to be), Continental Europeans would still "translate" from their own language into a different language, based on different experiences. And with every translation, something gets lost and something unconsciously gets added, because the epistemological connotations of our languages are quite different. European historians have always had to take that into account; they tread a delicate path between two possibly very distinct historiographical and epistemological traditions.[16]

[14] Sylvia L. Hilton and Cornelis A. van Minnen, "The Academic Study of U.S. History in Europe," in van Minnen and Hilton, eds., *Teaching and Studying U.S. History in Europe: Past, Present and Future* (Amsterdam, 2007), 7–45, here 30–31, 45.

[15] See, for example, Stephen Tuck, "From Greensboro to Notting Hill: The Sit-Ins in England," in Iwan Morgan and Philip Davies, eds., *From Sit-Ins to SNCC: The Student Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s* (Gainesville, Fla., 2012), 153–170; and Manfred Berg, Paul Schor, and Isabel Soto, "The Weight of Words," this issue.

[16] The most intriguing example of the difference between German and (American) English has been aptly demonstrated by the rendering of Leopold von Ranke's famous phrase "wie es eigentlich gewesen" into "what really happened," an apparently simple and casual translation that ultimately erodes the original meaning. See Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 26–31. (This may be a nineteenth-century problem, and one could argue that German and French theories of the twentieth century—academic Marxism, structuralism, the various poststructuralisms, etc.—had been "internationalized" at an early stage of their in-

European historians of the United States, then, necessarily work within a comparative framework, whether it is explicit or implicit, conscious or unrecognized.[17] And this structural condition has many effects. Europeans, for instance, have almost always exhibited a special ambivalence toward American exceptionalism. Even Alexis de Tocqueville and Werner Sombart, whose work has often been used to buttress ideas of American exceptionalism, were, on the contrary, Europeans whose comparative approach relied on the idea that American conditions could be found, or replicated, elsewhere. This might make it easier for European Americanists to renounce not only exceptionalism (which indeed the great majority of U.S. historians did quite some time ago) but also Eurocentrism, which might paradoxically prove more difficult to eradicate. Looking forward, one project that European Americanists may want to pursue within those academic institutions on either side of the Atlantic that tend to think of European history as "normative" is to provide alternative narratives to European historical development informed by references to U.S. history. Likewise, particular aspects of the history of a European nation may also inspire extremely useful arguments against any exceptionalist interpretation of American history (or of European history!).

National location leads European historians of the United States not only to implicitly or explicitly compare national histories, but also to compare national historiographies. Many European historians lament—the trumpeting of the internationalization of history notwithstanding—what they see as a lessening of concern in the United States with scholarship on America published outside the United States, often noting and complaining about American historians' liberal use of the plural personal pronoun "we" when referring to their audience, where "we" signifies "the United States" and also implies that U.S. historians have an exclusive relationship with a national audience.[18] (The complaint is not simply that using "we" excludes other national audiences, but also that European historians frown upon using "we" in relation to their own national histories.) This, we believe, is due to an increasing inequality of knowledge that comes with the hegemonic role of American historiography, through both the sheer volume of research produced and the central position that the U.S. academy now enjoys in the world. Indeed, the fragility of ed-

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tellectual development and are therefore much more accessible in English.) Wolf Lepenies, a German sociologist, distinguishes between English I and English II, between a hegemonic, universal language and a communication code, a functional language, based on a reduced vocabulary and serving a particular scientific community of historians. See, e.g., Uwe Pörksen, "Anglisierung—der dritte grosse Entlehnungsvorgang in der deutschen Sprachgeschichte: Zur Einführung," in Pörksen, ed., *Die Wissenschaft spricht Englisch? Versuch einer Standortbestimmung* (Göttingen, 2005), 9–16, here 13. But the problem with English II is not only its reduction but also its hybridism, insofar as it exists in various "national variants." (English II might be conceived of as an act of revenge by the non-hegemonic languages insofar as a somewhat downsized language used as a lingua franca always "weakens" the "original" language. Compare "national" medieval Latin to the language of Cicero and Caesar.)

[17] On implicit vs. explicit comparison, see Nancy L. Green, "Religion et ethnicité," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences sociales* 57 (2002): 127–144; Mariuccia Salvati, "Storia contemporanea e storia comparata oggi: Il caso dell'Italia," *Passato e presente* 2–3 (1992): 486–510. On comparative history in general, see Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, eds., *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (New York, 2004).

[18] It may be that the "internationalizing" projects served to raise Europeans' expectations that their work would gain greater recognition in the U.S., but that this has not always been seen to be the case. How often do U.S. publishers use European authors for U.S. history texts?

ucational and archival institutions in some European countries, together with the strong commitment of U.S. history departments to European history, means that the United States has become the custodian of those national histories, written either by American historians or by exiled scholars working in those departments. Whereas scholars in the United States (and in Britain) can be a valid part of the international community of scholars without acknowledging the existence of work in other languages, the opposite is not the case. Academics and public intellectuals in other parts of the world need to be familiar with the latest U.S. research not only to have credibility in their own local academic communities, but also to converse and collaborate with their American colleagues.[19] The current tendency to "provincialize Europe"—an attempt to rid scholarship of any kind of "Eurocentrism"—can be seen as part of the "hegemonic" project of an American historiography promoting transnational, world, or global history from its own perspective.[20] Roxann Prazniak was right to declare "the language of world history" to be a case of an "ideology as superstructure rising to the occasion to reflect shifts in the economic substructure."[21]

The transnationalization of American history has sought to counter such trends, of course, and that will most likely open up new opportunities for non-American research on U.S. history. But doing comparative history will not necessarily bring European historians into some "united front" with transnational American historians in ways that allow them to identify and compensate for the hegemony of American historiography. The locations of European historians and their embedded position in their societies and institutions mean that they always, wittingly or not, reflect a comparative mode. Thus, for the same reasons, the European historians stand at different places in transnational history. Many of them are strong supporters of this approach, but they remain sensitive to issues of national structures precisely because of their comparative framework. The German historian Jürgen Kocka has argued that the nation-state (in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) constitutes society and politics and will remain a vital field of research even when seen in a transnational perspective.[22] It might be, as Ian Tyrrell has argued, that comparative history actually exaggerates the differences between nations.[23] But it may also help us to counterbalance the increasing asymmetry of knowledge that comes along with the hegemonic role of American historiography. Comparative history serves to undermine traditional national historiography and its master narratives while simultaneously allowing for the preservation of all that is valid and innovative in national historiographies. Comparative history, as explicitly or implicitly practiced by Europeans

[19] Dominic Sachsenmaier, introductory remarks at the "Global History, Globally" conference, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., February 2008 (in Marcus Gräser's possession), 4. Marcus Gräser, "World History in a Nation-State: The Transnational Disposition in Historical Writing in the United States," *Journal of American History* 95, no. 4 (2009): 1038–1052.

[20] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

[21] Roxann Prazniak, "Is World History Possible? An Inquiry," in Arif Dirlik, Vinay Bahl, and Peter Gran, eds., *History after the Three Worlds: Post-Eurocentric Historiographies* (Lanham, Md., 2000), 221–239, here 231.

[22] Jürgen Kocka, "Sozialgeschichte im Zeitalter der Globalisierung," *Merkur* 60 (2006): 305–316; Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, "Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope, and Perspectives of Comparative History," in Haupt and Kocka, *Comparative and Transnational History*, 1–30.

[23] Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (October 1991): 1031–1055.

writing on the United States, might enhance the ongoing process of internationalization *and* fragmentation, which will lead to a true universal history—universal insofar as the principle of particularity will perpetuate itself.[24]

[24] Theodor W. Adorno, *Zur Lehre von der Geschichte und der Freiheit* (Frankfurt, 2001), 22.

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AHR Roundtable

The Weight of Words: Writing about Race in the United States and Europe

MANFRED BERG, PAUL SCHOR, and ISABEL SOTO

In 1993, the historians' group in the European Association for American Studies held a meeting at the Roosevelt Studies Center in Middelburg, the Netherlands. David Thelen, then editor of the *Journal of American History*, attended this meeting to beat the drum for his commendable project of internationalizing the study of American history by forging closer ties between the Organization of American Historians (OAH) and non-U.S. scholars, especially those in non-English-speaking countries.[1] In order to gather more information on the European group, Thelen distributed an OAH questionnaire. However, when the Europeans took a look at the form, some of them voiced their outrage that the OAH was asking not only for their names, affiliations, and fields of specialization, but also for their race. What did this mean? Perhaps the OAH was asking for "Aryan certificates," one colleague snapped, referring to the infamous racial classifications of Nazi Germany. Poor Dave had a hard time explaining that, quite to the contrary, inserting the box on race mirrored the OAH's respect for and commitment to the diversity of its membership. Still, the apprehension among some participants did not go away completely.[2]

The confusion surrounding the OAH questionnaire reveals something that those of us in the business of critical reading and intellectual history take for granted: meaning is unstable and contingent. Despite our shared academic usage of English, the term "race" may trigger very different associations among Americans and Europeans, although there is a seemingly simple and phonetically similar translation in so many European languages (*ras* in Dutch and Swedish, *race* in Danish, *rasă* in Romanian, *razza* in Italian, *rasa* in Polish). Those seeking to internationalize the writing of U.S. history often focus on the question of languages and translation (including a critical push by some multilingual historians in the U.S. for their colleagues to learn more languages). As the example of race shows, however, the issue of language is a matter not of mere translation of words, but of meanings. Words are shaped by specific historical and cultural contexts.

[1] Organization of American Historians, "The La Pietra Report: A Report to the Profession," http://www.oah.org/about/reports/reports-statements/the-lapietra-report-a-report-to-the-profession/.

[2] This account is based on Manfred Berg's personal recollections of the meeting.

SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF CONCEPTUALIZING and expressing ideas across different national contexts can be explored by focusing on the conflicting usage of race by historians in the United States and in Europe. That the question of translating ideas is not one of language alone is shown by the fact that the meaning of race differs from the U.S. usage even for British and Irish historians. In mid-twentieth-century Britain, the word "coloured," imported from the United States, referred to recent non-white Commonwealth immigrants. Thus Black Power in Britain (in contrast to the U.S.) easily incorporated Indian and Pakistani workers' groups. Indeed, some Indians who moved there from the United States complained that racism was worse in Britain, because they had not been considered black in the U.S.[3]

Germany, France, and Spain have had complex national histories of grappling with race that also share some common traits. In Continental Europe, the word "race" seems to maintain an unbreakable tie to the history of racism in the West, and thus race as an analytical tool to describe American society (or other societies) remains problematic. Given the centrality of race in recent American historiography, this puts European scholars of the United States in an odd position. Beyond the apparent consensus that Americans as well as Europeans claim to use a deconstructed notion of race, the historical experience of the respective countries in which the term is used deeply informs its meaning. What kind of history of race in the United States does a German historian write when, in post-Holocaust Germany, *Rasse* conveys very different meanings and political connotations? And how is that same history of race approached by a Spanish scholar of American studies in a context where the term *raza* currently looks to Anglo-American as well as national meanings or referents? In France, where the state prides itself on refusing to make distinctions among citizens, the use of the concept of race regularly summons reference to Vichy France, the exceptional period when race had legal force in metropolitan France.

The discussion has been made even more complex for historians who spend most of their time reading U.S. scholars by the ubiquitous reference to race as if it did not have a particular national history in the United States: the use of race in American scholarship often appears not merely normal but also normative. This means that European historians of the United States, even those who tend to adopt the research objectives and language of their U.S. counterparts, can find themselves in a dilemma—at odds with their countrymen working on other regions as much as they feel the distance between themselves and their American colleagues. Conversely, U.S. colleagues working on foreign countries also act, unwittingly, as transmitters of American meanings of key concepts such as race.

The 2010 Convention of German Historians in Berlin featured a panel on "'Humanitarian Development' and Racism in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1920–1990." Presenters could give their papers in German or in English. One German title in this session was "'Rasse' und Rassismus in den 'Humanitären Entwicklungsgesellschaften' in Tansania, Togo und Kamerun, 1920–1970," whereas the title of a paper delivered

[3] W. W. Daniel, *Racial Discrimination in England: Based on the PEP Report* (London, 1968), 48; Stephen Tuck, "From Greensboro to Notting Hill: The Sit-Ins in England," in Iwan Morgan and Philip Davies, eds., *From Sit-Ins to SNCC: The Student Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s* (Gainesville, Fla., 2012), 153–170.

by an American historian was "Medical Aid as a Subject of Cold War History: Development, Race, and the Global Cold War."[4] The fact that the German historian put the term *Rasse* in quotation marks while his American colleague saw no reason to do the same with the word "race" highlights a major problem for German and more generally European scholars who work on race and racism. Unlike the word "race" in U.S. usage, the German *Rasse* has not made the semantic transition from a biological to a social and cultural category. Hence German historians, who of course subscribe to the idea that the concept of race is a social and cultural construction, are often ill at ease employing the term *Rasse* and put it in quotation marks.

The obvious explanation for this peculiarity is that Nazi genocidal racism has discredited the German word *Rasse* almost beyond redemption. For many years after World War II, German historians not only avoided the term but also shied away from employing race as an analytical category. Unlike class, race supposedly had no relevance for understanding social reality but merely reflected a misconceived ideology epitomized by Nazi fabrications such as the "Aryan master race" and the "Jewish race." The self-image of postwar German society as racially and ethnically homogeneous reinforced this perspective. The term *Rasse* remained ideologically tainted as a marker of the Nazi past, while race as a social category allegedly had no bearing on German life. Racial problems, it seemed, occurred only in other societies, most notably the United States.

The same can be said about French historical writing. To make the matter even more confusing, the word is spelled the same way in French as in English. The usage is quite different, however, and it is common for French authors either to use quotation marks around the term or to include a disclaimer that "race does not exist."[5] The French colonial past, the reference to Vichy France and its official categorization of Jews as a race, and the fact that France is still grappling with this history of oppression of racialized others makes a neutral use of race difficult. Moreover, because the social scientific discourse on race is perceived not only as foreign but as American, those who argue in favor of the use of race as an analytical tool risk admitting a Trojan horse of concepts that carry with them the weight of a racialized view of the world embedded in the U.S. experience of slavery, segregation, and discrimination.[6]

The Spanish case has certain specificities, but also certain parallels with the German and French examples. The myth of racial homogeneity, for example, can be traced to the nineteenth century and the Franco period, with some scholars linking Spanish racial thought to a concept of "fusion" of Spain's many cultural and regional groups.[7] In a way that can be observed in other European countries, and in stark

[4] "Über Grenzen," 48th Deutscher Historikertag, September 28–October 1, 2010, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. The presenters were Hubertus Büschel and Young Sun Hong, respectively.

[5] See, for example, Paul Schor, "Liste des abréviations et note sur l'usage des termes," in Schor, *Compter et classer: Histoire des recensements américains* (Paris, 2009), 7–8, here 8, explaining why the author chose to omit quotation marks when referring to terms used in context by historical actors and to keep some racial terms in English.

[6] Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, "Sur les ruses de la raison impérialiste," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 121 (March 1998): 109–118.

[7] Joshua Goode, *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870–1930* (Baton Rouge, La., 2009), chap. 1. Others qualify this, arguing that "under Franco lip-service was paid to the idea of cultural heterogeneity," while the regime actually promoted "a unifying concept of nationalism" that "gloss[ed]

contrast to what happened in the United States, race was long used to construct a unifying notion of a Spanish *raza*, not as a category that broke down the population into irreducibly different groups.[8] Indeed, the concept of *raza* is loaded with a plurisecular history of racial construction, against the Moors and the Jews first, and then in the context of the New World empire, on terms somewhat different from those of the English-speaking world, but also with the importation of scientific racism and of the influence of Nazi ideas during the Franco years. More recently, however, especially in academic circles, *raza* and derived terms such as *racial*, *racismo*, and *racista* tend to closely follow American English usage.

National histories of racism, discrimination, oppression, and murder in the name of racial superiority are also heavily freighted in Germany and France. The legacy of antisemitism and colonialism has made it difficult for French and German scholars to write about race as a social and cultural force in American history. Although German historians of the United States are not alone in grappling with this problem—specialists in German colonialism and Nazi racism cope with similar difficulties—they face the additional burden of translating the vocabulary of American race relations for their German non-specialist readers. In contrast to the narrow biological connotation of *Rasse*, American usage of the term "race," both academic and popular, covers a vast semantic field and a broad spectrum of normative implications that are hard to convey in a German text. What is perhaps most puzzling for non-academic German readers is the willingness of many African Americans to embrace the term as the signifier of a collective identity based on skin color, history, culture, and life experience. For example, literal translation of terms such as "race man" and "race pride" into German would evoke suspicions of racism rather than be interpreted as connoting collective identity. In Germany, the term "race" is never used in connection with immigration from Africa and Muslim countries because branding immigrants as a race would be racist. The use of *Rasse* as an ascriptive term is simply unacceptable.

In the early post–World War II decades, the few German historians who wrote on U.S. history largely ignored race as a topic. Textbook authors typically devoted a few pages to the "race question" and translated the American terminology into German, including the now-abandoned words "Negro" (*Neger*) and "colored" (*Farbige*).[9] Similarly, in France, readers would not object to mentions of racial tensions, or even racial differences, in the United States, but they would be uncomfortable if such language were used when discussing French history—an uneasiness that cannot be dismissed simply as denial. In both countries, authors seemed to assume race to

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over the country's non-European ethnic and racial traditions." Isabel Santaolalla, "Ethnic and Racial Configurations in Contemporary Spanish Culture," in Jo Labanyi, ed., *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain* (Oxford, 2000), 55–71, here 55.

[8] The term is not, though, really comparable with "ethnicity" or "nationality." Rather, it retains its association with lineage and purity of stock.

[9] See, for example, Erich Angermann, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika seit 1917* (Munich, 1966). Curiously, the terms *Neger* and *Farbige* continued to be used in subsequent editions. See also Udo Sautter, *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1975), 230–233; Hans R. Guggisberg, *Geschichte der USA* (Stuttgart, 1975), 281–282. The late Hans Guggisberg was a Swiss historian, but his usage of terms such as *Rasse*, *Neger*, and *Farbige* did not differ from that of German historians.

be a biological—or at least an essentialist—category, but made sure their readers understood that racial difference did not justify social and legal discrimination.

A generation later, the global coverage of the U.S. civil rights movement prompted a change. In Germany, writers became more sensitive about terminology. The introduction to Bernd Rüster's 1973 book *Rassenbeziehungen in den USA* (*Race Relations in the USA*) informed the reader that names such as *Neger* and *Farbige* had become contested, and that "Afro-American" and "black American" were now more respectable. Curiously, the author, though highly critical of American racism, also considered it necessary to point out that "only a minuscule fraction of the 23 million black Americans are of pure black race [*reinrassig schwarz*]"—a good example of how German authors who tried to distance themselves from both German and American traditions of racism could nevertheless fall into the trap of a tainted and cumbersome vocabulary.[10]

As younger scholars began to publish their work in English in the 1980s, they ostensibly avoided the problems of translating the American discourse of race into German. However, as teachers and public intellectuals, historians have an obligation to write for their domestic readers. This challenge goes beyond the terms "race" and *Rasse* and includes the need to provide the larger historical context of American race relations. For example, in the German version of his book *The Ticket to Freedom*, on the NAACP's struggle for black voting rights, Manfred Berg added a separate chapter on the political system of white supremacy, which he subsequently dropped from the American edition.[11] When writing in German, historians typically clarify their terminology in the introductions to their books, explaining why *Neger* and *Farbige* are no longer acceptable, and why "race" cannot simply be translated as *Rasse*. Indeed, some authors refuse to translate key terms such as "race," "African American," and "black community" at all, because there is supposedly no acceptable German translation for them.[12] From a stylistic point of view, this approach is not convincing because it tends to create an annoying linguistic mishmash. Meanwhile, German textbook surveys of American history devote more attention to race as a topic than their predecessors, but they also conspicuously shun the term *Rasse*—or put it in quotation marks to indicate that they consider race a social construction. Where the quotation marks are missing, *Rasse* stands as a descriptive synonym for skin color.[13] Instead, the term *Afroamerikaner* (Afro-American) is widely used, and

[10] Bernd Rüster, *Rassenbeziehungen in den USA* (Darmstadt, 1973), 10–11, 18–19. The following sentence explains this "miscegenation" by castigating the sexual exploitation of black slave women by their white masters.

[11] Manfred Berg, *The Ticket to Freedom: Die NAACP und das Wahlrecht der Afro-Amerikaner* (Frankfurt, 2000), 31–57; *The Ticket to Freedom: The NAACP and the Struggle for Black Political Integration* (Gainesville, Fla., 2005).

[12] Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson, *From Protest to Politics: Schwarze Frauen in der Bürgerrechtsbewegung und im Kongreß der Vereinigten Staaten* (Frankfurt, 1998), 19–24, 30–33; Norbert Finzsch, James O. Horton, and Lois E. Horton, *Von Benin nach Baltimore: Die Geschichte der African Americans* (Hamburg, 1999), 11–14. The book was co-authored in English by one German and two American historians but was translated into German by Norbert Finzsch.

[13] See Jürgen Heideking, *Geschichte der USA* (Tübingen, 1996), 214, 400; Philipp Gassert, Mark Häberlein, and Michael Wala, *Kleine Geschichte der USA* (Stuttgart, 2007); Volker Depkat, *Geschichte Nordamerikas* (Cologne, 2008), 165–166, 252–254; Willi Paul Adams, *Die USA vor 1900* (Munich, 2000); Adams, *Die USA im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2000).

Schwarze (blacks) or *schwarze Amerikaner* (black American) is also common.[14] American historians who work on Germany, by contrast, often use the term "race" as it is used in the American context, such as Heide Fehrenbach in her book *Race after Hitler*, on children fathered by black GIs during the Occupation period.[15]

In France, by contrast, it is not problematic to write about racial discrimination or even racial tensions, because it refers to a political situation, yet describing groups as races remains awkward. It still seems easier to use the adjective "racial" than the noun "race," as if the adjective did not carry the same weight. Although most French historians who use the term nowadays do so in a social constructivist framework, the reception of their work takes place in the midst of polemics and debates over the use of racial categories and racial statistics.[16] More generally, in France the generic term "origin" tends to be used rather than "race." Politicians routinely state that race does not exist, and use a euphemism to refer to what outsiders might call postcolonial subjects: *issus de l'immigration*.[17] Similarly, in academic discourse, the dominant approach in France has been to construct diversity in terms of immigration. Overall, the lexical use in France is complex, ambiguous, and shifting.[18] Meanwhile, in all three countries the constitution (or in Germany's case, the Basic Law) uses the word "race" to ban distinctions based on race.[19]

In contrast to France and Germany, in Spain the term *raza* can be closer to that found in American English, although it continues to be used in specific non-U.S. ways. In a discussion of "race" within a Western framework, Spain occupies a somewhat unusual position, having been historically and routinely excised from the nar-

[14] Recently a public debate has also begun in Germany about whether racist terms such as *Neger* (Negro) should be discontinued in new editions of children's books. For example, German editions of Astrid Lindgren's *Pippi Langstrumpf* have substituted the term "South Sea King" for "Negro King." "Die kleine Hexenjagd," *Die Zeit*, January 17, 2013, 17–19, http://www.zeit.de/2013/04/Kinderbuch-Sprache-Politisch-Korrekt.

[15] Heide Fehrenbach, *Race after Hitler: Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America* (Princeton, N.J., 2005).

[16] For opposite perspectives on the use of race and racial categories and statistics in France, see Alain Blum, "Resistance to Identity Categorization in France," in David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel, eds., *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses* (Cambridge, 2002), 121–147; and Didier Fassin and Eric Fassin, eds., *De la question sociale à la question raciale? Représenter la société française* (Paris, 2006).

[17] French Antilleans object to this term, though, reminding people that Guadeloupe and Martinique have been French for a much longer period than Corsica, Savoy, or the French Riviera.

[18] French historians of other regions tend to see race not as a social structure or an attribute of people but as an ideology of oppression. In other words, race is always connected to racialization and racism. An example is Pap Ndiaye, *La condition noire: Essai sur une minorité française* (Paris, 2008), which describes blacks in France as people who are treated or perceived as black. Ndiaye was trained as an Americanist, and the book is full of references to U.S. scholars of race; he attempts to lay a foundation for black studies in France, but he is clearly in the social constructivist perspective.

[19] See Simone Bonnafous, Bernard Herszberg, and Jean-Jacques Israel, "Le mot *race* est-il de trop dans la Constitution française race? Une controverse," *Mots* 33 (December 1992): 5–8. The inclusion of the word "race" in the constitution is controversial in France. The French deputé (member of the National Assembly) who introduced the proposal in 2008 (it did not pass) is a socialist lawmaker from the French Antilles, strongly supported by Christiane Taubira (from Guyana), who sponsored the 2002 law that made slavery a crime. Taubira is now the minister of justice. As a candidate, François Hollande promised to remove the word "race" from the French constitution. In sum, elected politicians from "visible minorities" in France generally support color-blind laws, as either they come from the Antilles, where legal equality (and color-blindness) has been central to their history, or they are from North Africa and are uncomfortable with the concept of race, for fear of racialization that would make them second-class citizens. The use of "race" is historically and strongly connected to deprivation of rights.

rative of modernity, or at most constructed as a secondary player.[20] A critical part of that narrative should be the account of the Black Atlantic and its massive implications for the construction and performance of race. Rather, the othering of Spain and its attendant racialization and relegation to a negative exceptionalist paradigm have led not only to its excision from (Anglo-American) discussions of modernity, but, further, to the occlusion of its foundational role in the construction of racial identity or race-making, dating at least from the expulsion of the Moors and Jews, and its participation in the early Atlantic slave trade.[21] Such discussions that have occupied recent scholarship on racial discourse in Spain remain for the most part beyond the purview of scholars in American studies.[22]

Thus, acknowledging the past usage of *raza* within Spain restores its historical participation in the practice and making of "race." The irony of Anglo-American neglect of the Spanish construction of race is that many racial terms used in the United States are borrowed from Spanish (e.g., "mulatto," "mestizo," and indeed "Negro"). In Spain, *raza* is probably most frequently used in conjunction with *humana*, even if its unqualified use is retained in specific academic contexts to address, for example, the Franco dictatorship's obsession with differentiating Spain from internal and external others as expressed in its exaltation of *la raza*.[23] (To underscore the problem of transferring words across borders, in the United States "la raza" is an activist term in U.S. ethnic studies and Latino/a advocacy—and also the name of "the largest national Hispanic advocacy organization in the United States.")[24]

Despite a renewed interest in our countries in questions of race, fueled by references to the American experience but also by a new reading of European national histories in a global context, the stigma attached to the concept of race remains. The dominant strategy of German historians has been to avoid the term *Rasse* and

[20] Irene Silverblatt, "The Black Legend and Global Conspiracies: Spain, the Inquisition, and the Emerging Modern World," in Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds., *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago, 2007), 99–116, here 99.

[21] Already in the sixteenth century, during which the Black Legend emerged, Spain was being described Anglocentrically as "of all nations under heaven [. . .] the most mingled, most uncertayne and most bastardly." Edmund Spenser, quoted in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, "Introduction," in Hendricks and Parker, eds., *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (London, 1994), 1–16, here 2.

[22] Among the most important works on this topic within Spanish and Hispanic studies are Labanyi, *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain*; Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford, 2002); Magali M. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin, Tex., 2003); T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe, eds., *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, 2005); Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend*; Susan Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (New Haven, Conn., 2008); and Goode, *Impurity of Blood*.

[23] Franco pseudonymously scripted the 1942 film *Raza*, billed as "La película de España" ("The Film of Spain") and funded by the Consejo de Hispanidad. Also, since the early twentieth century, Columbus's first New World landfall has been celebrated in Spain on October 12, first as Día de la Raza and subsequently as Día de la Hispanidad. The dictatorship promoted the former usage, although both names reference the original use of *raza* to denote lineage or an essentialized people. In 1987 the name was changed to Fiesta Nacional de España.

[24] See http://www.nclr.org. As in the case of Germany, American-based scholars often transfer American terminology to the Spanish setting—sometimes with a view to challenging prevailing assumptions. For example, in *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity* (Urbana, Ill., 2003), Hispanist scholar Barbara Fuchs uses the term "passing" as "a challenge to the strictures of Counter-Reformation orthodoxy" (x).

thereby distance themselves from discredited language and ideas. Nevertheless, this strategy has come at a price, because it deprives them of a short and convenient term to capture a key category of social analysis and forces them to work around it in ways that are often tedious and confusing for non-experts. Because of its insoluble association with Nazi ideology, the very idea of race appears too contaminated for a semantic resurrection, meaning that historians of race will continue to face the challenge of finding suitable translations for uninitiated readers, while at the same time remaining faithful to the discourse of their sources.[25] In France, the word *ethnique* has been used in recent years as a somewhat euphemized version of "racial," but the debate is far from settled and has been complicated (and politicized) by the endorsement of "ethnic statistics" by President Nicolas Sarkozy's government at the same time that it was pursuing restrictive immigration policies described by many as racist. In contrast to what goes on in the United States, the propensity to use "race" to describe groups is still perceived as a right-wing or far-right inclination.

Some of the differences between Europe and the United States have diminished with the rise of American studies departments, where subjects are often taught fully in English, and thus with the use of American terminology (not to mention rising academic interest in the subject of American race). Yet importing a word embedded with such sedimented meaning implies much more than what the idea of translation ordinarily conveys: there is in a sense a worldview that travels with it, invisible to those who are used to the word, but striking to outsiders who see it as politically or ideologically freighted. This appears quite clearly in the Spanish case, where historians of the United States find themselves working under the weight of the history of race in Spain and speaking in the tongue of American academics.

Yet other differences between Europe and the United States still remain. Although we have noted the importance of specific national contexts, the three countries under discussion share a common history of the use of race to create unwanted or excluded others, that is, the historical experience of the racialization of the Jews, through forced conversion and rejection in Spain, and through genocide and persecution in Germany and France. Antisemitism is not absent from American history, but the distinction between ethnicity and race, which is blurry on the other side of the Atlantic, and the tendency to reserve "race" for peoples of color in the United States since 1945 have moved antisemitism out of the debate there. The difference compounds the difficulty in using the word as it is commonly used in American English. It seems that in the foreseeable future, European historians will be more comfortable using "race" to talk about racial tensions in the United States than as a way of describing social groups, and would rather apply it to the United States than to their own countries. As for American historians of the United States, the challenge is not simply to be bilingual, but also to make sense of the conceptual differences that arise when words and concepts travel. One way to do this might be to re-import the concepts after their foreign journey, an easy way of deconstructing and denat-

[25] See, e.g., the argument by Jürgen Zimmerer, a historian of German colonialism, in *Deutsche Herrschaft über Afrikaner: Staatlicher Machtanspruch und Wirklichkeit im kolonialen Namibia* (Münster, 2002), xiii.

uralizing not just problematic concepts such as race but American history in general. By engaging further in this international dialogue, American historians in the United States can also gain a clearer view of their national history.

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AHR Roundtable

Comment

Location, Location, Location: We Are Where We Write?

NANCY L. GREEN

IT TURNS OUT THAT "INTERNATIONALIZING AMERICAN HISTORY"—a vital project spearheaded by Thomas Bender, David Thelen, Carl Guarneri, Ian Tyrrell, and others—actually comes in two varieties.[1] The first concerns the teaching experiences and research of American historians themselves. There are those who have gone abroad to teach for a semester or a year; the accounts of this transformative experience have brightened the pages of *Perspectives* for many years now. There are also American scholars who have gone abroad to do research on the United States from abroad—and have been able to see the U.S. from afar, through foreign eyes and foreign archives.

The second variety has to do with those foreign eyes themselves: Americanists abroad who have been toiling the field often well before American scholars "discover" them. The encounter between home-grown and foreign-trained Americanists has been an exciting one. But the view from the other side has not always been given its full due. This roundtable wonderfully gives voice to a group of twenty-five European Americanists from twelve countries who tell the tale of internationalizing American history from their own perspective. Doing U.S. history in Europe has entailed its own practices and problems. This collection of articles thoughtfully reflects upon the opportunities and difficulties in telling the American story from across the Atlantic over the last half-century.

That being said, the foreign scholars' options have themselves been double. If emic and etic perspectives have become academic buzzwords for the late twentieth century, it turns out that there are (at least) two types of outside perspectives, as the European Americanists well demonstrate. The foreign observer can, as Nicolas Barreyre, Max Edling, Simon Middleton, Sandra Scanlon, and Irmina Wawrzyczek put it in their essay, "go native." Or s/he can maintain a "broker's" distance. Furthermore, the broker's option in and of itself implies two things. Foreign scholars may choose topics that bridge countries (international relations or migration, for exam-

[1] Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Bender, *A Nation among Nations: America's Place in World History* (New York, 2006); *The Nation and Beyond*, Special Issue, *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999) (project initiated by David Thelen); Carl J. Guarneri, ed., *America Compared: American History in International Perspective*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1997); Guarneri, *America in the World: United States History in Global Context* (Boston, 2007); Ian Tyrrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (Basingstoke, 2007).

ple). But they may also, importantly, offer new perspectives on American history, thanks to their etic posture. Some brokering institutions have been around for decades, such as the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C. (1987), and the Roosevelt Study Center in Middelburg, the Netherlands, which hosts the biennial Middelburg Conference of European Historians of the United States (1993). Other initiatives are newer: for example, the *European Journal of American Studies* (online since 2006). If I translate the "going native" versus "brokering" distinction into the language of my own field, migration studies, the options seem to be assimilation or maintaining difference. The options for European Americanists have thus long been absorbing and entering as far as possible American historiographic debates and university norms, or offering another vision, based on the advantage of distance rather than proximity. These articles show that there is a creative tension at work between these options. And as the authors of " 'Brokering' or 'Going Native' " conclude, "In truth, European scholars rarely choose exclusively between" the two.

In the introduction, Nicolas Barreyre, Michael Heale, Stephen Tuck, and Irmina Wawrzyczek make a compelling case for a point that bears emphasis. Beyond what I would call reciprocal visions of U.S. and European Americanists looking at each other, this roundtable is important not just for those who study the U.S. (in the U.S. or elsewhere). It is a reflection on doing history that raises important epistemological issues for anyone studying and writing about another place: Americans studying Europe or China, Chinese Americanists, or why not New Yorkers studying Kansas or Californians studying New York? The authors ask questions about the conditions that shape historical scholarship in general and point especially to the importance of the conditions under which we work. Those conditions, as becomes abundantly clear in the main articles, are both material and political. The "national" may be transcended by the transnational these days—adding a further complexity to the story—but the national is still pertinent insofar as university systems and contemporary local issues provide the contexts for scholars' work. Finally, the European Americanists' case provides, as the authors well point out, a double comparison: that between American and European historians of the U.S., and that among the various European historians. The former comparison is treated more often than the latter in the essays here. But in any case, I would argue/agree that their examples go well beyond the European situation.

The authors claim forcefully that place matters. The acquisition of knowledge is situated in space. The spaces referred to here are not just national spaces, although those are the ones most prominently displayed. The spaces include the general conditions of doing history as a profession. While discussing national historiographic traditions, the articles also address, importantly, the organization of careers, hiring requirements, and institutional constraints, wherever we toil. True, there is a greater weight of the state in university structures in Europe (although state budgets have their own impact in the U.S.). True, the marked expansion of higher education in Europe over the last half-century has had an impact on academic professions there (similar to but even more striking than in the U.S.). The authors reflect on the relationship between teaching and research; the impact of forms of funding; the academic or public audiences for whom we write. These are issues that exercise historians of all stripes within the U.S. and without. In all of these, the authors argue,

location counts. Their point is salutary, even in these putatively transnational times. Four main arguments deployed in the articles speak to us all: the relationship between teaching and research; the question of audience and relevance; the comparative trope; and the words we use.

Perhaps the least satisfying yet most promising article is "Teaching in Europe and Researching in the United States," by Trevor Burnard, Jörg Nagler, Simon Newman, and Dragan Živojinović. What an intriguing reminder to U.S. historians based in the U.S. that things can be very different when one is doing U.S. history where it is the exotic field in the department, let alone the university. The great challenge for European Americanists is to explain the basics to their audience, all the while proceeding with their own research interests. One could emphasize, though, that the "links, synergies, and conflicts between what we teach and what we write" are of equal import to academics anywhere. Any historian has to balance daytime and nighttime activities: providing courses and attending dreaded meetings during the day, and slogging away on his or her own research during evenings, weekends, and vacations. Do European colleagues spend more time writing interpretive syntheses and class manuals than their American counterparts? Maybe, although the large survey course still reigns supreme in the U.S. as well. Needs are different in each place, but the tension between teaching and research is hardly a European phenomenon alone.

The question of location, however, does clearly have to do with a related question: For whom do we write? Audience, audience, audience is an equally compelling answer. The authors well point out that their own research and teaching have been heavily informed by their own putative audiences: clueless undergraduates (but this is not a solely European phenomenon); a general public (unreflectingly Americanophile or Americanophobe, depending on the period); or—the heart of their dilemma—other academics, notably those based in the U.S. They stress the constraints of (publicly funded) European universities and seem to compare their own institutions essentially to the well-funded American research universities. But a finer analysis on both sides is necessary, particularly given that U.S. universities come in various sorts, public and private, and that U.S. professors have widely divergent teaching loads. But it is undeniable that writing textbooks for undergraduates or lecturing or writing for a wide non-academic audience not necessarily steeped in even the basics of U.S. history brings its own challenge.

"Relevance" may be another matter. Or maybe not. It was the great watchword of the 1960s–1970s in the U.S. For historians, that has meant making the past relevant to the present (wherever one writes).[2] In this case, the authors stress how they have had to make U.S. history relevant to the European present. During the Cold War this was perhaps self-evident, not to mention the fact (as they do) that the development of American studies in postwar Europe was encouraged by the U.S. State Department. If a U.S.-sponsored interest in the teaching of U.S. history abroad is less obvious today, European Americanists need to plead their cause to a Europeanizing Europe. By addressing the political and popular pressures that surround the doing and understanding of U.S. history abroad, the authors again provide a

[2] Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York, 1998).

general point that can go well beyond the U.S.-Europe connection: "studying the history of a different nation can be a political statement in itself" (Del Pero, Frank, Klimke, Porsdam, and Tuck, "American History and European Identity").

Being relevant is closely linked to the "comparative trope." The comparative possibilities are numerous, and the authors embrace them with a passing nod to alternative, "connected" or "transnational" approaches. Indeed, it seems that for them, the older connected history of international relations or migration has been surpassed by a more dynamic comparative history that is seen to counterbalance the asymmetry of knowledge and the hegemony of American historiography, while preserving that which is "valid and innovative" in national historiographies. Ironically, the essays often fall back on "Europe" as a concept, although the "comparative trope" clearly implies breaking down "Europe." Indeed, a fuller comparison of the ways in which Eastern and Western Europeans (politically) and Southern and Northern Europeans (culturally?) have viewed the country to which many of their ancestors moved would be welcome. Different articles address examples of these differences, but the authors of "Europeans Writing American History: The Comparative Trope," Susanna Delfino, Marcus Gräser, Hans Krabbendam, and Vincent Michelot, are determined national-ists—in a descriptive sense of the term. They respectfully dismiss the a-national variant of transnational history to argue for a needed grounding in knowledge of the national cultures involved. Recognizing that the "comparative trope" may be explicit or merely implicit, they remind us that concepts such as "Americanization" itself or America's "exceptionalism" (an inherently comparative notion) certainly look different when viewed from abroad. How exceptional is exceptional, after all, when Germany has its *Sonderweg*, France its super sense of self, and Italy its own civilizing mission? A key distinction that could be more fully addressed is that comparisons do not mean finding difference alone. As the word etymologically implies, comparison is also about similarities. But that would perhaps undermine the purpose set out by the contributors to this roundtable, who strive to mark their difference from U.S. Americanists.

In the last article, "The Weight of Words," Manfred Berg, Paul Schor, and Isabel Soto usefully raise the tricky problem of translation. But here, too, this is not just a French-English, German-English, or even British–American English problem. "The weight of words" goes well beyond the European-U.S. historiographic issues. The different meanings of *État* in French and "state" in English are important reminders of the problem, not to mention one of the most confusing "false friends" of all (not discussed here), the word "liberal": a term denoting the political left in the U.S., and the political right in France. The example par excellence, which is discussed here, is race. As Susan-Mary Grant, Michael Heale, Halina Parafianowicz, and Maurizio Vaudagna point out in "Characteristics and Contours," "The American experience with race was of perennial interest to European scholars bemused by the presence of slavery and racial discrimination in a country ideologically identified with freedom." Berg, Schor, and Soto well outline the difficulties of importing a word with multiple meanings in the place of study and different political weight in the place of writing. Expunged from the German vocabulary after the Nazi era, embraced by the Spanish government, the word "race" in Europe is a difficult concept to use, even after the deconstructivist turn. Words, too, are sensitive to location.

Institutional constraints, university structures, the comparative imperative, and the use of words are thus problems for us all, wherever and whatever we teach and write. However, while arguing for the *general* import of the Europeans' angst, I do not want to minimize their *particular* dilemma. Another term that crops up throughout the articles is "hegemony." In all that precedes, power relations between Europe and the United States mean that teaching, research, audience, and relevance cannot be disconnected from the power relations between nations that persist in spite of the transnational model. The Europeanists' sense of an overbearing American academy, with its rituals and norms, needs to be taken to heart. But, what nerve, you may say. As the Europeans strain with and against the vast output of American historiography, increasingly omnipresent through "mass publication" and the e-modes of modern communication, we hear their pride of place, yet also the grinding of teeth about the situation. In the end, it seems that we have a team of Europeans pridefully thumbing their noses at the very heart of their field, showing off their goods to those who have perhaps neglected them due to the sheer weight of the American academy. Yet follow the footnotes: they are fascinating. At the same time, what nerve on the part of the *American Historical Review*, bravely willing to publish an attack ultimately on its very own hegemony. Furthermore, the European Americanists have the nerve to go against the poststructuralist grain in maintaining the pertinence of the nation-state, just when others (in these same pages) have often heralded its last gasps. All of which is why this collection of articles is so stimulating.

THAT BEING SAID, EACH ARTICLE ONLY leaves us wanting more. The articles are short by design, and the footnotes are just a teasing sampler. In addition to space, at least three other themes loom large here that need more attention: time, politics (related to time period), and disciplinary boundaries.

The importance of location should not minimize change over time. The authors note how they themselves have sometimes shifted strategies over the decades. From wanting to go native to finding their own voice, one shift may have been the result of their being "found" by American academics who expected something different from their European counterparts.[3] While the European Americanists initially resisted the idea that they "could or should" bring something unique to U.S. history, this roundtable is a statement that they can and will. But change over time in historiographic practice also means questioning how historians in different places have paralleled, followed, and/or resisted U.S. historiographic trends. The much-heralded shift from the political to the social to the cultural in history-writing has different timelines in different countries. I will never forget the perplexed French student who, after I had given a long lecture on ethnic community studies in U.S. immigration historiography, asked, to my amusement: "But where is the state?" (This was in the late 1980s, well before citizenship studies brought it back to the fore in migration history in the U.S.) Indeed, historians of migration in communities-wary France have remained more interested in migration as a litmus test for the state than as an ex-

[3] François Weil, "Do American Historical Narratives Travel?," in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 317–342.

perience of individuals or groups.[4] American historians of the late twentieth century had to reiterate calls to bring the state back in, when it had never gone away in Europe, as the articles here point out. But the biggest temporal impact of all is that which is alluded to in several of the essays: the Cold War. How has the writing of U.S. history during and after the Cold War been different in Eastern and in Western Europe, and in the U.S., for that matter?

Changing historiography can be closely linked to changing politics over time. And the political danger of doing history can be greater than we usually imagine, as "Characteristics and Contours" reminds us: the Russian constitutional historian M. M. Kovaleskii was expelled from Moscow University in 1887 for his sympathy for America. But more generally, how have shifting political climes and events both within the U.S. and without captured the imagination and led to whole schools of investigation of the U.S. from abroad? Taking sides during the Cold War or viewing "Americanization" from abroad (and emphasizing its reception) has led to important European variants in the writing of U.S. history from afar.[5] Within this context, the Europeans themselves, while stressing national specificities, sometimes overdo the "European" label. "Europe is not one homogeneous block," they say ("Introduction"). "There is no truly European historiography, only the various historiographies in Europe" ("Europeans Writing American History: The Comparative Trope"). However, while most of the examples come from those old faithfuls Britain, France, Germany, and Spain, we would like more Polish and Scandinavian examples. It is not only a question as to whether non-U.S. scholars have studied the Vietnam War or the Cold War or the 1968 movements differently, but, more generally, how those events, as viewed from other places, have had a more diffuse impact on historians' questions and writing there.

A third series of questions has to do with disciplinary boundaries. "Characteristics and Contours" sneaks in examples of intellectuals who were not practicing historians per se: Brinley Thomas, an economist; Raymond Aron, a philosopher; Daniel Guérin, best known as a militant. All were eminent writers writing about the U.S. past, but they were not laboring under the same intellectual and institutional constraints as the "professional" historians. Does it matter? What does matter, as the authors point out, is that many historians of the U.S. in Europe are teaching in Anglophone studies departments rather than history departments—with a certain amount of frustration at times.[6] History's relation to other disciplines is an unexplored subtext here. As footnote 2 of "Characteristics and Contours" points out,

[4] E.g., Gérard Noiriel, *État, nation et immigration: Vers une histoire du pouvoir* (Paris, 2001); Patrick Weil, *La France et ses étrangers: L'aventure d'une politique de l'immigration, 1938–1991* (Paris, 1991).

[5] Rob Kroes, *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall: Europeans and American Mass Culture* (Urbana, Ill., 1996); Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922* (Chicago, 2005); Jonathan Zeitlin and Gary Herrigel, eds., *Americanization and Its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Post-war Europe and Japan* (Oxford, 2000); but also Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York, 1994); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

[6] An interesting comparison would be with interdisciplinary American studies departments in the U.S.

books on U.S. literature and culture published in Europe vastly outnumber history titles. (As in the U.S., presumably.)

But finally, I hear the twenty-first-century American reader cry: Where's the agency? By emphasizing location, the authors tend to reify background, giving more weight to structure than to individual historians' agency. And they do so, it may be noted, with two sometimes contradictory baselines: with reference to "Europe," on the hand, and to the home country, on the other. The articles represent this Europe/nation-state tension without resolving it. But their emphasis on structures—whether national or European—is clearly assumed and tends to minimize that which we cherish most: the individual researcher's agency in choosing topics, a freedom that brought us to the academy to begin with. The "Europeans" are perhaps having a structuralist moment in these essays (furthermore rooted in a consciously "European" endeavor, as the mix of authors for each article shows). Few of us will doubt the agency inherent in our own choice of subjects and their treatment. But it does not hurt to remember that we are not alone, and that we are not working without institutional constraints.[7] The introduction concludes with a thoughtful point: "even in a liberal democratic age, we are not free-floating individuals, and . . . even in a global age, the nation can still shape our scholarship in unexpected ways."

In the end, a *cri de coeur* is aimed at the soul of our profession: frustration on the other side of the Atlantic about the hegemonic tendency of U.S. historiography, the "danger of being drawn into the American academic orbit" ("Characteristics and Contours"). As an American-in-Paris, I have occasionally cringed at talks by well-meaning U.S. historians coming to spread the word in Europe. I have also been witness to just as many thoughtful give-and-takes about new methods crossing the Atlantic—in both directions. This roundtable is but the latest in a long series of anxious reciprocal visions. Remember, before Braudel became a household name (well, for historians' households anyway), that there were some early skeptics? Remember the U.S. historians of France worrying (sometimes still today—when their books remain untranslated into French) whether they would be taken seriously in France?[8]

Americanists in the U.S., take note: American history in Europe is thriving and is bringing together Europeans themselves. The American Europeanists know the U.S. archives, and they are self-reflexive, as we all need to be, about the prospects and limits of research and writing. The core premise is that non-American historians can take advantage of their location (distance) to bring fresh perspectives to U.S.

[7] I have argued elsewhere for a poststructural structuralism. Nancy L. Green, "The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism—New Perspectives for Migration Studies," *Journal of American Ethnic Studies* 13, no. 4 (Summer 1994): 3–22; Green, *Ready-to-Wear and Ready-to-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York* (Durham, N.C., 1997).

[8] David H. Pinkney, "The Dilemma of the American Historian of Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (1958): 11–25; Pinkney, "The Dilemma of the American Historian of Modern France Reconsidered," *French Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (1975): 170–181; John Marino, "The Exile and His Kingdom: The Reception of Braudel's *Mediterranean*," *Journal of Modern History* 76, no. 3 (September 2004): 622–652.

history. A last question, then, which begs for some letters to the editor or a follow-up roundtable: What about historians of the U.S. in Japan, China, India, and Brazil?

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AHR Roundtable

Comment

The Travails of Doing History from Abroad

SVEN BECKERT

IT HAS BECOME COMMONPLACE TO ARGUE that history as an academic discipline grew up alongside the nation-state and has played an important role in its constitution. Nineteenth-century nation-builders desperately needed a "usable past," and nationalist historians were all too happy to oblige. Yet less visibly, there have always been writers who were concerned with the history of distant places: Greek historians looking at Persia, Roman historians tackling Greek history, nineteenth-century Americans examining Latin America, and twenty-first-century Chinese historians studying the United States.[1]

One subset of this odd group of historians interested in the "elsewhere" is the community of historians in Europe who write on the history of the United States and its colonial antecedents. As we learn in the essays in this roundtable, they are a fairly large group—perhaps a few hundred strong; they practice in virtually all European countries; they teach the history of North America to very large numbers of students; they organize conferences on a whole variety of core themes in American history; and they write important monographs on virtually all aspects of the American past, with some of their writings having become important milestones in the writing of American history. Their meteoric rise is largely a postwar development, the result of the vast expansion of higher education in Europe, American investments, and the diverse political needs of the societies in which they write: Soviet historians worked hard to show the shortcomings of bourgeois society in the United States; Western European historians tried to learn about capitalism and democracy and show how they could intersect; and rebellious students found inspiration in the civil rights movement. The work of these historians, we learn, is inflected by their intellectual and institutional experiences in Europe, and thus is different from the work on American history produced in the United States.

This fascinating set of short interventions does not so much celebrate the accomplishments of this group of historians as it bemoans what the authors feel is a

[1] Herodotus, *The Histories*; Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *Germania*; William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, 2 vols. (London, 1847); Dong Yu, "The Sedition Act of 1798 and Initial Development of the Public Sphere in the United States," *Historical Research* 2 (2011): 142–159; Dong Yu, "American Historians Research on Business Corporations in the Early Republic," *Journal of Historical Science* 8 (2010): 5–14.

somewhat unique problem: their double isolation. European historians of the United States, so their arguments run, are not fully integrated into debates in the United States itself, while they also suffer from their minority status in European academia, including in history departments. In so doing, they raise a "problem" that is faced by increasing numbers of historians around the world: the "problem" of non-nationals writing national histories of places they do not themselves live in. As a result, such historians, say Barreyre, Edling, Middleton, Scanlon, and Wawrzyczek in their compelling essay, have to choose between "brokering" and "going native." In a world in which the internationalization of history is making rapid strides, that phenomenon will most likely become more common in the future. The articles presented here can thus serve as a case study of a much broader development that deserves to be widely discussed. They also, uncharacteristically, focus on the sociological, political, and institutional factors of knowledge production—a salutary move away from debates that solely trace the inner logics of arguments among scholars themselves.

The authors make a number of general arguments that are clearly persuasive. They show that location matters, that the political, social, and institutional setting in which historians ask questions and find answers makes a difference. Writing from the perspective of a part of the world that sent lots of immigrants to the United States, for example, it is to be expected that European Americanists will focus significant energies on disentangling these histories. As a result, as Grant, Heale, Parafianowicz, and Vaudagna put it in "Characteristics and Contours," "European specialists in American history do not produce scholarship identical to that of U.S. historians," and they do so, as Del Pero, Frank, Klimke, Porsdam, and Tuck demonstrate in "American History and European Identity," because their engagement with the American past serves a panoply of domestic political agendas. (The question remains, however, whether the situation for American historians in the United States is any different.)

These essays show just as effectively that certain key terms used by historians do not translate easily. This is best demonstrated by the fact that many Europeans are quite reluctant to deploy the concept of "race," which has been such a favorite among U.S. historians in recent years. The authors here also argue persuasively that the structure of universities matters to our research and teaching agenda—if you are the only U.S. historian at a university, you will be asked to teach much more general introductory courses than if you are part of a community of such scholars. And they demonstrate that international politics—for example, the emphasis on soft power that went along with the United States' assertion of world leadership after 1945—has had a material impact on what scholars study, in fact enabling the rapid expansion of the engagement with the American past among European scholars, albeit often in American studies departments.

The assertion that it matters from where you write history should be fairly uncontroversial. But, of course, such an argument does not say anything specific about the particular group of American historians practicing their craft outside the United States. And here the authors of these essays unwittingly fall into an exceptionalist trap themselves by arguing that the particular location of European Americanists leads to that double isolation—isolated from the community of historians in the United States who claim dominance in the field of American history, and isolated

from historians in Europe who marginalize the history of North America. In fact, the essays largely emphasize the "problems" that this particular location brings with it.

But could one not turn that story around and instead celebrate the possibilities of this particular location? Who says it is easier to write a history of a country that you have been born into? Is it not often just the opposite? Having grown up in a web of national myths and of nationalism, can it not be difficult to get sufficient distance from one's object of study? Nationalism has all too often distorted understandings of history, including the understandings of the history of North America. Not being citizens of the United States presumably insulates European Americanists from that nationalism, and also keeps them from having to unlearn much of the mythical misreading of history that derives from popular understandings of the American past. Moreover, writing from the outside brings with it an understanding of the history of at least one other part of the world—making it much less likely that European Americanists will fall into facile exceptionalist traps. And in an age when historians of North America have embraced the idea of looking at their history from a "transnational perspective," no one is better prepared to engage such a perspective than people who actually know something about the rest of the world and speak languages other than English, an argument made also by Burnard, Nagler, Newman, and Živojinović in "Teaching in Europe and Researching in the United States." Delfino, Gräser, Krabbendam, and Michelot confirm this in "Europeans Writing American History," telling us that Europeans almost always come to the study of American history with a comparative lens—a huge advantage that will allow them to understand some problems much better than many U.S.-trained historians who lack such a perspective.

Considering such opportunities, I am somewhat puzzled by the defeatist tone of some of these essays. Implicitly if not explicitly, the tenor of the essayists is that European Americanists do not "belong" anywhere; they are neither proper European nationalist historians, focusing on the history of the respective European country they inhabit, nor part of the country whose history they study. But why is that a problem? If we want to write, as Friedrich Schiller suggested more than two hundred years ago, "universal history," we should not be held back by our location.[2] And, moreover, such a disjunction between the location of the historian and the object of her story is hardly an "exceptional" position to be in. Historians of North America writing in the United States also come from diverse backgrounds—and indeed the social and political distance between a historian having grown up in a barrio of Los Angeles and one having grown up in an elite family in New York City might be greater than the distance between that New York–reared historian and one having grown up in Paris. Yes, our position matters in what histories we tell and how we do so, but why would we want to privilege the difference of nationality above all others? And is the system of American universities not characterized by such diversity that it is unclear that the most significant dividing lines are to be drawn between historians practicing in Europe and those practicing in the United States? How about the hundreds of historians teaching at community colleges in the United

[2] Friedrich Schiller, "Einführung in die Universalgeschichte" (Inaugural Lecture, University of Jena, May 26, 1789).

States, with poor libraries, tough teaching schedules, ridiculously low pay, and no European Union to fund their research projects? Why would they be any less marginalized than historians sitting at EHESS in Paris or at Oxford?

As historian Eric Foner said so well, there is "good" history and then there is "bad" history.[3] We all have the capacity to do either. It does matter where we are located; our research will be informed by the social and political environment we live in, and by the resources that are at our disposal. But those differences do not break down primarily along national lines. Assuming that we have the time and resources to engage in research on American history, we all have an opportunity to participate. But we also must want to participate in discussions that we find relevant or important. If European Americanists focus on Europe's interactions with North America, as they often do, it should come as no surprise that some Americanists believe that there are very substantial parts of the U.S. past that are not best explained by focusing on such interactions with Europe. Europe clearly matters to U.S. history, but perhaps less so than some of the writers of these essays might wish. The subtext at times indeed seems to be one of regret about the declining importance of Europe to the United States. And in some ways there is a claim that we, because we are Europeans, should matter in significant ways to the telling of the story of the American past. But perhaps this is just a remnant of a hopelessly Eurocentric vision of the world?

European Americanists should matter to American history, not because of some *a priori* claim to the importance of European history to American history, but because as excellent historians they engage important issues in the human past, and they do so in a cosmopolitan spirit—a spirit that leads them to, among other things, investigate the history of the United States. That cosmopolitan spirit, of course, is also often sorely lacking among American historians in the United States, and their unfamiliarity with historiographical traditions in other parts of the world, their inability to read sources and literatures in languages other than English, and the all too common lack of familiarity with how certain ideas and concepts travel and do not travel into other parts of the world all limit the analytical reach of their work. Yet to be a historian in the twenty-first century means to be conversant with historiographical traditions in several parts of the world, to embed one's histories into whatever spatial frame our particular questions demand, and to engage historians in different countries.

What is alluded to in the essays but never fully developed is that the authors' sense of marginalization within their own national history professions is partly driven by a hopelessly national focus that is still *de rigueur* in the discipline of history in many European countries. For a group of scholars who are so good at disentangling the sociology of knowledge, these essayists fail to fully understand the implications of

[3] Maurizio Vaudagna, "The American Historian in Continental Europe: An Italian Perspective," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 2 (1992): 532–542, here 534.

a system of history instruction and research that is to an overwhelming extent focused on their own respective national histories. If the vast majority of our colleagues engage only the history of the country they happen to live in, it is not so surprising that a lone Americanist feels, well, lonely. Compare that to history departments in the United States, where typically only one-third of the faulty focuses on the national history of the United States. If the majority of your colleagues do histories of other countries, it is unlikely that you will feel lonely.[4]

The essays suggest, in fact, that European Americanists should focus some of their energies on making their history departments in general into much more globally comprehensive places. Historians in Europe have to ask themselves some hard questions about why it is that what all too often is considered "history" in Europe is really just the past of a tiny slice of the human population—either that slice that constitutes the modern nation-state in which a particular history department is located or, if we are lucky, the European slice of humanity. But even that European slice is just a very small part of all possible histories. Such narrowness is the equivalent of a chemistry department committing itself to teaching and researching the workings of only one element, or a small group of elements, while ignoring all others.

Some of the essays also argue that European Americanists are marginalized because of the hegemonic power of U.S. historians. I fail to see this point, as it is not surprising that the largest, most vibrant, and also dominant strand of the writing of any national history presumably emerges from the country that a specific group of historians focuses on. I do not see any difference here from the practices of Italian, Bulgarian, French, or German history.

I cannot help but sense that the essays are infused by a certain Eurocentrism, a mournful concern that the colonials have struck out on their own and now have become "hegemonic" in interpreting their own history. This Eurocentrism is amplified by the exclusive focus on Europe in these essays. Presumably there are Americanists in other parts of the world who have to navigate a similar set of problems. Why are they excluded from this conversation? Is there anything that would privilege Europeans in this more general debate? There are many historians in many parts of the world who study a history other than the history of the part of the world that they happen to inhabit. Indeed, such historians practice in very large numbers in the United States. Are they feeling just as much that double marginalization? While I cannot answer this question conclusively, a superficial reading would suggest otherwise. Robert Paxton's work on Vichy France is certainly important to French historiography; few German historians in Germany are not familiar with David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley's work; and any self-respecting Mexican historian of Mexico would be familiar with John Womack's work on Zapata.[5] Looking at these examples, it seems that there is nothing systematic about this sense of double isolation.

What perhaps does deserve much more discussion, in contrast, is the issue of language. For all practical purposes, English has become the global language, and

[4] Dominic Sachsenmaier, *Global Perspectives on Global History: Theories and Approaches in a Connected World* (Cambridge, 2011).

[5] Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944* (New York, 1972); David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, 1984); John Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York, 1968).

anyone wanting to participate in global discussions has to publish in English, certainly if the subject is North American history. This of course advantages those historians who grew up speaking English and those who are able and willing to publish in English—in fact, it isolates non-English-speakers. This is a problem particularly relevant to history, since history, unlike, say, chemistry, often does speak to large audiences, and historians who want to speak to these local audiences need to forgo having an audience of Americanists in other parts of the world. American historians in the United States never face such dilemmas—their writing is both local and global by default, and that skews global conversations to a considerable extent.

In short, I would suggest that European Americanists speak much more self-confidently about the project they are engaged in. They should assert that any history department that deserves its name must have an expert on the history of North America on its faculty, along with experts on Asia and Africa and many other parts of the world. They should make sure that European students are trained in a basic understanding of the history of other parts of the world, and they should make that reconstruction part of the vaunted Bologna Process. And when it comes to their colleagues on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean—or, for that matter, their American history colleagues in Tokyo, Sydney, or Buenos Aires—why not just jump into the discussion? For sure, your perspective will be different, just as different historians in the United States have different perspectives. But I am almost certain that it will be a perspective that will be valued and that will be engaged. And you should not forget that you bring vast advantages to the table: languages, access to sources hidden in European archives, theoretical traditions, methodological insights from local historiographies, and a view of American history not tainted by nationalism. Celebrate these advantages! In this global age, historians for the first time have a chance to leave behind their age-old attachment to nationalism and write a cosmopolitan history. It is a most exciting time to do history, and an even more exciting time to do that history from the outside in.

Moreover, there is the possibility that entirely new opportunities are opening up. The container of national history seems astonishingly stable in almost all of these essays. Little would an uninformed reader suspect that transnational and global perspectives increasingly subvert the very category of national history. There is virtually no discussion of this in any of the articles (except once, when global history appears as a kind of hegemonic conspiracy on the part of U.S.-based academics). It seems, however, that a more global orientation might offer new possibilities for integrating elements of U.S. history into larger stories. The future might not be about Americanists in the narrow sense, but about global historians who will be writing much on North American history, and who will also participate in global discussions on the issues that they are raising. Just think of the works of Chris Bayly or Jürgen Osterhammel—they are not Americanists, but both have had quite a lot to say about

American history.[6] And they are also both Europeans much read in the United States.

And there is a further reason to celebrate. The structure of this contribution itself hints at an advantage that European historians might have: funding that enables collaborative projects. In the United States, such funding has almost vanished. European Americanists could indeed take the lead in tackling some very big problems in American history by making good use of the particular opportunities that they enjoy at this particular moment. And for all that I can tell, they already are.

[6] C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, Mass., 2004); Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton, N.J., 2014).

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Featured Reviews

Ian Morris. *The Measure of Civilization: How Social Development Decides the Fate of Nations*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 381. Cloth $29.95, e-book $29.95.

This challenging but interesting book by Ian Morris is an unusual publishing venture, since it is largely a 400-page technical appendix to the author's popular work *Why the West Rules—for Now: The Patterns of History, and What They Reveal about the Future* (2011). In that earlier book, as support for his argument, Morris introduced a social development index, detailed in an appendix. The Morris index is designed to quantify "social groups' abilities to master their physical and intellectual environments and get things done in the world" (p. 3). The current volume describes in extravagant detail how this index was devised, seeks to justify its value as an indicator of the social development of societies, and specifies how each year of the index was calculated, from 14,000 B.C.E. to 2000 C.E. It is thus a worthy scholarly exercise, which will be appreciated by numbers-loving cognoscenti. But it is an enterprise that likely has a limited audience beyond the circle of people who think that the future of history is as a quantified science. It will not serve well as an ambassador to those skeptical of quantification for the numbers-heavy approach to history that Morris favors. This is the equivalent of introducing a lifelong vegetarian to the pleasures of meat-eating through a trip to the slaughterhouse.

The index has four components: energy capture, social organization, war-making capacity, and information technology. The index for the East and West shows a steady and substantial rise from 14,000 B.C.E. to 1 C.E., with the West generally in the lead. But a period then follows from 1 C.E. to 1500 C.E. when the East gains the ascendancy, and the West shows a decline from the heights of the Classical Era. Only from 1500 to 1800 does the West catch up with the East, and in 1800 East and West stand in equality.

However, as Morris himself notes, pre-1800 energy capture is the component that dominates the overall index, accounting always for more than 80 percent of the value (pp. 248–249). The other three components matter little. Thus for the preindustrial world, Morris's index of social development is essentially energy usage per capita. Despite the ninety pages devoted to it, there remain mysteries about this energy-capture index. The food we consume provides in energy, for example, about 2,000–3,000 kilocalories (kcal) per day. This Morris counts as food energy consumption in all societies. But by 1800, Morris counts the average person in the West as "capturing" a total of 38,000 kcal of energy per day. This includes 7,000 kcal per day for fossil fuels, 4,000 for animal feed to produce more kcal-expensive types of food, and another 25,000 kcal of non-food "biomass" energy, mostly in the form of fuel, but also for clothing and construction (p. 63).

"Energy capture," however, is not about the energy that would be released if we burned our clothes and our homes; it is instead about all the inputs of energy required to produce clothing, house, and hearth. Meat, for example, contains less energy per kilogram than grains, but the energy cost of producing meat is at least four times that of grains. The biomass energy embodied in meat, however, has gone down over time as man switched from hunting to herding, as animals were bred to more efficiently convert fodder into meat, and as animals were fed in stalls instead of roaming free, wasting energy. So "energy capture" is conceptually difficult to define. What energy inputs should be counted? It is also empirically difficult to measure for the preindustrial world.

Suppose we take the non-fossil "captured" energy as all the solar radiation converted into biomass in every society. In that case there is no reason to expect the very strong gains in energy capture per person seen before 1800. For land kept as unimproved pasture and woodland often creates more biomass energy than land in grains, at least in preindustrial Europe. So agricultural biomass output per acre will rise modestly before 1800 with increased grain yields. But since acres of land per person were declining with population growth, the net biomass energy capture per person would not clearly move up.

To illustrate this, consider England in 1250–1800,

where farm yields are known. Biomass energy capture per person is lower in 1800 than in 1250, because rising grain yields in agriculture did not fully offset the much larger population. Biomass energy capture is also dramatically lower in 1800 than in 1450. The population losses from the plague meant that in 1450 average living standards were extremely high, so that the biomass energy converted into beer, meat, clothing, and housing for the population then was also very large. In England, the decline in energy capture from biomass between 1450 and 1800 was only partially counterbalanced by a great increase in fossil energy per person. But this importance of fossil energy before 1800 was unique to England.

On the Morris index, the hunter-gatherers of 10,000 B.C.E. are attributed an energy capture of a paltry 5,000 kcal per day. But their diet contained mostly meat, which derived from wild animals that consumed very large quantities of biomass per pound of meat eaten by the hunter. Why is this not counted as energy capture? The foragers of the temperate climates also likely needed as much or more fuel to keep warm in their conditions as the settled agriculturalists. They needed as much or more clothing, using again very energy-intensive wild animal pelts. If it takes the biomass of 5,000 acres of forest per hunter-gatherer to support their lifestyle, why are hunter-gatherers not the most extravagant users of energy in the preindustrial world, compared to the Chinese and Japanese families of 1800, who could subsist on an acre or less? The problem here is that if we define energy capture through just the inputs of biomass into the production systems of the society, then the more inefficient the production system is in using those biomass inputs to produce consumption outputs, the more energy capture a society will appear to have.

The second component of the index of social development, social organization, is measured as the size of the largest city in East or West, respectively, in each period. The decline in the population of Rome after the end of the Roman Empire in the West, and that fact alone, thus explains most of the decline in the social development of the West from 1 C.E. to 1500 C.E., and its apparent falling behind compared to the East.

However, the rationale behind this component of the index is again not obvious. In the modern world there is a very weak link between the sizes of the largest cities in nation-states and their income levels. Looking just at countries with 10 million or more people, the largest city size is a poor predictor of country income levels, with enormous noise in the connection at every level. There are giant cities in many poor countries now, such as Jakarta in Indonesia with 27 million people, or Delhi in India with 22 million. Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, is a giant megalopolis of 9 million people in one of the poorest countries in the world, with an income per person below that of most of the preindustrial world. Kinshasa dwarfs all preindustrial cities, being nine times the size of ancient Rome, for example. Does its size mean that even the modern Congo—beset with ethnic and political violence, rape, failed government, and collapsing infrastructure—has achieved higher social development than Europe in 1800? More likely it reveals that city sizes were influenced not just by social development, but also by the sizes of empires, the tax bite of the state, and the insecurity of the countryside, which drove people behind city walls for security.

An example of the lack of law-like connection between urbanization and social development is again the case of England in 1450. England would score very low on the Morris social organization index in this year. Urbanization was very limited. The largest city, London, had somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000 people. Yet the small English towns and villages were vibrant centers of industry and culture. The magnificent churches and guild halls erected in communities, numbering in the hundreds, speak to a society rich materially, but also rich in terms of arts, crafts, and culture. The lack of town walls and defensive fortifications spoke to the high level of social order and peace within England.

The above are all concerns about the content of the social development index. Suppose these issues could be resolved and an agreed measure of social competence developed. Would that answer the big question that has motivated Morris's books, which is why the West rather than the East prevailed in the world of modern growth up until the present?

Unfortunately, to measure social competence is not to explain it. Despite the subtitle, there is almost nothing in this book showing how "Social Development Decides the Fate of Nations." This work is focused on measurement, not explanation. Proponents of all kinds of theories of the superiority of Western society by 1800 would be able to accept the Morris index, and still hold to their favored theories: the Protestant Reformation, the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, the advent of democracy, the emancipation of women, the structure of marriage, the prevalence of small competing states rather than a giant empire, the high level of real wages, and easily available coal.

In the modern world, we have perfectly good measures of material output per person in the form of GDP per capita, another strong indicator of social development. But we are unable to explain why GDP per person in the United States is now nearly three times that of Argentina, even though the two countries were equally rich a century ago. Nor were we able to predict that Japanese GDP per person, after growing rapidly between 1945 and 1980, would subsequently stagnate at a level still only three-quarters that of the U.S. We are equally unable to explain why Taiwan and Korea, highly educated Eastern societies with stellar performances in terms of international measures of numeracy and literacy, still have levels of GDP per person less than two-thirds that of the U.S.

Quantification is an invaluable tool for understanding the patterns of history. This book is to be applauded for thinking about how to measure the social compe-

tence of earlier societies. But the great test of our understanding is the ability to predict. The final chapter seems to make bold predictions that we can extend current trend lines in the Morris index to a world a century from now where the East is dominant (p. 262). But then the final paragraphs of the book dissolve into equivocations that show that even with this index, the future is as unknowable as the past.

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Bernhard Rieger. *The People's Car: A Global History of the Volkswagen Beetle*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 406. $28.95.

After World War II, the Volkswagen Beetle became a global commodity and a global icon, much as Ford's Model T had been in the early twentieth century. Both were homogeneous, no-frills, low-cost cars, affordable to aspiring motorists from the middle and working classes. Both occupied a central place in the economic histories, production regimes, labor relations, and consumer cultures of their home nations; both acquired a market presence and production facilities in countries around the globe, inserting themselves into local consumer cultures and acquiring quite different meanings than they carried at home. While historians have written volumes on Ford, the little that has been done on the Beetle focuses only on its German context and Nazi origins. Thus Bernard Rieger's history of the Beetle from 1938 to the present, which crosses genres and geographies, is most welcome.

The Beetle was central to Adolf Hitler's aspirations, emblematic of West Germany's economic miracle, and much beloved by Germans, Americans, and Mexicans of a certain age. Rieger's engaging narrative deepens our understanding of West Germany's economic reconstruction and rise to global prominence as well as of global commodities, the multi-centered nature of globalization, and the diverse character of consumer cultures and labor policies in different countries and under varied regimes. It moves, as the consumption and production of the Beetle did, from Germany to the U.S. and on to Mexico and other non-European sites.

By the early 1960s, every third car in West Germany was a Beetle, and Volkswagen was a leading multinational corporation, under private ownership and with progressive labor relations. It began life, however, as a Nazi Party– and then state-owned entity, reliant on government orders and exploited workers. After 1945, the Beetle symbolized prosperity and normality and helped legitimatize democracy, but it started out as a Nazi project, deeply shaped by fascist ideology, racism, and imperialism. Although Weimar Germans were infatuated with Americanism and Fordism, the Beetle did not originate in the 1920s. Economic crises, low wages, and auto manufacturers' refusal to build a small, inexpensive car meant that mass motorization was centered on motorcycles. Only a limited middle- and upper-class clientele could afford the large German-made cars.

Hitler, however, greatly admired Henry Ford and commissioned Ferdinand Porsche to design a German equivalent of the Model T that would be smaller and less expensive, as befit German economic conditions. In Nazi fantasy, mass motorization would promote a distinctly fascist consumer culture and overcome class differences by creating a "traffic community," encompassing everyone from pedestrians and bicyclists to truck drivers—but excluding Jews. (Yet the Nazis simultaneously encouraged aggressive individualism by lifting all speed limits.) Because German car manufacturers did not think Porsche's car would be financially feasible, Hitler delegated production of what was, throughout the Third Reich, called the "Strength Through Joy" car to the fascist leisure-time organization of the same name. In a bizarre inversion of purchasing on credit, prospective owners would receive their cars only after paying all installments. Although 250,000 signed up and prototypes were produced, no one received the widely promoted commodity, for militarism and imperialism took precedence over consumerism. Once war broke out, the new production facility manufactured the Kübelwagen, a Beetle modified for military purposes, and employed not the envisioned classless labor force of "Aryan" car drivers and owners, but rather forced foreign laborers, including several hundred taken from concentration camps. At war's end, the future of the Strength Through Joy car was most uncertain.

Reopening the factory and ridding it of its exclusively Nazi past took the concerted efforts of the firm's leadership, the shifting policies of the Allied occupiers, and the amnesia of consumers about the Nazi economy. Heinrich Nordhoff, a former employee of GM-owned Opel, took over the factory in 1947, rebranding it and himself. Strength Through Joy City became Wolfsburg, or "Little America" in Nordhoff's frequent appellation; the car became the Volkswagen or People's Car. Although the Americans refused to denazify Nordhoff, the British employed him. Nordhoff neither admitted German guilt nor acknowledged crimes against Jews or his use of forced labor, but he insisted that Germans had to accept the material consequences of defeat and devote themselves to productivity. Both Allies found him the sort of industrialist with whom they could cooperate to make West Germany an economically sound and loyal Cold War ally. They gave Volkswagen its first postwar order in 1947. A year later, Germans purchased 60 percent of the rapidly expanding output, and

by 1955 the one-millionth car had rolled off the assembly line.

Volkswagen was central to West Germany's economic recovery and modernization. Like many corporations, it owed its success to supportive Anglo-American policies, an intact industrial structure, state aid, skilled but inexpensive labor, and pent-up domestic demand. Nordhoff borrowed from American technology and management practices to produce a car notable for its technological simplicity, quality, reliability, and affordability. Initially adopting a patriarchal managerial style and benefiting from weak unions, he subsequently turned toward collaborative labor relations and higher wages. Although Wolfsburg, a new town lacking democratic traditions from Weimar, was a hotbed of right-wing extremism in the late 1940s, it subsequently became a homogeneous, prosperous, modern town with abundant public amenities and few political conflicts. Wolfsburg, like the Beetle, symbolized the successes and repressions of Konrad Adenauer's Germany.

Volkswagen's decision to move sales and then production abroad—and not to other European countries, but to the U.S., Mexico, Brazil, Australia, and South Africa—made it an early West German globalizer. The U.S. was its most important export market, absorbing 40 percent of Wolfsburg's output by 1968. In 1964, Volkswagen built a vast factory in Puebla, Mexico, because the Mexican government insisted that 60 percent of the components of cars sold in Mexico be produced there. In the late 1960s, 14 percent of Volkswagen's manufacturing took place abroad. By contrast, the Beetle sold poorly in Britain, France, and Italy, which had bitter memories of the war and feared competition with their large auto industries.

The evolution of Volkswagen suggests that statistics on rising intra-European trade mask the complicated biographies of individual products. More importantly, it challenges narratives of the Americanization of Western Europe and other areas after 1945. It both illustrates the multiple directions in which commodities and companies moved across the Atlantic and points to the role of less-developed countries in initiating the relocation of production facilities. Whether we call this globalization or use Rieger's "internationalization," the phenomenon was multidirectional and multipolar.

The Beetle's popularity peaked in the early 1970s; thereafter exports shrank, and by 1972 its West German market share had dropped to 26 percent. The causes were multiple: stagflation, the collapse of Bretton Woods, oil crises, Japanese competition in the American car market, and the exhaustion of the Fordist model of mass production. The Beetle's virtues became burdens. The design was outdated, the technology not up to new safety and environmental protection requirements. Consumers wanted more amenities, and more Germans could afford pricier cars. In 1978, Volkswagen stopped producing the Beetle in Wolfsburg, focusing instead on new mid-sized models. In Mexico, however, the Beetle enjoyed a production run until 2003. In 1998, Volkswagen introduced the New Beetle, which was larger and more comfortable, with a front engine and amenities of all sorts. It was even more of a transnational product than its predecessors. The idea came from California, a multinational engineering team designed it in Wolfsburg, Mexican workers produced it, and Americans were the main consumers. Yet it never gained the popularity of its predecessor.

Rieger is correct to label the Beetle a global commodity. As conventionally defined, "global commodities" refer to raw materials and basic foodstuffs like bauxite and sugar that are extracted or grown in one area and sold on the world market. Yet a variety of branded manufactured goods have acquired that status—Singer sewing machines, International Harvester reapers, IBM computers. They were produced and marketed within complex transnational networks and were seen as modern and appealing for a mix of technical, utilitarian, and aesthetic reasons. For a few decades, the Beetle was just such a global commodity. Although Rieger regards it as iconic to this day, the Beetle's biography as an iconic global commodity, like the Model T but unlike Coca-Cola, was restricted to a particular moment of postwar capitalism.

The Beetle, like other global commodities, was produced by a transnational labor force employed under conditions that reflected and reinforced the economic, social, and racial inequalities of modern capitalism. The brutal wartime use of POWs, forced Eastern European laborers, and Jews from concentration camps provides one example. The tumultuous labor relations in the Puebla plant offer another. Although Volkswagen paid wages above the Mexican average, in the late 1980s Volkswagen workers in Germany earned more in an hour than their Mexican counterparts did in a day (and slightly more than their fellow workers in the U.S.). When Mexican workers struck for sixty days and won higher wages, Volkswagen introduced lean production and subcontracting, dismissed 14,000 workers, and curbed union rights. Union strength and state regulations prevented Volkswagen from behaving in a similar way in Germany.

The Beetle illustrates that global commodities acquire multiple nationalities in their travels. Like motorcycles and horses before them, cars represent not only utility but also mobility, speed, and freedom. They can readily become an extension of their owner and be invested with complex emotions. Although drivers of all nationalities enjoyed the speed and freedom the Beetle provided, Rieger argues, the Beetle took on quite specific meanings within the distinctive economies and consumer cultures of his three case studies: Germany, the U.S., and Mexico. Corporate export, production, and marketing strategies as well as local reception and appropriation determined these meanings. All consumers praised the Beetle's technology, reliability, and low price, yet emotional attachments grew out of distinctive national consumer cultures.

West Germans associated the Beetle with the new postwar normality—modest prosperity, new consumer durables, and family-centered leisure. While refriger-

ators and washing machines were coded female, and the TV was familial, the Beetle was distinctly male. If Germans associated Volkswagen with the Third Reich, some remembered the Kübelwagen as a useful aid to the ostensibly "clean" Wehrmacht in its African campaigns. Others saw the Beetle as proof that the Federal Republic was superior to Nazi Germany, for it realized the latter's promise of an affordable small car.

For some Americans, purchasing the unconventional, ugly, or at least aesthetically confusing Beetle represented a revolt against the extravagances of American consumer modernity and cars with chrome and tailfins. For others, the Beetle supplemented the family's orthodox American model, for use by a suburban wife or teenage children. Americans conferred the name "Beetle" or "Bug" on the People's Car, a name that migrated back to Germany. While Germans stressed the car's reliability and "German quality work," the primarily middle-class American owners loved the Beetle for its cute look, quirkiness, and diminutive proportions. Recall the famous "think small" ad. For many, the Beetle still evokes nostalgic memories of the 1960s. Because the Beetle arrived when the American auto industry was thriving and remained a niche product with a 3 percent market share, it did not arouse the antipathy that Japanese auto imports were to do during the crisis-ridden 1970s.

While Americans always acknowledged the Beetle's foreign origins, the Mexican middle class embraced *el vochito*, as it was fondly called, as a thoroughly national commodity. It was produced in Mexico, by Mexican workers; its sturdy construction and reliability made it ideal for Mexico's harsher driving conditions and less-developed service infrastructure. Most importantly, ever-larger sections of the middle class could afford the Beetle, which paved the way for mass motorization as it had in Germany. As in the U.S., and to a lesser extent Germany, the Beetle was an object of affection and nostalgia, as well as of national pride. Regrettably, Rieger does not explore how it was gendered in Mexico.

The Beetle could so comfortably assimilate to different national cultures, Rieger concludes, because Volkswagen, for understandable reasons, did not confidently project its origins in the postwar world. American goods, by contrast, gained their cachet by evoking distinctively American lifestyles. Yet, as studies have shown, American global commodities like Singer sewing machines and McDonald's hamburgers and fries acquired very different uses and meanings when they moved abroad. Their Americanness may have been a source of appeal, but it was the intersection and inequalities of local and global capitalism, the nature of national consumer cultures, and the actions of individual consumers that affected their appropriation and transformation. Americanization may share a lot with the internationalization of Volkswagen and the biography of the Beetle.

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Brenda Gayle Plummer. *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956–1974*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. vii, 372. $29.99.

Recent work by Gerald Horne, Carol Anderson, Kevin Gaines, Penny Von Eschen, Thomas Borstelmann, and Mary Dudziak, among others, has placed the modern U.S. civil rights era in a Cold War global context. Over the course of her sterling career, particularly with works like *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960* (1996) and her edited collection *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945–1988* (2003), Brenda Gayle Plummer has transformed the historiographies of U.S. foreign relations, diplomatic history, Cold War studies, and African American history with her explorations into how African American activism influenced U.S. policymakers to grapple with the importance of race globally and the linkages between domestic racism and foreign affairs. Plummer has demolished previous assumptions by both U.S. policymakers and scholars that African Americans were uninterested in and uninformed about international affairs and, by corollary, that racism against African Americans was a domestic problem not subject to global scrutiny. Her latest classic, *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956–1974*, advances these multiple historiographies and reframes traditional nation-state periodization, calling what is commonly known in African American history as the civil rights/black power period "the era of decolonization." Moving away from nation-state periodization is the next challenge in transnational history, a still-developing field that features audacious geographical expansion but often remains saddled by conventional nation-bound time frames. Writing in the rich Du Boisian tradition of centering black peoples within the global struggle for decolonization and citizenship rights, Plummer engages and transcends the multiple historiographies of African American history, African diaspora studies, African history, Cold War studies, and the history of U.S. foreign relations. She set out to write a Foucauldian "history of the present," and she succeeds admirably: this magisterial work is an instant classic, a tour de force that examines why and how global black movements demanded substantive change, what

they accomplished, and what historical lessons can be drawn from this global drama.

The book's nine chapters move nimbly among the American, African, Asian, and Caribbean contexts and engage multiple themes, including race, diplomacy, politics, labor, education, culture, and Pan-Africanism. Plummer begins her narrative at a critical historical moment. By 1956, post–World War II, anti-communist government repression had slowed desegregation efforts by targeting progressive trade unions and human rights organizations like the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, the National Negro Congress (NNC), the Civil Rights Congress (CRC), and the Council on African Affairs (CAA). Demands for political and socioeconomic human rights were reduced to a narrower struggle for civil rights, defined as legal equality. Likewise, postwar U.S. assistance to England and France slowed decolonization by strengthening those colonial powers, and Cold War geopolitics would subsequently conflate African and Asian nationalism with Moscow-directed communism. In this context, Plummer explores how, "[h]aving predicated national security on the bedrock of racial domination, the [U.S.] was bound to maintain the pattern. The only way out was to readjust the basic premise so that security now required racial justice in order to prevail" (p. 11). While white (and some more conservative black) elites acknowledged the inevitability of at least moderate civil rights reform and gradual decolonization, black transnationalists envisioned the complete political, socioeconomic, and educational empowerment of blacks domestically and the creation of sovereign African, Caribbean, and Asian states. Plummer rightly describes *In Search of Power* as "a hybrid history" (p. 12), one that illustrates how power operates on multiple levels as it considers the ideas, actions, and perspectives not just of presidential administrations, as many diplomatic histories have done, but also of a range of government leaders, moderate civil rights activists, Pan-Africanist–minded black nationalists, Marxist-oriented radicals, working-class folk, intellectuals, and students throughout North America, Africa, and the Atlantic world.

Plummer's expanded conceptual and geographical framework features activists like Malcolm X and members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who defined American blacks as colonized subjects. More interested in black nationalism than in racial integration, such activists "situated their . . . struggles in the context of anticolonial resistance, neocolonial domination, and racism" (p. 206). Thus, Plummer is among a growing number of scholars who reformulate the conventional chronology of the civil rights/black power era, demonstrating that ideas of black sovereignty and self-determination associated with black power operated alongside and within, not after, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. She begins by examining the intense engagement of Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam with African decolonization to demonstrate the continued vitality of the earlier black internationalist tradition exemplified by persecuted groups like the CAA. Bypassing U.S. government channels, they engaged directly with African leaders to forge a transnational alliance to bring international pressure against American racism and to offer their skills in the service of African nation-building. Building on Winston James's *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (1998), which trenchantly notes the connections between Caribbean radicalism and African American history, Plummer reminds us that this was also an age of Caribbean decolonization and uses a hemispheric framework to better illuminate the connections between black radicalism in the United States, Canada, and the (mostly British) Caribbean and the coordinated surveillance of this radicalism by North American governments.

Plummer's hybrid history also captures the rich, diverse, and complex global dimensions of African American freedom struggles, part of a long historical tradition of enlisting international allies in the work of eliminating domestic racial oppression. She skillfully surveys the kaleidoscopic range of black opinions, ideologies, and organizations, and offers a particularly nuanced portrait of black power politics, which emerges not "as a single set of historical events or rhetorical practices" but "as a complex and varied politics executed by numerous and not necessarily connected actors" (p. 17). A wide array of black power figures visited Tanzania, including SNCC leader James Forman, who was at the forefront of a "skills bank" through which emigrating African Americans provided tangible skills to aid in nation-building projects; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) leader Roy Innis, who eventually supported segregation and aligned with the Nixon White House; and Marxists, who clashed with black nationalists during the Sixth Pan-African Conference in 1974. Meanwhile, black elected officials like Charles Diggs and Adam Clayton Powell attempted to influence U.S. foreign policy toward newly independent African countries and to quicken decolonization in southern Africa. Plummer examines civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr., who also organized against apartheid in South Africa and escalating American engagements in the Vietnam War. Moderate blacks engaged Africans through philanthropic and educational channels, seeking to be political and cultural brokers who could lobby effectively on African affairs and also push for more black representation and influence in the American foreign policy apparatus.

African Americans searching for power on the global stage faced daunting obstacles. U.S. presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson sought to mainstream African Americans into an envisioned integrationist America while simultaneously denying them their citizenship rights in attempting to influence and participate in U.S. foreign policy, particularly toward newly independent African and Caribbean states. Thus, on the very same day as the 1963 March on Washington, President Kennedy authorized weapons sales to apartheid South Africa. U.S. government officials seemed to

presume that the price of African Americans' freedom was their complete identification with and obedience to the nation-state, including acquiescence to U.S. foreign policy. In fact, even as the U.S. government marginalized African Americans, U.S. blacks continued to be viewed as a supposed threat to national security and subjected to intensive surveillance at home and abroad.

Other challenges included changing power dynamics between African Americans and African states as the latter privileged state-led Pan-African projects over transnational political agendas emanating from the diaspora. Prior to African independence, many black Americans engaged with Africa regarded themselves as leaders in a "racial uplift" mission to "civilize" Africans. Emphasizing commonalities based on race and a shared history of oppression and exploitation, they hoped that a strong, independent Africa could use its ascendant power to advocate for African Americans on a global stage. Now, as clear junior partners in this transnational relationship, African Americans offered their technical, educational, and political skills to assist in nation-building projects. Recalling the Sixth Pan-African Conference, SNCC veteran Judy Claude remembered the abiding concerns of the day: "The question was, did we in the diaspora have anything we could offer Africa? Did we bring skills that we could offer? By building these ties with Africa and strengthening them, would they be of assistance to those of us in the diaspora? Would they deal with our circumstances so that we could always say that we had support of African countries, whether at the UN or at other international forums? We would always raise questions about the conditions of descendants in other parts of the world. That was the idea" (p. 322). But alas, the relative weakness of newly independent African states like Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana and Julius Nyerere's Tanzania, and their preoccupation with their own pressing issues of promoting economic development, quelling domestic dissent, navigating tense relationships with the powerful United States, and negotiating Cold War geopolitics, meant that despite being sites of African American exile and Pan-African engagement, they could not offer all that African Americans had hoped.

A broad anti-white-supremacist framework that referenced historical legacies of slavery and fought against a global color line of colonialism, segregation, and racial capitalism mobilized black peoples worldwide and minimized the importance of disparate transnational ideologies, objectives, and methodologies. This framework facilitated coordinated action against white colonialism in southern Africa, particularly apartheid South Africa, where post-Sharpeville government crackdowns on nonviolent direct action tactics made armed struggle in southern Africa a broadly accepted approach at precisely the time that nonviolent direct action was most popular in America. But black transnationalism viewed through familiar racial binaries meant limited awareness and action during the Nigerian Civil War and muted criticism of the kleptocracy that was Zaire, a U.S. Cold War client state, even when the global spotlight turned on Zaire as it hosted the famed "Rumble in the Jungle" championship fight between heavyweight boxers Muhammad Ali and George Foreman.

Plummer argues that African American and African demands for the end of structural racism, colonialism, and imperialism were not fully realized but nevertheless forced global elites to eliminate some forms of state-sponsored racial discrimination, recognize African American citizenship rights, and admit newly decolonized states into the global family of nations. She concludes with the sobering assessment that decolonization "has . . . been a process capable of reversing itself and has in the current age taken on the character of an infinite loop, leaving millions still searching for power" (p. 349). Plummer suggests that those millions must, while drawing appropriate historical lessons, continue to organize transnationally: "a successful emancipatory global politics must break free of its auxiliary relationship to the state" (p. 23).

Plummer makes real the promise of transnational history, moving beyond abstract "notions of ideas" and ideologies to illustrate and interrogate the concrete connections between peoples, organizations, and ideals across the globe. She expands the conceptual, temporal, and geographical range of this burgeoning field, also uncovering forms of white transnationalism, such as coordinated Canadian-American government surveillance and U.S. senator Harry Byrd's support for Ian Smith's Rhodesia. Plummer's research is characteristically stunning in its breadth and in its depth; one clearly gets the sense that she engaged unusually closely and carefully over many years with a wide range of archival sources, newspapers, organizational records, oral interviews, government records, private papers, dissertations, and multiple historiographies. While historians of transnationalism must also make use of a wide range of international archives, Plummer demonstrates that an exhaustive combing of domestic archives can yield extensive and insightful transnational stories. Even in a comprehensive book of 349 pages, themes of gender and sexuality could be further developed, as could other tantalizing topics such as the depoliticizing nature of Blaxploitation films as part of the cultural trivialization of black power figures like Angela Davis. But some underdevelopment of one or two themes is inherent in an ambitious transnational history such as this one, in which we gain so much more than we lose. *In Search of Power* bears witness to a master historian at the top of her craft; it is a book that rewards close and repeated reading and will, I suspect, remain a "must-read" for transnational historians for many years to come.

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TOBIE MEYER-FONG. *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in 19th Century China*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 316. Cloth $40.00, e-book $40.00.

In 1864, Qing imperial forces recaptured the city of Nanjing, bringing to an end the greatest challenge faced by the Qing dynasty in over two centuries of rule. The Taiping uprising and the threat it presented to traditional Chinese culture was nothing less than cataclysmic. It sparked at least four other independent uprisings across China, triggered a decades-long series of government reforms, and resulted in the deaths of no fewer than 20 million people. Many books have already tackled the topic, and yet the Taiping Civil War remains a paradox. Although it is a compelling historical event with an almost irresistible narrative beginning with a man who believed he was Jesus Christ's younger brother, the conflict resists traditional historical chronicling as an assemblage of policies, personalities, and military campaigns. What is lost in such tellings is the deep trauma the event caused for those who survived and how the event was remembered and commemorated in the years and decades after the war. It is this previously untouched dimension of the Taiping conflict that Tobie Meyer-Fong addresses in her new study.

The Taiping conflict began in the spring of 1852 when a group of recently converted Chinese Christians burst out of the remote mountainous region of Guangxi in southern China. Preaching a version of Christianity not recognized by any Western church and branded as heretical by the imperial court, the early Taiping leaders advocated a highly eclectic cocktail of anti-Manchu sentiment, moral purity, and proto-socialist redistribution of property. As their power grew, the Taipings expanded their territory, controlling most of the rich lower Yangzi region by 1860. Only after an extended and ultimately abortive siege of Shanghai did the tide turn against them, with Qing forces quickly reversing all of their victories and finally defeating them with the fall of their Heavenly Capital (Nanjing) in 1864.

Meyer-Fong has little interest in retelling these already well-known details of the conflict. Indeed, the Taipings and their policies and ideologies remain out of sight for much of the book. Instead, she forcefully turns our attention away from the Taiping and Qing leadership and policies toward a closer examination of the physical and psychological scars of the Chinese who resisted and challenged the heterodox Taiping agenda.

The seven provocatively titled chapters guide the reader thematically (and in roughly chronological order) through the various ways in which witnesses and survivors engaged and remembered the war. In the first chapter, "Wars," the scope and scale of the conflict is outlined, underscoring the staggering level of destruction, death, and devastation; in the next chapter, "Words," the early reactions to the heterodox propositions of the Taipings are explored; "Marked Bodies" discusses the physical markers of hairstyles and tattoos and how they complicated rather than clarified the issue of political loyalties; "Bones and Flesh" accents the treatment by those who survived of those who did not; in "Wood and Ink," the growth of local elite power through commemorative activity is addressed; and in the final chapter, "Loss," the Taiping survivors' diverse ways of recording and commemorating their experiences are explored through a single individual who at only seven years of age witnessed the death of his mother at the hands of Taiping soldiers.

By focusing on the experiences of individuals and how they coped, reacted, and memorialized their losses, Meyer-Fong offers a valuable corrective within the subfield of Taiping studies. The overwhelming majority of previously published scholarly works on the Taipings have emphasized the forward-thinking aspects of their quasi-Christian, proto-socialist, and gender-egalitarian proclivities, which resonate so firmly with our own modern worldviews. There is no denying the Taipings' efforts to abolish private property, promote equitable distribution of surplus production, prescribe the equality and segregation of men and women, ban foot-binding, and advance the use of colloquial Chinese. But there has been a propensity in past studies to accentuate these seemingly progressive dimensions of the Taipings at the expense of the profound, long-term, and ubiquitous anxiety they engendered. As a result, a perverse myopia has emerged in the field that ignores the radical recomposition of Chinese local society and the ensuing deep-seated antipathy the Taipings created in mainstream traditional Chinese society.

This is not to say that there has been no examination of the "Qing response." As most famously outlined by Philip Kuhn (*Rebellion and its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796–1864* [1970]), many historians of China have long accepted the fact that local elites' military, political, and fiscal reforms were created out of a new revenue stream generated at the local and regional level. Often loosely grouped together as the "Self-Strengthening Movement," these reforms marked the devolution of state powers into the hands of local elites, and thus the genesis of self-government that emerged more fully formed in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Meyer-Fong's ability to wrest our attention away from the conventional narrative of the Taiping Civil War is one of the monograph's major strengths. Anyone familiar with the historical records, gazetteers, and personal writings of the period will not be surprised by the author's description of her first encounter with the late-nineteenth-century accounts of the Taiping assault in which defenders of the major lower Yangzi cities were described as being "sliced, stabbed, hacked, burned, or cut down for talking back; [and] martyrs who died by

drowning, hanging, self-immolation, self-starvation, or poison" (p. 3). While such privations have been remarked upon before, few other scholars have explored the emotional impact on those survivors who endured and struggled to make sense of the destruction.

Rather than begin her narrative in the aftermath of the war, Meyer-Fong intriguingly traces the potent anti-Taiping reactions to the first months and years of the conflict, when the Taiping ideology and reforms first began to become more widely known to the Chinese public. She plumbs the deeply moral, and widely disseminated, solutions presented by Yu Zhi, a five-time failed civil exam candidate from Wuxi County in Jiangsu, to trace the profound shock and horror with which most Chinese greeted the arrival of the Taipings in central China. After the Taipings' dramatic capture of Nanjing in 1853, Yu Zhi averred that it was a sign of heaven's displeasure at the sharp decline in filial piety in mainstream Chinese society. His emphasis on the Taipings' advances as heavenly retribution for society's loosening moral character, echoing one of Meyer-Fong's own central premises, suggests that the Taiping uprising was as much a military or political conflict as it was "a culture war, a religious war, and an ideological war" (p. 62). Yet even as China's traditional elite recoiled from the Taipings' reforms, they were themselves nonetheless transformed by them. For what Yu Zhi characterized as heavenly retribution was not a conventional reenactment of orthodox morality; rather, as Meyer-Fong notes, "his emphasis on vernacular media seems to suggest an infusion of new elements, not so subtly influenced by the iconoclastic challenge of the Taiping" (p. 63).

In clear, straightforward prose, the author details the Chinese elite's transformation from smug moral certainty to psychological confusion. As the Taiping conflict raged on for more than a decade, the need for permanent, unambiguous, and highly visible markers of loyalty became paramount for both the imperial and Taiping officials as they sought to assert control over their spheres of influence. The defiant anti-Manchu "longhair" hairstyle of the Taipings is the most frequently commented upon trait, but combatants from both sides often tattooed criminals, spies, and also recently captured civilians in a desperate effort to more permanently identify suspected sympathizers. But as cities and towns traded hands, salient markers of loyalty became inherently ambiguous as it became increasingly difficult to decipher how or when such symbols had been acquired or removed. The messy realities of acquiring, removing, or explaining away such markers were a centerpiece of life in the areas of China affected by the Taiping uprising. Meyer-Fong insightfully examines how these "[a]ffinities, often involuntary, were worn as labels, uniforms, and tags" (p. 73). As war shaded into counterinsurgency, the division between soldier and civilian became difficult to discern, and distinguishing a "rebel" from fleeing refugees became an almost daily issue for both sides of the conflict.

Throughout the monograph, Meyer-Fong foregrounds the many ways in which the deaths, victories, and moral triumphs were demarcated and remembered both during the war and in the postwar period. She explores how burial rituals were altered not only by wartime exigencies, but also by the sheer number of bodies that needed to be interred and the implications that following ritual imposed upon the survivors. The categories of heroism, martyrdom, and other acts of bravery against the Taipings also are dealt with in considerable depth. This is not just a question of how one remembers or whether one simply allows the memory of the conflict to fade from memory. Rather, Meyer-Fong's interest in the process by which such memories are shaped, empowered, and memorialized is to challenge our traditional conceptualizations of post-Taiping China.

In the context of the imperial authority, commemoration of those who defended the Qing dynasty or were martyred in the process emerged as a highly contested sphere and reveals the depth and extent to which the emergent new local elite could and did shape the very nature of "imperial" commemoration. As Meyer-Fong notes, the "full complement of laws, physical monuments, and codified honorifics undergirded late Qing commemorative projects, infusing legitimacy, moral clarity, and political certainty into what had been, for many, deeply ambivalent events" (p. 136).

Approaching an event that has been well documented and written about by some of the field's most accomplished historians is a daunting task. That Meyer-Fong has done so in such a stimulating and invigorating way is a credit to her talents. *What Remains* is clearly a work that will shape our understanding not only of the Taiping Civil War, but of all works that seek to understand conflict in premodern China.

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William Marotti. *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2013. Pp. xxi, 417. Cloth $94.95, paper $25.95.

How do you unsettle a cultural hegemony? An ideological domination that establishes itself, by definition, through a balance of force and consent, rendering it "common-sense," invisible to the naked eye—a "soft" power that presents no target within the existing ways of seeing? As William Marotti argues in this innovative,

carefully crafted interdisciplinary history of the cultural origins of Japan's 1968, this was the virtually "impossible" conundrum that confronted an early postwar generation of restless, socially engaged Japanese in the wake of the failed mass protests against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1960. Backed by U.S. power, the Japanese state and big business now moved to defuse dissent and consolidate social and political hegemony through a politically transcendent focus on growth. As Japan's economy sustained an expansion at a globally unheralded pace, the move appeared bewilderingly successful. Seemingly at a stroke, a chaotic, multivalent early postwar atmosphere of open political contestation and possibilities—an atmosphere astir with questions of wartime legacies, the nature of postwar democracy, and Japan's place in a global Cold War order—was replaced by an empty abandon to the directionless quiescence of everyday consumer capitalism, ongoing material improvements, and paternalistic administration. As if by clockwork, the 1964 Olympics and its buildup represented both a catalyst and a showcase for the appearance of this apolitical, de-historicized "new Japan." Conventional scholarly treatments of the period have indeed cast it as one in which economics trumped politics.

By the late 1960s, in tandem with and informed by developments in France, the U.S., and elsewhere, politics was back. Spurred by developments such as the Vietnam War, mass protest made a startling reemergence, this time accompanied by a range of powerful new forms and practices of cultural critique both sophisticated and diverse. *Money, Trains, and Guillotines* offers a new angle on the origins of this new politics, locating its roots largely in a local location, coalescing out of the activities and ideas of a diverse, searching group of young artists associated with the avant-garde at the beginning of the decade. For them, the apparent triumph of consumer capitalism and state paternalism, which had so demoralized others, acted as a spur toward profound critical innovations and interventions of vision, vocabulary, and practice. Understanding how they arrived at this position requires grasping the specific dynamics and evolution of their work and its relation to the mental and physical structures and debris of this emergent new postwar order: "Their critical focus and organizational strategies," writes Marotti, "anticipated many of the more commonly known practices of activists in the late 1960s, both in Japan and around the globe. At the same time, their practices appear to have arisen out of a particular local, playful art practice that engaged with the takeoff point for Japan's high-growth economics at the level of daily life" (p. 3).

Marotti's narrative of these histories centers around two landmark events. The book both opens and closes with extensive explorations of artist Akasegawa Genpei's indictment and prosecution (1964–1970) for his reproduction of 1,000-yen notes and note-related artworks, addressing this history and its prehistory from a number of thematic perspectives, each with its own chronology and level of focus, including close textual readings of contemporaneous documentation from the artist and his state opponents as well as the artworks themselves. The book's middle chapters explore the activities of a diverse group of young artists between the late 1950s and 1963 who came together at the Yomiuri Indépendant, an annual open art exhibition sponsored by the Yomiuri Newspaper Company that became, rather unexpectedly and suddenly, a site of profound energy and cutting-edge artistic experimentation. Akasegawa's 1,000-yen notes were among its final products. The lively first chapter of the book's third and final section (chap. six) forms a narrative bridge that connects and returns us to the moment of the notes' production, profiling experimental collaborations between Akasegawa and fellow Yomiuri Indépendant artists that took them outside the exhibition hall and into the streets, uncharted territory both physically and artistically. These moves included a particularly radical plan for the mounting of a guillotine on the imperial plaza that was never carried out. Another action involved the organization of a curious group "happening" *avant la lettre* on Tokyo's main Yamanote subway line. International categorizations such as "happening" would subsequently "render such activities understandable and reinscribe them firmly within the boundaries of the art world," Marotti observes, whereas "the newness of these activities" at the time "allowed a greater potential range of effects," calling into question the very boundaries of art, politics, and the everyday (p. 232).

Each of these hitherto little-known microhistories is fascinatingly complex, their retrospective representation and interpretation also posing, for the historian, what Marotti identifies as an unusual series of methodological challenges. Taking central inspiration from Kristin Ross's work on 1968 France and its subsequent interpretation (*May '68 and Its Afterlives* [2002]), Marotti's choice of subject matter and distinctive historiographical approach are informed by an acute awareness of the multiple dangers of categorical and narrative reduction that have plagued our understanding of the cultural and political upheavals of the 1960s in general, and of the situation and role of "art" within these in particular. This issue of ontology carried a high political charge from the very beginning, notes Marotti, because contestation of the very categories of "the system" that ordered and ruled everyday life—what both Ross and Marotti, drawing on Jacques Rancière, refer to as "the police"—was itself at the very heart of the 1960s struggle.

Outmaneuvered in the realm of the visible, activists in Japan and elsewhere sought to undermine the everyday "common-sense" understanding of the organization of the social order by exposing to scrutiny precisely the otherwise invisible linkages and sinews connecting ostensibly separate things and spheres in a hidden system of domination. This demanded, in a sense, new ways of seeing, representing, and materializing—skills for which "artists" might be expected to have particular acuity, but as Marotti argues, the radical direction that their work took—and took them—can-

not be deduced or narrated teleologically. Through the mid-1950s, what passed for "political art" in Japan was largely limited to a stiff and stale Soviet Realism marked by its very alienation from postwar realities. The path from there to the unheralded and profoundly productive intersection of art and politics that was to be a hallmark of 1960s activism—in fact, its very redefinition of both—was paved of multivalent experimentation and unexpected discoveries, unanticipated twists and turns, informed and shaped by dynamic interactions with one another, with society at large, with the state, and with the global. This raises questions not only of categorization, but of the effects and effectiveness of historical narrative itself.

Marotti seeks to address such concerns by constructing a chronologically discontinuous, thematically organized narrative around Akasegawa Genpei's "crime" that situates his art, and the state's attempt to suppress it, within the searching experimentation of a diverse avant-garde community and a broader historical context. To help clarify the historical nature of the postwar order that came increasingly into these artists' sights, the book's second chapter conducts an extended foray backward some two decades, to the foundational moment of the postwar state. Here, Marotti examines the U.S.-sponsored making of the postwar constitution and a political order that deprived the emperor of explicit political power in the name of popular sovereignty, but nevertheless reconfirmed the emperor and the imperial institution as a central—and inviolable—legitimating presence. In alliance with Japan's conservative political establishment, a cynical continuity was thus maintained between pre- and postwar systems that limited and subordinated popular sovereignty to overriding interests of "preserving social order" and maintaining American hegemony in a Cold War Far East. "Hovering behind the prosecution in 1964 using the law of 1895 was the phantom of the prewar state, the Meiji Constitution, a Doppelgänger of the postwar Constitution," Marotti argues, "an old order whose expansive authority was incorporated within the postwar Constitution during and after the Occupation" (p. 19). The basic argument here is not entirely new; sophisticated critical analyses of the postwar emperor system as a product of cynical collusion between conservative U.S. and Japanese interests have been developed by scholars such as John Dower, Harry Harootunian, Takemae Eiji, and Takashi Fujitani, and Marotti draws heavily on the works of the first three. His specific focus on the formation of constitutional-juridical precedent within this paradigm nevertheless provides an important frame of reference both for Akasegawa's subsequent act of resistance and for the legal sleight of hand deployed in the state's attempts to derail it.

Departures from chronological convention such as this are necessary, Marotti maintains, to highlight how the political contestation of the 1960s "addressed a present marked by multiple engagements with such historical legacies and conflicts," thereby revealing "the potent combination of conflicting legacies and interests within which these historical actors moved and the full range of heterological possibilities with which they engaged" (pp. 4–5). Elsewhere underlining broader issues of intentionality and causality in historical narrative and interpretation, Marotti notes with no little irony that even if we can identify consciously political and subversive ingredients in the mix of motivations that produced Akasegawa's currency-based artworks, it was not until the Japanese state fixed its powerful sights on them—attempting to "confiscate" their meaning through reduction to self-serving legal categories—that their full political implications came into focus. "[The] agents of the state," he writes, "became some of this art's most enthusiastic appreciators, albeit negatively, as they identified nascent political potential within it" (pp. 198–199). The state's strategy itself now became "a key part of Akasegawa's trial strategy: to use the fact of the state's intervention to reveal its extraconstitutional defenses of the everyday world . . . and to further specify those structures in a public forum" (p. 303).

The deployment of such a novel structure and approach inevitably raises historiographical concerns, most of which cluster around the issue of accessibility. In the realms of chronology, narrative, and contextualization, there are, after all, practical as well as ideological reasons why certain practices become historiographically standardized. By jettisoning these and presenting instead what might be described as a series of chronologically and thematically fragmented vignettes, Marotti makes a heavy demand on the reader. It is only in chapter four, for example, that the reader is presented for the first time with something in the way of conventional biographical and formative background on its main protagonist, Akasegawa Genpei. Along the way, we have developed an intimate understanding of the state's case regarding his 1960s currency artwork and of the making of Japan's postwar constitutional order in the 1940s. But readers—particularly those without prior knowledge of modern Japanese history—might be forgiven for wondering, in the meantime, whether the author's omission of basic historical and biographical background in between these two "moments," and indeed more generally, is strategically motivated, or rather because he assumes a certain minimum of prior knowledge on the part of his reader—or both. While it is scrutinized from several innovative angles on the micro-level, the Akasegawa trial, too, suffers from a shortage of broader contextualization both historically and historiographically. As art historian Reiko Tomii observes in her multifaceted introduction to the incident and its aftermath that raises questions of ontology and agency anticipating some of those of Marotti, the trial drew great media and popular interest at the time, eventually becoming "enshrined in the art history *and* social history of postwar Japan" ("State v. [Anti-]Art," *Positions* 10, no. 1 [2002]: 141–172, here p. 164). Marotti's refusal to describe or engage directly with both sorts of "standard" histories seems a conscious choice in the laudable aim of combating their reductive effects. But without a better acquaintance

with them, it is also hard to know how to situate Marotti's story in relation to them.

This monograph is nevertheless in many ways a major historical work, narrating a collage of microhistories—some hitherto virtually unknown, others as yet insufficiently explored—in a radically innovative, multilayered, and multi-angled approach that not only casts a fresh, globally informed light on the cultural history of 1960s Japan, but also poses important questions about the methods and practices of cultural history itself. Its structuring and writing are minutely crafted and polished in a manner reflective of a lengthy gestation and evolution. Appropriate to its rich and diverse visual subject matter, it is also beautifully illustrated and produced. Its provocative interrogation of conventional scholarly boundaries of discipline, chronology, narrative, and ontology, at the level not only of theory but also of practice, suggests a kinship with the efforts of the artists whose story it so carefully and sympathetically excavates.

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Susanna B. Hecht. *The Scramble for the Amazon and the "Lost Paradise" of Euclides da Cunha*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 612. $45.00.

The Amazonian region long remained a no-man's-land between the imperial ambitions of the Spanish and Portuguese empires. Mapmakers and diplomats in Lisbon or Madrid might include the region in their cartographic adventures and imperial dreams, but in truth the difficulties of travel, communication, settlement, and control in the region long deterred or delayed occupation. Spanish explorers penetrated the region in the 1540s, and some gold-mining towns briefly flourished in the tropical borders of the region, but when the gold played out and indigenous resistance continued, these encampments and towns were mostly abandoned to the encroaching forest. It took the Portuguese a century before they began effective settlement of Amazonia, expelling a French colonization attempt in 1612, establishing the city of Belem at the mouth of the river in 1616, and creating the region as a separate state in 1621. The Portuguese destroyed competing French, Irish, and Dutch trade forts or settlements, but even then Portuguese colonists were few, and their control remained limited to the banks of the main stream and a few principal tributaries. The region remained remote, a backwater in which governmental control was weak and a few ruthless settlers sometimes exercised virtually unlimited power, at least until the Jesuits began to conduct an extensive missionary effort in the region. By the eighteenth century, contemporaries spoke of "Portuguese America" or "the Brazils," because in many ways the state of Maranhão (and later Grão Pará e Maranhão) was distinct from Brazil: communication from Belem was easier with Lisbon than with Rio de Janeiro; the struggle between missionaries and colonists to control or exploit the indigenous population was chronologically a century later than in the rest of Brazil, and so too was the introduction of African slaves and the development of a plantation sector. By the late eighteenth century, the Marquis of Pombal made the region a key part of his attempts at economic reform, promoting African slavery, destroying the Jesuit missions, and emphasizing the export of cacao and various forest products. Despite these efforts, Amazonia remained in many ways a world apart, with its own chronology, its own pace of life, a heavily indigenous or caboclo (mixed race) culture, and a distinctive cuisine. Even today, restaurants in São Paulo and Rio that serve regional Pará specialties of exotic fish, fruits, and game underline the distinctive nature of Amazonia.

Remote but attractive, Amazonia always appealed to the ambitions and dreams of the empires and nations that bordered the region and to men and governments hoping to exploit its potential. By the nineteenth century, the steamship, the telegraph, and the growing demand for one of Amazonia's native products, rubber, intensified those ambitions and provoked a rush to incorporate the region. In *The Scramble for the Amazon and the "Lost Paradise" of Euclides da Cunha*, Susanna Hecht seeks to tell the story of Amazonia's integration into the Brazilian nation, primarily as a result of the great boom in the export of rubber beginning in the 1870s and culminating under the Brazilian republic in the early twentieth century. Because the book incorporates a great amount of the monographic literature (the bibliography runs to over fifty pages), it provides an excellent starting point for learning this history, but the book presents its own challenge. It is, much like the river that forms the spine of its narrative, big and majestic, sometimes swollen; it occasionally loses its course or overflows the narrative channels into a thicket of details. Sometimes, like those who travel in Amazonia, it seeks portages to parallel streams of narrative or shortcuts (they are called *varadouros* in the region) to avoid complicating turns in the larger story; and most of all, like many great rivers, the book meanders, sometimes changing its course and leaving "oxbows" of themes or questions raised but never fully resolved as the narrative flow moves in a different direction. The author is aware of its meandering nature; in fact, she uses that metaphor in dedicating the book to her brother and sister, describing the "great meanders of life" as "constantly braiding, diverging, intersecting" (p. v).

Ostensibly, this is a book about Euclides da Cunha,

the author of Brazil's great narrative of national foundation, *Os sertões* (*Rebellion in the Backlands*). His book, published in 1902, was a sympathetic account of the Brazilian republic's suppression and brutal elimination of the attempt by the peasant messianic community to maintain their traditions in the face of secular change at the hands of the republic, which had come into existence in 1889. Da Cunha, a positivist engineer with military training and greatly influenced by the racialist and social determinist ideas of the era, understood modernity's challenge to tradition, and while he favored the former, he warned his compatriots that the backward members of the nation could not be brought into the modern world "in the flash of canons." The book made da Cunha a celebrated journalist, author, and public figure, and the new republic needed men of his talents and national sentiments for its next project, the fixing of its boundaries and its occupation of the vast Amazonian region, which was at the center of an international competition for its resources. Under the direction of the Baron of Rio Branco, Brazil's Bismarck and the architect of its foreign policy, da Cunha was employed to join a joint Brazilian-Peruvian survey expedition, reporting on the course of the Purús River, one of the major Amazon tributaries. He spent his time drawing up accurate maps and reporting back to Rio Branco about the opportunities, challenges, and advantages that these territories offered, while at the same time bad-mouthing his Peruvian colleagues and writing a number of journalistic articles about the struggle for the Amazon, as well as a series of pieces of what he hoped would become his great rumination on the region, a book to be titled *Lost Paradise*. Although some of these writings eventually appeared as essays, his plans for the book were derailed by his tragic death. He is still remembered today for his observations about Brazil's arid northeast, not for his Amazonian writings.

In some ways, Hecht's book seeks to realize da Cunha's frustrated project by translating large portions of his writings and weaving them together with her own account of the story of the Amazon and the tale of da Cunha's personal tragedy. As Hecht shows, the burdens of fame and da Cunha's passion for the Amazon came at great cost. He was or became a distracted and inattentive husband, and while he was in Amazonia, his wife carried on an affair with a dashing young houseguest, bearing him two children and causing such a scandal that the cuckolded da Cunha eventually sought to end his dishonor by killing his rival, and instead died in the attempt. This is the story within the story of the scramble for the Amazon, which itself is told within the story of the rubber boom and the account of Brazil's diplomatic and strategic program to consolidate its frontiers. To include all this is a lot to ask of a book, and it shows.

The title itself reveals the complexity and perhaps the author's ambivalence about the project. This is a book centered on da Cunha and his project, but it is in many ways really about Brazil's incorporation of the vast Amazonian territory in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. These years of the Brazilian *belle époque* were full of fascinating characters, including the author Machado de Assis and the explorer and defender of the indigenous peoples Cândido Rondon, who circulated in da Cunha's world and thus enter the book. The years 1901–1920 were the great years of Brazilian rubber export, when all the nations of the Amazonian basin began to explore and exploit their territories where the valuable latex-yielding plants could be found. Hecht writes with a sensitivity for the geography, ecology, and environment of the Amazon, and she is particularly effective in distinguishing between the different latex-producing plants and in discussing the comparative advantage that the Brazilians had in concentrating on the *Hevea brasiliensis* trees rather than the other varieties preferred by their Peruvian competitors.

The process of territorial exploration and exploitation of the Amazon was nasty, bloody, and complicated as fortunes were made, lives were lost, and whole Native American societies were destroyed. Indigenous peoples of the region often date their own history not from the arrival of the Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but from the time of the holocaust brought by the rubber boom. The penetration of the region was an internal colonization by the South American republics and was carried out at the same time that the imperial colonial scramble was reaching its high point. This was the era of Cecil Rhodes, the *mission civilisatrice*, the Belgian Congo, and the entry of the United States into the race with the Spanish-American War. It was the high age of colonialism, accompanied by advances in tropical medicine, scientific improvements, and the supposed march of civilization, and of reactions to it like the critiques of Rosa Luxemburg and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Although Hecht's focus is on da Cunha as protagonist and on the national project of incorporation rather than on the decimated indigenous peoples or the disadvantaged rubber tappers, the book consistently points out the exploitative nature of the rubber economy and effectively underlines the parallels and connections to the broader contemporaneous colonial process.

While the multiple objectives and many threads of the book make it difficult to characterize its nature or genre, it is easier to say what it is not. First, it is not a book based on archival research in Brazilian, Peruvian, or Bolivian state or diplomatic materials. Instead, it is based on an extensive and thorough reading of the monographic and general histories of the region. Many aspects of these interconnected stories have been told in more detail before: E. Bradford Burns on the diplomatic aspects (*The Unwritten Alliance: Rio-Branco and Brazilian-American Relations* [1966]); Francisco Foot Hardman on the opening of the region to modern transportation (*Trem Fantasma: A modernidade na selva* [1988]); Barbara Weinstein on the economic and political aspects of the rubber boom (*The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850–1920* [1983]); Warren Dean on its environmental aspects (*Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber: A Study in Environmental History* [1987]). Hecht makes

good use of these and other studies to write a more general history. She does that sometimes in almost lyrical prose, but on the larger narrative of the rubber boom, the migrations of northeastern drought victims to Amazonia that provided a workforce of rubber tappers, the diplomatic maneuvering, and the Brazilian conflicts with Peru and Bolivia, the book's accomplishment is integration rather than originality.

Where the book makes a fresh contribution is in its detailing of da Cunha's personal and familial life and its intersection with the social and intellectual world of *fin-de-siècle* Rio de Janeiro. About one-quarter of the text consists of da Cunha's own posthumously published and unpublished Amazonian and other writings. There are roughly 110 pages of direct translations. Informative and previously unavailable in English, this material (about 20 percent of the text) allows Anglophone readers to see da Cunha from a new perspective, but one that also reinforces some of our views of the modernizing positivism, nationalist vision, and essentialist racial ideas that were already apparent in *Os sertões*. What distinguished him in both his northeastern and Amazonian writings, however, and what makes him so appealing to Hecht and to us, was his ability to rise above the social and intellectual prejudices of his time, to recognize the positive qualities of his mixed-race compatriots, and to condemn the cruelty and callousness of his nation's quest for modernity at the expense of its own people.

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David Nirenberg. *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition.* New York: W. W. Norton. 2013. Pp. x, 610. $35.00.

David Nirenberg has written a wide-ranging, erudite, and penetrating analysis of the myriad ways in which the terms "Judaism," "Jews," and "Jewishness" have been used to derogate, impugn, and incite. This valuable contribution to the history of an idea, emphatically based on primary sources in their original languages (including Hebrew, Latin, Arabic, Spanish, French, and German) but also deeply informed by relevant scholarship, makes for compelling reading from start to finish. Nirenberg's deliberately provocative title points to the central role that Judaism has played in the West, including Islamic empires stretching to Persia and Pakistan, but excluding the Far East. Nirenberg hints at the ubiquity of this construct "Judaism," insisting that the Western tradition cannot be extricated from anti-Judaism. As he writes of ancient Egypt, "The characteristics of misanthropy, impiety, lawlessness and universal enmity that ancient Egypt had occasionally assigned to Moses and his people would remain available to later millennia: a tradition made venerable by antiquity, to be forgotten, rediscovered and put to new uses by later generations of apologists and historians" (p. 46). Or, as he has written elsewhere, "determining the boundary between 'Judaism' and 'Christianity' became a critical concern for all of Christian aesthetics, and . . . as a result 'Judaism' became a critical term that could threaten all 'Christian art' " (*Judaism and Christian Art* [2011]). Replace "Christian art" with "Christian identity," and Nirenberg's thesis in *Anti-Judaism* becomes patent.

This book's subject matter and argument demand subtle formulation. Nirenberg does not intend to present a comprehensive history of antisemitism (Leon Poliakov or Robert Wistrich), nor one limited to a given era (John Gager or Jacob Katz) or a given country (Paul Lawrence Rose or Leonard Dinnerstein). Many, perhaps the majority, of those on the receiving end of the charge of Judaizing in Nirenberg's book were neither Jews ethnically nor practitioners of Judaism religiously. When he describes accusations of Judaizing being traded by Saints Jerome and Augustine and hurled by radical, moderate, and traditionalist respondents to Baruch Spinoza, the protean nature of this construct is palpable. The well-chosen subchapter headings, such as "Anti-Judaism as Anti-Tyranny," "The Dangers of Judaism in the New Jerusalem," "The Prince as Jew-Lover," and "Mosaic Constitutions for Christian Polities," give a good sense of this flexible usage. To highlight the persistence and malleability of anti-Judaisms, Nirenberg demonstrates the obsession with Jewish dual loyalty, xenophobia, and counterhistory in ancient Egypt (chap. one); the antinomian turn in Saint Paul (chap. two); the power of projection and displacement in medieval Europe (chap. five); the Enlightenment-era urge to throw off the shackles of clericalism (chap. ten); and the philosophical quest for unity and uniformity in German idealistic philosophy (chap. twelve). In these and other instances, Judaism plays the role of ideational antagonist. Nirenberg so convincingly portrays the range of anti-Jewish expression that there is no need to place (or displace) quotation marks around "Judaism," which disappear appropriately after the introductory chapter.

Nirenberg's tone compares favorably with the frankly prosecutorial tone that has entered Jewish historiography in several recent books dealing with antisemitism and the Holocaust, and it offers a more scholarly counterpart to James Carroll's passionately argued and partly confessional *Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews—A History* (2001), which covers much of the same ground. Although Nirenberg admits that to some extent every history book contains special pleading (p. 12), an authentic intellectual interest animates every page. In addition to the chapters mentioned

above, Nirenberg's book contains illuminating discussions of the roles of Judaism in Protestant Reformation thought (chap. seven), the fateful equation of Judaism and mercantile activity in William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (chap. eight), the role of Judaism in the competing systemic explanations of modernity in the works of Max Weber and Werner Sombart, and the foundation of Christian politics in the early modern era (chap. nine). In all these cases, and indeed everywhere in this book, Judaism serves as a useful negative touchstone for a given scholar or set of scholars.

Nirenberg displays a keen eye for arresting details, and at times his boldness astonishes. He proposes new understandings of the historiography of the Egyptian antisemites Manetho and Apion (pp. 46–47); argues for Saint Vincent Ferrer's anti-Jewish campaign of 1411–1416 as holding a central position in the march toward the Spanish expulsion in 1492, followed by forced conversion in Portugal in 1497 (pp. 222–228); notes that in Shakespeare's England, Judaism was associated with melancholia, a discontented expression, and a fondness for goose (p. 269); weighs in on the tricky handling of Judaism and Christianity in Spinoza's *Theological-Political Treatise* (pp. 318–338, though here I disagree with his conclusions) as well as Heinrich Heine's pivotal role in foisting the usually invidious distinction between "Hebraic" and "Hellenic" on modern European thought (pp. 413–419); and, with a flourish, presents Karl Marx as an astute analyst of the Jewish Question, which Marx engaged in his notorious 1844 essay "Die Judenfrage." For Nirenberg, Marx grasped that such basic and discomfiting tools in nineteenth-century bourgeois society as money and property were somehow construed as Jewish (pp. 436–439). Marx's "sin," in Nirenberg's eyes, was his deliberate amplification and propagation of these fictions.

While there is much to praise in this volume, beginning with its boldness and sweep, a number of questions inevitably emerge. A distinguished medievalist and author of the seminal work *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (1996), Nirenberg continues his indictment of a structuralism that presumes a fundamental continuity between collective systems of thought across historical time. Yet a reader might wonder whether he consistently differentiates the Jew of fact and the Jew of fantasy, a distinction that his fellow medievalist Gavin Langmuir persistently stressed. That he does so in the chapters on the early church and the Islamic conquest and in the medieval setting is clear. For instance, while Nirenberg thoroughly understands the delusional nature of the Nazi drive to exterminate Judaism in every conceivable discipline and cultural creation, how this connects to the mechanics of targeting and re-ghettoizing actual Jews gets blurred. One does not expect an examination of the extermination process and how it connects to ideas about Judaism and previous antisemitic depredations. For that, one can consult the huge literature on the Holocaust. But how does the corruption of the various disciplines of the German academy connect to the aforementioned? Here, I think, integrating the works of scholars such as Alan Steinweis, Shelly Baranowski, Doris Bergen, and Susannah Heschel would have strengthened the connection between thought and deed, or, if one prefers more guild-specific language, between agency and contingency.

Likewise, although Nirenberg makes the case for anti-Judaism consistently, the case for ambivalence does not get much of a hearing. While he cites John Gager's *The Origins of Anti-Semitism* (1983) in a footnote (p. 478), he clearly joins Peter Schäfer's dissent from Gager's major claim that before the rise of Christianity, anti-Judaism simply did not occupy an important place in the intellectual firmament. This view, I believe, also emerges from the three volumes of documents assembled by Menachem Stern, *Greek and Roman Authors on Jews and Judaism* (1976), and from Louis Feldman's numerous studies of Jews in classical antiquity. In the modern world, Jewry has found some actual proponents—one virtue of Zygmunt Bauman's concept of "allosemitism" is that it locates the prior intellectual step of overestimating Jewish difference before assigning positive or (more often) negative valence. Philosemitism has often projected imaginary virtues where antisemites have projected imaginary vices. Given Nirenberg's standard for anti-Judaisms, he ought to have addressed pro-Judaism, too.

These questions connect to Nirenberg's understandable desire to avoid writing a history of antisemitism; yet that proves difficult to avoid, since anti-Judaism has often manifested as antisemitism. The scholarly debates about the latter cannot be held at bay. The victims of the Spanish Inquisition aside, were non-Jews ever the targets of more than verbal abuse for being Jews? If not, this points to the need to inform a discussion about anti-Judaism with one about antisemitism. The student of modern Jewry may want more of an exploration of the relative importance of ideational continuities and local-political desiderata, the sort of debate over European antisemitism conducted between Jacob Katz and Todd Endelman in the 1980s or, with respect to the Holocaust, between functionalists and intentionalists in the 1990s. These matters simply cannot be avoided by someone as convinced as Nirenberg is by the power of ideas.

Finally, at the very end of this book Nirenberg asks a worried question that he admirably admits to being one of his motives in this investigation: Has "Israel" become the new "Judaism" (pp. 469–472)? As Nirenberg puts it, "We live in an age in which millions of people are exposed daily to some variant of the argument that the challenges of the world they live in are best explained in terms of 'Israel'" (p. 471). Too often, this question has been asked polemically and rhetorically. Too often, as David Engel recently argued in *Historians of the Jews and the Holocaust* (2010), historians have segregated the Holocaust and antisemitism from the rest of the Jewish past. I am glad that that charge cannot be laid at Nirenberg's feet. Yet I wish an intellect of his stature had done more than simply raise it.

The centrality of Israel in the rhetoric of the modern Middle East demands his attention precisely because early Islam did not assign Judaism as central a negative touchstone role as did early Christianity, though Nirenberg devotes several pages to the anti-Judaism of 'Ali Ibn Hazam (pp. 178–182); because early Islam lacked the proto-racist effusions of post-1492 Spain and its obsession with blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*) (chap. six); and because the traditional image of the Jew in Islamic lands contradicts the contemporary reality of a politically independent and notably martial Israel. Having successfully engaged the reader for 472 pages, why stop one station short of the ideal laboratory for testing one's hypothesis? German Jewish émigré scholars such as Hannah Arendt, Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Erich Auerbach are fascinating figures in their own rights, but curious terminal points for this profound, erudite, and exceedingly worthwhile study.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

SIGURÐUR GYLFI MAGNÚSSON and ISTVÁN M. SZIJÁRTÓ. *What Is Microhistory? Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge. 2013. Pp. vii, 181. Cloth $120.00, paper $36.95.

What Is Microhistory? is an advanced primer on the development of microhistory over the past forty years. Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó, advocates of the microhistorical approach, present two distinct essays and two different points of view. The first part of the book, by Szijártó, supplies an extensive review of scholarship, grouped according to national "schools" (Italian, French, German), with English-language works classified as "Anglo-Saxon." Works in other languages such as Spanish are omitted, with Szijártó's apology for the limits of his multilingualism. That said, his achievement is impressive; he displays a useful familiarity with scores of publications treating widely divergent periods and places. His critical review of microhistorical studies, while not exhaustive, goes far beyond the seminal works of Italy's Carlo Ginzburg, France's LeRoy Ladurie, Germany's Siegfried Kracauer and Hans Medick, and Americans Robert Darnton and Natalie Davis. Szijártó considers micro/macro issues, the problem of "representative" cases, and the "exceptional normal." His definition of microhistory excludes "incident history," contrary to practitioners such as this reviewer. The strength of Szijártó's essay is its wide reach; but that is also its weakness. He cannot know the scholarly context of all the works he treats, and so he is handicapped in assessing how each work contributes to particular and general understanding in its field. His extensive approach also makes him vulnerable to error, as when he characterizes the protagonist of one of this reviewer's books as a murderer when the man was in fact convicted of rape (p. 54). These limitations—inattention to context and factual errors—are among the problems of metahistory and macrohistory that microhistorians seek to correct.

Nevertheless, Szijártó makes some important points. His assertion that "microhistory seems to be the best medicine against the 'simple truths' of history" is powerful (p. 63). His exploration of the question of whether the sea may be found in a drop of water is informed and insightful. And his treatment of the problem of selection facing every historian, micro or macro, leads to the conclusion that microhistory is best practiced by experienced scholars who can bring a thorough grasp of context, historical and historiographical, to their choices. This knowledge permits recognition of incidents where the conjunction between general phenomena and the micro subject can be developed. Though *What Is Microhistory?* will often be read by graduate students, for doctoral dissertations Szijártó does not recommend microhistory.

Magnússon's essay is unusual; it combines advocacy with analysis and example, including his own first-person microhistory of the romance that led to his marriage. Whether this can be properly called "history" seems doubtful to this reviewer, inasmuch as the author did not display chronological detachment, to say nothing of other kinds of objectivity. Nevertheless, Magnússon's exploration of the possibilities and limitations of microhistory is original and daring. Unlike Szijártó, he takes up biography and ego writings as possible variants of microhistory. The essay is centered on the author's critical examination of his own scholarship extending from his 1993 Carnegie Mellon University doctoral thesis, "The Continuity of Everyday Life: Popular Culture in Iceland, 1850–1940." The particular case he treats concerns the late-nineteenth-century romantic courtship letters of an Icelandic farmer and his wife. In Magnússon's published study, he recounted an idyllic love, only to learn later from a nonagenarian neighbor of the couple that the farmer committed adultery, accused his wife of the same, and, in a rage, castrated himself. This new knowledge led Magnússon to question his prior reading of the sources and opened a broader consideration of the subjectivities of ego documents. Magnússon is convinced that microhistory has been underappreciated by historians, while metahistory and grand narratives have been overvalued. He concludes by arguing that the singularities of experience ought to command scholars' and students' attention. In this way, he argues, we will " 'hear' many voices in the narrative," and we will "gain a better grasp of our subjects," as well as "insight into a lost world which would otherwise have remained closed to us" (p. 158).

Here Magnússon parts company from Szijártó, who, though vigorously asserting the merits of microhistory, also recognizes the social value, indeed the necessity, of

grand narratives and metahistory. For this reviewer, "micro" and "macro" are the yin and yang of historical representation. We should certainly seek to approach the feelings of past actors, as Wilhelm Dilthey advocated more than a century ago—which is Magnússon's priority—but if we eschew efforts to understand structural forces and fail to uncover general patterns, we are doomed to the dead end of introspection. My own view—distinctly Anglo-Saxon in Szijártó's categories—is that a broad, inclusive understanding of microhistory, one that encourages linkage with grand narratives, should undergird historical work.

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Dominick LaCapra. *History, Literature, Critical Theory.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. 237. Cloth $69.95, paper $23.95.

Dominick LaCapra has been writing about the relationship between history and literature for more than four decades. During much of that time, he has tried to clarify that relationship through critical theory—though he has also attempted to make theory more meaningful by informing it with history and literature. In his latest collection of essays, he continues his project in ways that are now familiar to his many readers: he puts texts in dialogue with one another and with multiple contexts. He situates, at some length, his own interpretations in the contested fields of contemporary scholarship. The six essays take up only about twice as many pages as the notes in this short volume.

For almost twenty years, LaCapra has been concerned with issues of trauma and representation, particularly in regard to the Holocaust. He continues to probe these subjects here, and he also deepens his interest in the post-secular. As he says, "a recurrent motif of this book is the role of the sacred, its problematic status in sacrifice, its virulent manifestation in social and political violence (as in the Nazi genocide), and its multivalent expressions in postsecular hopes, anxieties, and quests" (p. 11).

In regard to literature, LaCapra writes perceptively about Gustave Flaubert, Joseph Conrad, W. G. Sebald, J. M. Coetzee, and Jonathan Littell. He is interested in how these writers deploy concepts of the sacred and sacrifice, as well as how they understand elements of bourgeois society that resonate far beyond the particular tales they have to tell. How is *Heart of Darkness* (1899) related to colonialism? In what ways is it a symptom of the colonial project while also providing a critical perspective on it? How do Flaubert and Sebald understand the banalities of everyday life and the difficulties of representing them in relation to traumatic events? Does Coetzee provide a critique of sacrifice in the novel *Disgrace* (1999), and how might that critique be connected to his fictionalized accounts of debates concerning the treatment of non-human animals? These are the kinds of questions that LaCapra unspools in this volume. As readers follow the threads, they are rewarded with multiple insights.

Two essays deal at length with representing the Holocaust and how to understand the ways in which Nazism (and fascism more generally) deployed political energies. LaCapra is sensitive to the dilemma of reducing the horror of events by claiming to understand them. He knows well director Claude Lanzmann's dictum that "here there is no why," and he has real admiration for Saul Friedlander's project of narrative disruption in the two-volume *Nazi Germany and the Jews* (1997–2007). But he pushes back against the notion that understanding is necessarily domesticating, as he investigates modes of conveying the unfinished business of traumatic recollection.

In the penultimate essay, LaCapra investigates how both literature and history have been "elevated to a sublime, if not a sacred, status in the wake of a perceived crisis in religion" (p. 120), and how this status might be related to the energizing of passions of extreme violence in fascist regimes. In an increasingly secular world, aesthetics and knowledge for many became replacements for a framework of meaning generated by religion, but both can also be put into the service of hatred, even genocide. He puts Friedlander's notion of "redemptive anti-Semitism" into dialogue with other discourses about the sacred potential of violence so as to arrive at a better understanding of how the urge to purify and explain can often be linked to victimization.

In his earlier work on psychoanalysis and history, LaCapra explored how the forces that historians criticize often subtly find their way into those scholars' own discourses of historical judgment. In this book, he shows how sacrifice and the urge to purify can return to haunt the work of those who think themselves critical of such atavistic religious tendencies. Post-secular historians, it seems, should be more aware of the persistence of the sacred in ways that will allow them to work through "unexamined egocentric and anthropocentric assumptions" to "further more desirable relations and interactions among individuals and groups" (p. 147).

The notion of "working through" unexamined assumptions gets to the heart of LaCapra's lifelong project as a historian and critic. When coming across theoretical or empirical hubris, he has been effective at unmasking academic overreach. In the epilogue to this volume, he has an easy target in Slavoj Žižek, the theorist who has made a career out of always going too far. LaCapra calls Žižek the "court jester of modernity" (p. 151), a writer who extols transcendent violence while having little use for the notion of "working through" (p. 162). This notion is, after all, one of pragmatism and prudence, "enacting variations in repetition that may be significant . . . enough to bring about effective change" (pp. 162–163).

The current volume is a worthy addition to the LaCapra corpus, creating dialogues among history and other fields to enhance the possibilities for desirable change.

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ANNA MAE DUANE, editor. *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 265. Cloth $69.95, paper $24.95, e-book $24.95.

Over the last decade, the interdisciplinary study of children and childhood has resulted in a rich and provocative body of research, several new professional groups and scholarly journals, and even Ph.D. degree–granting programs. The field of childhood studies has therefore emerged as a strongly multidisciplinary area of scholarship and teaching in the humanities, and yet its subject often remains vague and contested. Is it concerned with the study of "real" children (whether historical figures or present-day kids) and their lived experience, or with a social construction imagined and desired by adults? Or is it always both at the same time? Furthermore, when we study children and childhood, do we inadvertently reify essentialist notions of the child? And if childhood studies has arrived belatedly compared to gender studies, visual and cultural studies, or performance studies and remains more fragmented and heterogeneous, then what can it learn from other areas in the humanities and perhaps also from the sciences? The appearance of *The Children's Table: Childhood Studies and the Humanities*, edited by Anna Mae Duane, is well timed to support the scholarly momentum of the last decade, but it is also poised to call for a reassessment of the terms of the field.

The book is divided into four major parts, containing short provocative essays by thirteen authors that tackle a broad variety of thematic questions. The first section explores the question of the "child" and his or her agency, rights, and legal status, and the essays, by Annette Ruth Appell, Lucia Hodgson, James Marten, and John Wall, come from scholars of law, literature, history, and ethics. The unsurprising refrain in this section is that adults hold power and define the systems that recognize childhood as a dependent status based on biological age. Wall, however, argues for childism—a movement he aligns with feminism—which would train a more self-critical eye on the role of age (like class, "race," gender, or sexuality) in scholarship about human experience. The second section examines discipline, development, and education. The American antebellum literary evidence in essays by Sophie Bell and Lesley Ginsberg is oddly juxtaposed with Roy Kozlovsky's discussion of post–World War II English architecture and design, even if they share some terrain around ethics, individuality, and training. The desire to understand childhood apart from physical institutional settings is at once admirable and curious, since school occupied so much of Anglo-American children's lives in the eras under discussion. Part three puts gender and sexuality in the forefront and poses questions around essentialism, sex, gender, and the child. Sarah Chinn and Susan Honeyman both explore the forceful political point that the child is often tacitly understood as asexual and heteronormative. Carol Singley's essay on literary adoption challenges romantic assumptions around "family" and genealogy, casting the adopted child as an ambivalent rather than heroic figure. While many of the essays offer potentially insightful readings and methodological possibilities, the final section of the book addresses the experience of thinking about the praxis of childhood studies and teaching it as a subject. Robin Bernstein's essay on the theoretical potential of the doll-like notion of "effigy" in performance studies makes for a lively consideration of both historical and current childhoods. Similarly, Karen Sánchez-Eppler's contribution analyzes a material document, an elaborate nineteenth-century card and detailed drawing, presumably by a child for a teacher and wrapped in a needlepoint cover, to show the potential of the child's everyday experience, agency, and awareness, as well as the scholar's investment in archival matter. The final essay in the book, by Lynne Vallone, an administrator in the only Ph.D.-granting childhood studies program in the U.S., argues for the viability of the subject while acknowledging the experience of graduate students facing an uncertain, discipline-hived job market.

Together these essays lay out the potential of childhood studies to provoke both established scholars and their students to revisit accepted notions of children's and adults' experiences growing up. While a few essays refer to the historiography of the field, more of them demand that we revisit the terms we currently use to describe and analyze children and childhood. In this sense, the volume offers a window onto a shifting methodological landscape of childhood studies. The texts are sophisticated and nuanced, but still well within reach of advanced undergraduates, making them especially useful for teaching. For example, Chinn takes the historicizing tendencies of the field (long dominated by historians and scholars of children's literature) to task for its lack of activism compared with gender studies or queer theory: "childhood studies seldom articulates a political mission. A historicist approach largely precludes this strategy" (p. 161). Whether or not this is entirely accurate, the provocation provides a welcome, classroom-friendly challenge.

It is, however, clear that this collection has not aimed for greater representation of current historical scholarship. For all the post- or transdisciplinarity on display, there are some curious blind spots. Carol Singley suggests that there is a "childhood studies approach" (p. 193) as if this were something singular or well defined, which strikes a false note in a book trying hard to complicate childhood studies as a methodologically diverse field. Similarly, the dominance within the volume of literary subject matter and the Americanist bent—only Kozlovsky's essay deals with a non-American context—implies that childhood studies is a field allied with American studies, when one of the largest scholarly groups, the Society for the History of Children and Youth, is robustly international. Furthermore, while Duane argues that childhood studies might become an "epistemological game changer" (p. 5) and a means for humanities scholars to converse with scientists over a biologically based notion of "child," there

is little demonstration of how either the social sciences or hard sciences might respond to these analyses.

The Children's Table, nonetheless, makes it clear that the subjects of children and childhood are no longer marginal areas of scholarship and academic research. Although Duane invokes the metaphor of the children's table to acknowledge the secondary status of children seated together at makeshift places apart from adults at holiday dinners, she also emphasizes the dynamic and unpredictable place that the children's table can become. Indeed, if the organizing metaphor of the children's table is just that, a metaphor rather than a study of the children's table as a material, historical, and sociological theme, then it also provides a means for scholars in and around several fields to sit together. Building on earlier scholarship that established many of the terms for thinking about children and childhood, *The Children's Table* successfully challenges us to reconsider our assumptions and the methods we employ, and to ponder the possibilities of a field in the process of growing up.

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Mark Salber Phillips. *On Historical Distance*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. xvii, 293. $50.00.

Distance is in, it seems! Historical proximity and historical teleology are out! Not only does Mark Salber Phillips here provide a richly nuanced analysis of how historians cope with the "otherness" of the past, but in literary studies, Franco Moretti has very recently collected his observations under the title *Distant Reading* (2013). It is all reminiscent of the celebrated dictum from L. P. Hartley's 1953 elegiac novel *The Go-Between*: "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there" (p. 1). And indeed, this quotation, described as "the historian's motto," appears early in Phillips's account (p. xii).

An awareness of distance is particularly important to drum into newcomers to historical studies. On the other hand, exactly how distant is the past? Some features of history persist through time. The human genome, or set of genetic information for *Homo sapiens*, is something that coexists with all humans. It is true that its origins stem from an immensely long-term genetic evolutionary process. Thus when the human genome diverged from that of our close genetic relatives, the human sense of smell weakened in comparison with that of other mammals. Yet that divergence occurred so long ago as to constitute now a human norm. The genome is part of the here-and-now, not the "dead past."

In effect, the balance between continuity and change is never static. Culturally speaking, one person's admirable tradition to uphold is another's nightmare oppression to overthrow. Aspects of history that once seemed permanent may turn out to be adaptable, after all—and sometimes, indeed, vice versa: aspects that are thought of as "socially constructed" may turn out to be strangely resistant to revamping.

Certainly, enough things survive unequivocally through time to make "living history" into a valid counterpoint to the "dead past." Distance is not the whole story. Hartley's dictum is thus challenged by a rival, which also comes from another elegiac novel. William Faulkner's *Requiem for a Nun* (1951) declares: "The past is never dead. It's not even past" (p. 92). Discuss!

Phillips approaches these issues by exploring how scholars learned to appreciate and to represent historical distance at different times in the past. The combined effect of so much detail is almost too much; but specialists will appreciate his myriad of case histories.

Three large sections are presented, focusing upon broad moments. The first, circa 1500, works well. It is comparatively brief, highlighting the contrasting historical approaches of Niccolò Machiavelli and Francesco Guicciardini, who launched a new Florentine tradition. Old-style chronicles were turned into considered histories. All this makes the point that serious scholarship preceded the European intellectual ferment known as the Enlightenment. Yet Phillips is not in quest of "origins," which he considers an unhelpful approach. Instead, he demonstrates plurality as Machiavelli and Guicciardini, with their different intellects, framed contrasting histories. There was no one "right" way.

A second, much longer section tackles the production and representation of history in largely British scholarship and historical paintings circa 1800. These chapters are much more heavy-laden and almost unbalance the book. Pride of place is given to David Hume for his blend of historical irony and sentiment (while the oft-praised Edward Gibbon does not even make it into the index). Then follow discussions of contemporary and subsequent responses to Hume. Contrasting narratives are explored, including Thomas Carlyle's *Past & Present* (1843) and Augustus Pugin's *Contrasts* (1836)—indicating that the nodal date of 1800 is very generously defined. Historical paintings and literary scholarship are also discussed as offering alternative vehicles for bringing the past "alive," but keeping it suitably distant.

Lastly, a third, shorter section focuses on circa 1968 and what Phillips sees as the contemporary stress upon studying affective experience and everyday life. Here his exemplars are drawn from later-twentieth-century Western scholarship and museumology. A study like *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (1998) by Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen represents the "sentimental mood" post-1968. Here "distance" is clearly at risk of succumbing to historical proximity. Indeed, the remembered past may become too cozy. It is vital to access difficult aspects of history (conflict, wars, hatred, resistance) in order to avoid either condescending to the past or prettifying it. Somewhat strangely, the Marxist historical tradition, the recent turn to global affairs, and Big History are not discussed, even though all these approaches are very concerned with distance. But that rather makes Phillips's point. History-writing is such a pluralist endeavor

that no two overviews of the field would choose the same exemplars.

Overall, this book is too idiosyncratic to serve easily as a textbook on "What Is History?" courses. Instead, it is most relevant to scholarly debates on historiography in the periods that it covers. As for the proclaimed ideal of historical distance, the study concludes with Georg Simmel's resonant reminder of "the unity of nearness and remoteness" (p. 236), welding cool analytical distance with close human empathy. Clearly, mental time-traveling is far from exact science. The past *is* different; the present-moment *is* always changing—yet, throughout, the forces of deep continuity also haunt the tale.

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Joseph A. Amato. *Surfaces: A History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2013. Pp. xvii, 289. $34.95.

In 1967, Jacques Derrida declared that there was nothing beyond the text. Now, fifty years later, the historian Joseph A. Amato has made a cognate claim that there is nothing beyond the surface. Human experience, he maintains, can be summarized through the myriad worldly surfaces—exterior and interior, material and metaphorical, made and found—with which it engages.

Ostensibly, Amato's book presents a history of human-surface interaction from prehistory to the modern day as a way to understand mankind's evolving relations to the surrounding world. Ambient surfaces, he contends, unproblematically, if also unremarkably, are both manmade and man-making, a characteristic of the world they clothe as well. As Amato puts it in a chapter title, "We are surfaces and surfaces are us" (p. 17).

Given its global and transhistorical breadth, *Surfaces: A History* is really a speculative anthropology paired with a metahistory of the modern West—not an analytic history of materials, technology, perception, or other themes suggested by the title. The enormous sweep of this enterprise should require equally rigorous theoretical and historical boundaries in order to restrain the urge to analytic overreach or impressionistic detour. Unfortunately, Amato's Neolithic-to-now survey of the visible and tactile traverses such a boggling array of phenomena—from skin and walls to roads and buildings, nylons and plastics to atoms and genomes—that it stretches the definition of its titular subject beyond all bounds.

Amato claims to adopt a "phenomenological approach," though his account makes greater use of evocative association than it does of either the thick analytic descriptions of phenomenology or the empirical narrative favored by historians. Phenomenological invocations nonetheless abound. Amato's favorite surface—that of the rough-hewn walking stick—echoes Martin Heidegger's peasant boots in its conjuration of a natural world. It is, in fact, a Heideggerian theme that turns Amato's survey into a lament for the direction of modern man. If the book's first half offers a premodern anthropology of human interaction with surfaces, the second turns to Western modernity, which, the author fears, has gradually coated nature with an artificial skin, to the point where man finds himself today "imprisoned . . . in a shell," encapsulated in "manufactured and designed landscapes and things" (pp. 221, 223). Amato's story, in other words, is a decline narrative of the kind found, *toutes proportions gardées*, in Edmund Husserl, Heidegger, and their followers.

At its best, phenomenological analysis can dissect human experience in great detail and nuance. In Amato's book, however, its descriptive license sanctions a glancing survey based on superficial associations rather than empirical evidence or profundity of insight. Amato acknowledges as much: His "explanatory narrative," he remarks at the head of an early chapter, is "cast as suggestive evocation rather than consistent argument" (p. 38). The consequent discussions are at times intriguing, as when he elevates Leonardo da Vinci's attention to visual detail over René Descartes's reduction from the senses as a favorable counter-model to the dominant scientific paradigm of Western reality. (This requiem for experiences lost to scientific modernity is also a phenomenological motif.)

Too often, however, Amato's associations take the form of quick lists and slight comparisons, many of which might have been fruitful if their elements had been developed in depth. The chapter noted above, for example, "first examines the formation of human skin and then proceeds to the development of the hand, which establishes our tactile and kinetic experience with the outer and inner world of things, and influences the development of brain, mind, community, and culture" (pp. 38–39). Each of these phenomena has large theoretical and historical proportions, yet to string them together with little concern for their interpretive complexity simply ignores the wider stakes. Elsewhere, Amato likens the bodily decorations of early hominids to those of the Pende people of the Congo, "a tenuous analogy," he admits, "between people in the past and those in the present" (p. 92). Phenomenologists such as Husserl and Heidegger bolstered their sometimes dubious histories with extremely rich philosophical analysis. Amato does not do so, and as a result his account reads like a just-so story—at times even pure conjecture (p. 92).

The book's ultimate problem, however, is not its approach but its unbounded central topos: Amato has presented a surface motif that is so limitless—literal and figurative, scientific and metaphorical—that it encompasses virtually everything and allows him to digress at will. If the definition of "surface" were tempered and its analysis honed in time and space—or if, as in the case of Derrida's text, the concept had sufficient theoretical intrigue—Amato's account might have achieved some genuine insights. As it is, however, his bricolage is a wall of bricks without any binding mortar,

stone piled on stone, hiding much beyond its unstable surface.

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Joan B. Landes, Paula Young Lee, and Paul Youngquist, editors. *Gorgeous Beasts: Animal Bodies in Historical Perspective*. (Animalibus of Animals and Cultures, number 2.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 231. $49.95.

As with many studies of animals in history, the importance of animals to understandings of the human and the contradictory relationships between humans and animals figure prominently in this fine collection of essays. What makes this volume stand out, however, is the tension suggested in the title between "gorgeous" (dazzling, beautiful, magnificent) and "beast" (base, animal, inhuman), which informs a series of explorations into how animal bodies matter, what they do in different historical contexts, and their ethical implications in history and in art. The essays range over the Atlantic world from the early modern period to the very recent past, with several focusing on how animals and their bodies informed key discussions about citizenship, subjectivity, race, class formation, natural science, and practices of empire.

The lead essay, by Joan B. Landes, uses Picasso's illustrations for a modern edition of the comte de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* to examine Buffon's efforts to dispel the mythical and fantastic from eighteenth-century scientific illustrations. Nicely uniting the volume's focus on animals and art, Landes uses Picasso's abstract renderings to show how Buffon's brand of naturalism depicted animals as ideal types rather than individuals. Erica Fudge then moves from the realm of representation to material culture, turning Renaissance humanism on its head by insisting that animals are agents, rather than mere objects and representations. Combining the familiar perspectives of Actor Network Theory with the lesser-known premises of "thing theory," Fudge sets aside the usual discussion of sentience and shows how animal matter—a pair of dog-skin gloves and the scent of a civet cat—can affect and shape human culture, even when the (animate) presence of the animal has been removed. Animal materiality also informs Nigel Rothfels's analysis of trophy hunting and contemporary art. Echoing Fudge, Rothfels shows how elephant matter matters—how the monumentality of elephants drives humans to hunt and kill them, and how the physicality of the elephant overshadows the human even in death. Looking at video art featuring elephants playing dead, Rothfels draws poignant insight about the theatricality of elephant death and trophy hunting.

One of the starting premises of human-animal studies is to interrogate the assumptions and legitimacy of simple binaries (i.e., human-animal). In "Calling the Wild," Harriet Ritvo does just that, probing the conceptual evolution of wilderness and the slippages thus imposed on animals that represent the domestic in one context and the wild in another. Working backward from the mass culling of livestock in the United Kingdom during the outbreak of hoof and mouth disease in 2001, Ritvo explores the multivalence of Herdwick sheep, which function simultaneously as part of the indigenous, "natural" landscape of the rugged Lake District and as domesticated products of artificial selection. Ritvo reminds us that contemporary appreciation of "wilderness" and its beauty presents a stark contrast to the fear and disgust with which preindustrial Europeans regarded the same terrain.

Ron Broglio also looks at animal bodies in the English countryside, probing the unease surrounding representations of livestock slaughter and death in early-nineteenth-century images and poetry. He suggests that anxiety about depictions of livestock slaughter stemmed partly from the shared vulnerabilities of human workers and animals at a time of social and economic change. Pierre Serna further develops this analytical thread, showing how social class and emerging racial hierarchies raised new questions about how to define, expand, and (ultimately) limit rights for humans and animals during the French Revolution. Focusing on debates in natural history and comparative anatomy during the Consulate, Serna shows how the retreat from democratic ideals and universal rights in human politics paralleled shifts away from egalitarianism and toward more hierarchical views of order and utility in the life sciences.

Human constructions of race and practices of empire in this period ensured that not all beasts were gorgeous. In the most compelling and smartly written contribution to the volume, Paul Youngquist examines the work of the man-eating bloodhounds used by the British to subdue Maroon forces in Jamaica in 1795. Inverting more commonly invoked frameworks in which dogs function as companions, workers, and protectors, Youngquist explores the "Cujo Effect" of dogs deployed as biological weapons. The British, acknowledging the central role that dogs trained to pursue, kill, and eat black people played in putting down the rebellion, justified the use of animal violence as a legitimate defense of the (white) human community against the (black) animalized rebels.

The most politically engaged essay in the book, "Fishing for Biomass," documents the devastating effects of techno-scientific management on the cod fisheries of the Grand Banks. Again, animal bodies are instrumental, as the transformation of codfish into biomass provides the fulcrum for an analysis of the late-twentieth-century collapse of what had been the world's most productive fishery. Sajay Samuel and Dean Bavington lament the technologies (bottom draggers) and practices (population models) that turned fish bodies into commodities, fishermen into workers, and fishing into employment, and caution that neither codfish bodies nor their human hunters will find redemption in today's aquaculture projects geared toward producing a "harvest" of generic biomass.

While the aesthetics of animal bodies inform much of

the book, the final chapters directly address the animal in art. Cecilia Novero's analysis of Daniel Spoerri's animal assemblages shows how this neo-avant-garde artist uses decontextualized "animal things" such as taxidermied bodies and fur coats to challenge the conventions validating high art. An interview with artist Mark Dion provides a playful and provocative conclusion to a volume that takes animal bodies seriously and finds meaning in unexpected places.

Finally, *Gorgeous Beasts* is a gorgeous book. As the essays revel in the physicality of animal bodies in order to reveal why and how animals matter in history and art, so the volume celebrates the physical book. Extensively illustrated, expertly designed, and printed on sumptuous paper, it embodies the best of the exhibition catalogue and the scholarly text. Like a finely curated art exhibit, it speaks to the myriad and contradictory ways that animals matter through individual works that are a pleasure to behold, read, and contemplate.

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Lawrence J. Friedman. *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's Prophet*. Assisted by Anke M. Schreiber. New York: Columbia University Press. 2013. Pp. xxxv, 410. Cloth $29.99, e-book $23.99.

In this long-awaited and eagerly anticipated work, Lawrence J. Friedman has provided us with the most thorough, well-researched, and balanced biography so far of Erich Fromm. Friedman has written for a general audience, while at the same time maintaining high scholarly standards. He positions his work in relation to the existing literature primarily as an attempt to move beyond a one-sided focus on Fromm's published writings, which he argues can only be understood against the backdrop of his life. Through meticulous research spanning nearly a decade in the Erich Fromm Archives and many other archival collections, and personal interviews with Fromm's friends, relatives, students, analysands, and colleagues, Friedman has succeeded in constructing a rich backdrop that spans the entirety of Fromm's life. The narrative is balanced almost evenly between Fromm's personal relationships, his professional and political activities, and his writings.

Friedman's approach to Fromm's "lives" could be described as perspectivalist insofar as he provides the reader with a number of different interpretative models. For example, he discusses what Fromm himself described as his four main personas: a psychoanalytically informed clinician, a political activist, a social critic, and a writer committed to instructing society. He presents a clinically informed analysis of Fromm's psychological character structure, which allegedly fluctuated between exuberance, depression, and feelings of marginality. The book's twelve chapters are organized in three sections around the steadily broadening focus of Fromm's writings and activism, from Germany and Europe, to the Americas, to the world as a whole. Other interpretative threads run through the narrative as well. Friedman follows closely Fromm's efforts to mediate between his intellectual and spiritual foundations in Orthodox and Hasidic Judaism, on the one hand, and a lifelong attraction to humanism and openness to other religious traditions—especially Zen Buddhism and socially minded Catholicism—on the other. Friedman also pays close attention to Fromm's ongoing dialogue with the work of Marx and Freud. He points out that the former was the greater thinker in Fromm's eyes, but the latter remained Fromm's own most important theoretical interlocutor.

While eschewing the interpretative predominance of any one of these models, Friedman does advance arguments of his own. For example, he maintains, convincingly, that Fromm did his best scholarly work in the 1930s as a member of Max Horkheimer's Institute for Social Research. Friedman argues that Fromm's essays during this time provided the theoretical foundations not only for *Escape from Freedom* (1941), which Friedman views as his most important work, but also for the numerous shorter and more popular studies that Fromm wrote in the postwar decades. Friedman refers repeatedly to a shift in Fromm's writerly voice, already apparent at the end of *Escape from Freedom*, from the "hard-headed" scholar of the 1930s to a prophet of universal peace and love who believed that the threat of nuclear annihilation made it urgently necessary to reach out to a broad audience. The unbelievable sales statistics of Fromm's postwar writings, always in the hundreds of thousands and often in the millions, leave no doubt that he was successful in this regard. Friedman himself is evidence of Fromm's success, when he notes that Fromm's writings inspired him to participate in the civil rights and anti–Vietnam War movements in the 1960s. Despite such openly acknowledged "identification" with Fromm, Friedman displays admirable vigilance, probity, and critical acumen in his illuminating discussions of Fromm's writings. Overall, Friedman does find much to praise in Fromm, such as his ability to overcome a stifling early family life and to move closer in later years to his own psychological ideal of stability, warmth, empathy, and creative productivity. Friedman also highlights the political impact of Fromm's activism and writings both on individuals close to him—such as his cousin Heinz Brandt, a communist and Holocaust survivor, whom he helped to rescue from an East German prison—and on major political figures, including J. William Fulbright, Adlai Stevenson, and even John F. Kennedy. But Friedman never hesitates to criticize Fromm's shortcomings, including his violations of the clinical ethics of psychoanalysis, or the narcissistic tendencies that sometimes emerged in his professional relationships and political activism.

Friedman also resists the temptation to "take sides" in his portrayal of controversial episodes in Fromm's life, such as his split with the Institute for Social Research around 1940 and the closely related and equally acrimonious debate with Herbert Marcuse in the pages of *Dissent* in the mid-1950s. Drawing on earlier scholarship by Neil McLaughlin, Friedman argues compel-

lingly that these debates between Fromm and the members of the Institute for Social Research have obscured the crucial role that Fromm played in the formation of Horkheimer's Critical Theory in the 1930s. Friedman makes a strong case for revisiting Fromm's writings in the 1930s and his concept of "social character," in particular. But Friedman's success in writing a book accessible to a general audience runs up against some of the same limits as Fromm's own popular writings. The complex development and far-reaching implications of Fromm's notion of social character resist brief paraphrasing, even in the able hands of Friedman. Marx once wrote that only those who are willing to scale the steep paths of *Wissenschaft* have a chance to gain its luminous summits. By the end of Friedman's study, one is rewarded with a clear and richly detailed overview of Fromm's life and work. Although still somewhat obscured by clouds, the peaks of Fromm's theoretical achievements are also visible, and one is eager to continue the ascent.

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Jeremy Adelman. *Worldly Philosopher: The Odyssey of Albert O. Hirschman*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 740. $39.95.

The closest Albert Hirschman (1915–2012) came to writing history was his book *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (1977), which was more of an extended reflection on the ideas of early modern economic thinkers than a detailed historical study. He contributed much to his own field of economics and to social science in general: early work on the interaction of politics and world trade, to which little attention was paid until political economy became fashionable toward the end of his career; some of the first steps in interrogating, and then unlocking, the stranglehold of crude modernization theory on development economics; the creation of Latin American studies as an interdisciplinary, empirically based enterprise; and a large number of metaphors and interpretive devices, many of which are still widely employed even though most people who use them are probably unaware that they originated with Hirschman. Apart from *The Passions and the Interests*, however, Hirschman did not write history.

Nevertheless, there is a great deal in Jeremy Adelman's compelling biography of Hirschman that will interest historians—and not just economic historians or historians of Latin America. Many of the elegant constructs liberally scattered through Hirschman's works have been adopted by historians: analyzing specific economic changes in terms of "forward" and "backward" linkages, for example, and the well-known triad of "exit," "voice," and "loyalty" as types of response to organizational decline. Hirschman's insistence on the complexity of causation, the importance of unintended consequences, and the need for moderation in imposing grand theory on individual cases has helped to change the intellectual climate in which history is practiced. Hirschman was, moreover, an intelligent witness to much of the history of the twentieth century.

One of the great strengths of the book is that Adelman places the stages of Hirschman's odyssey in multiple contexts. He gives what Hirschman's close friend Clifford Geertz called "thick descriptions" of Hirschman's youth and education as a member of a secular Jewish family in interwar Berlin; his changing and never-uncritical relationship with the European Left; his departure from Germany in 1933 and his pursuit of a university education in France, Britain, and Italy; his brief participation in the Spanish Civil War; his flight from France to America in 1940–1941 after several months of working for an American organization that arranged the escapes of other prominent Jews; and his service in the U.S. Army in Europe during World War II.

Around 1945, Adelman's narrative shifts toward the concerns of a professional economist. Hirschman increasingly becomes an active shaper, sometimes a manipulator, of the contexts in which he operates. His experience as an analyst for the Economic Cooperation Administration in the late 1940s provides the occasion for describing the shifting fortunes of different conceptions of the new world economic order as it was being constructed—including Hirschman's, which ultimately lost. That loss, coupled with Hirschman's realization that he was on the FBI's list of unreliable persons, led him in 1952 to move to Colombia and reinvent himself as a development economist. Thereafter, the twists of his career serve as platforms for surveying wider contexts of politics and economic change in the Third World, the operations of important American foundations and universities, and a great many intellectual trends in the human sciences. Of particular interest is his achievement of iconic stature as an economist oriented toward humanism and interdisciplinary study at precisely the same time that professional economics became increasingly mathematical and isolated from the rest of the intellectual world (some would say from reality).

This is a good book from many different standpoints. It would have been a better one if it had been subjected to one more rigorous course of editing before publication. Although many sections are superbly clear, succinct, and insightful, others retain features of a not-quite-polished draft. Many readers will find *Worldly Philosopher* to be longer than it needs to be, although they would presumably give conflicting opinions about what ought to have been cut, depending on whether they were interested in the book mainly as a summary of Hirschman's ideas, as the life story of a fascinating person, or as a discussion of changing tendencies in modern intellectual, political, and economic life. The book is all of these things and well worth reading for any of them.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD/TRANSNATIONAL

SEAN ROBERTS. *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography*. (I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 293. $49.95.

The Seven Days of Geography (*Septe giornate della geografia*) is a multilayered, complex book published in 1482 that describes the world in Italian verse following the order of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Created by the Florentine humanist Francesco Berlinghieri, it brought the ancient author's dry, table-filled text vividly to life. In a narrative in which Ptolemy himself descends from on high to guide the author and an unnamed companion on a seven-day tour of the world, Ptolemy's own locations, coordinates, theory of cartography, and methods of mathematical projection are clearly laid out. These Ptolemaic elements are enlivened, however, by histories, mythological accounts, charming anecdotes, and numerous learned literary illusions. The book also contains twenty-six engraved maps. As the book was being printed, two spectacular manuscript copies were also created, the first presented to Lorenzo de' Medici, and the second to Federico da Montefeltro, the ruler of Urbino. Further, printed copies with specific additions such as dedications were presented as gifts to the half-brother sons of Mehmed the Conqueror, one to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II, and the second to his exiled half-brother, Cem.

This study shows that Berlinghieri's book was multifaceted both as a material object and in its cultural uses and meanings. Roberts follows what has become the standard approach to the history of cartography, rejecting a firm dividing line between "medieval" and "modern, scientific" mapmaking that an older historiography presumed to have developed after the reception of Ptolemy's *Geography* in early-fifteenth-century Italy. He describes the *Seven Days* as a specifically Renaissance product of late-fifteenth-century Florence. He skillfully outlines the cultural and intellectual context that informs the book. Berlinghieri was the head of a large and prosperous Florentine household financed by his family's silk-manufacturing business. He was a friend of Lorenzo de' Medici, and part of an intellectual circle that included the Platonist Marsilio Ficino. He was also a devout Christian and composed devotional sermons. His geographic poem was informed by interlocking influences, including Platonism, Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata*, and, most importantly, Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Berlinghieri turned ancient geography into a moral and Christian subject for contemporary readers, including armchair travelers and actual pilgrims. He identified himself fully as the author of the maps (which were based on earlier Florentine examples and were actually constructed by graphically skilled collaborators), as well as the text.

In his detailed examination of Berlinghieri's book as a material object, Roberts reveals its liminal quality between the cultures of manuscript and print. He also provides an illuminating view of an early effort in the new technology of copperplate engraving. He suggests that the poor quality of the engraved maps in the book is a result of incomplete knowledge of the new technology, which was perhaps held secret by its few fully skilled practitioners, who were far from Florence. The images reveal plate scratches and toponymic disarray, including outright mistakes and corrections made by carving over letters without eliminating them, creating barely readable jumbles of letters. Roberts suggests that the Florentine engravers did not actually know how to correct errors on the copperplates, and that further, they did not use letter punches (as would become the norm), but individually carved each letter with the burin.

Yet the defects of the engraved maps were often ameliorated or disguised by the practice of hand-coloring them before presenting the book as a gift to a particular individual. (Frequent discussions of the coloring of these cartographic images cry out for at least one or two color plates as a supplement to the black and white illustrations.) Roberts shows that this book served not only as an object for sale in a commercial economy, but as an important object in gift exchange and patronage, involving customization of numerous copies for presentation to particular individuals, including the remarkable copies made for Bayezid II and Cem.

But what did such a gift to the sultan and prince mean in terms of Berlinghieri's—or more accurately Florence's—attitude toward the Ottoman world? Roberts considerably attenuates the view that a consumer culture led to tolerance across the Mediterranean, underscoring instead the continuing hostility engendered by military conflict and the crusade mentality that was still prevalent in fifteenth-century Florence. What Bayezid II and Cem actually thought of the book cannot be known, at least from this investigation, which utilizes no Ottoman sources. Nevertheless, this is a valuable study that demonstrates the usefulness of examining the production and context of a single (and in this case especially interesting) book. Following Harvard University Press's usual unfortunate practice, the book lacks a bibliography, making it difficult for scholars to use efficiently.

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GYANENDRA PANDEY. *A History of Prejudice: Race, Caste, and Difference in India and the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 243. $29.99.

This is a terrific book. I kept thinking about its arguments long after I finished reading it. Their continuing resonance is all the more interesting to me as I had initially resisted the idea of a study that located African Americans and the Dalits of India in the same analytical frame, because such a conceptualization seemed to fly in the face of historical specificity and accepted narratives of imperialism and racism. But as Gyanendra Pan-

dey notes, quoting another comparative historian, comparison is not a neutral method, but rather can be "a highly pointed claims-making device" (p. 8). Pandey's claim would seem to be that the experience and situation of the Dalits (ex-Untouchables) should be better known and understood not least by students of South Asian history. He prefaces his study with an interesting story about the different patterns of student enrollment for courses he offered that positioned "caste" and "race" differently in their titles. "Race," he concludes, seems to speak to contemporary sensibilities, whereas "caste" appears as "a thing of the past."

A History of Prejudice compares the historical experience of the Dalits and African Americans as instances of "internal colonialism" and as peoples caught in the "eternal bind of the subaltern, the outsider within" (p. 95). Pandey notes their shared experience of stigmatization, segregation, and prejudice, of both the universal and vernacular kinds. In the large democracies of India and the United States, he suggests, "prejudicial structures rule, and set unacknowledged limits to democracy" (p. 18).

He also argues that in both countries, Indigenous peoples have been subject to colonialism with distinctive "geopolitical" consequences. Certainly Native Americans, like their counterparts in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, have suffered rather more dramatically from dispossession than from prejudice, with consequences that cannot be readily addressed through access to full citizenship or equal opportunities. *A History of Prejudice* not only explicates Dalits' and African Americans' specific conditions of oppression, but also charts their distinctive struggle for democratic inclusion and social justice at the level of the nation and the everyday.

The Dalits, the author notes, are less easily distinguished by appearance than are African Americans. Their subaltern position was understood not in terms of "race" but in relation to Hinduism's contempt for manual labor, and their "untouchability" fortified the disgust for manual work evident in all social strata. In reading this book, I understood in a new way arguments by nineteenth-century liberal leaders in white settler colonies that the introduction of social relations based on "caste" would stigmatize manual labor for the whole colony, and that democracy could never be viable in such a society.

Pandey discusses at length the "extraordinary bind" in which Dalits found themselves when engaging in the politics of difference and identity. Did "Untouchables" seek to remain "Untouchables," as Mohandas K. Gandhi put it in 1931? The distinctive dilemma faced by Dalits in seeking self-definition and justice is explored here with reference to the ideas and activism of the preeminent Dalit leader of the twentieth century, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, including his 1956 conversion to Buddhism and his representation of Indian history as the history of struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Inequality was the official doctrine of Brahmanism, Ambedkar declared; Buddhism opposed it root and branch. The inequality of Dalits was fundamentally a religious doctrine.

Inequality, one could also say, was the foundational doctrine of self-declared white men's countries. Pandey explores the long history of segregation and disenfranchisement of blacks in the United States and looks in particular at the complexity of Zora Neale Hurston's (sometimes misunderstood) confrontation with Jim Crow in the 1940s and 1950s. He emphasizes the role of violence in the American conquest of the continent and of lynching in efforts to maintain white supremacy after the Civil War and World Wars I and II, but he also notes the masculinism of African American discourse, and "the imbrication of military and political campaigns in the black struggle, as in all US history" (p. 102).

Pandey is clear about the ways in which subaltern assertions of identity often rested on the subjugation of women and repressed divisions in the interests of presenting a unified front. He reports that recent accounts by Dalit women have brought to the fore cruel forms of exploitation and torture inflicted on them by Dalit men and insists that it is important to record the dissonant voices in subaltern struggles and the importance of gender struggle within and without localized communities. Dalit discourse can reinforce prejudice against women, who must, like Hindu women, also struggle against patriarchal oppression.

In analyzing the history of prejudice, Pandey notes the role of violence in the maintenance of power relations, but he also emphasizes the force of the apparently trivial and unstated, gestures of insult and casual contempt, patronizing smiles and glances, inherited structures of discrimination, malice and misogyny. "How," he asks, "are we to write a history of these gestures?" (p. 2). Pandey returns to this question of the elusive archive in a last chapter that ponders the persistence of prejudice even as numbers of Dalits and African Americans enter the middle class. Regardless of their mobility, they are still required to speak their difference even as the mainstream works to stigmatize it.

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Mark Harrison. *Contagion: How Commerce Has Spread Disease*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2012. Pp. xviii, 376. $38.00.

In his conclusion to this masterful account of disease and commerce, Mark Harrison sums up the basic premise of the book: that "commerce has been a major factor in the redistribution of diseases, allowing pathogens and their vectors to circulate more widely than before, often with catastrophic results" (p. 276). While that may seem like an obvious presumption, there is nothing obvious about Harrison's original insights and penetrating analysis in this book. With a combination of creative imagination and exhaustive research, he brings to life the historical fallacies of disease containment—and the political economy of disease containment in history. Indeed, he makes a strong argument, bolstered by his

extensive research efforts, that containment measures, quarantines, and sanitary embargoes have always been as closely tied to the politics of commerce as commerce is tied to the dynamics of sickness and disease.

Of particular interest is Harrison's conclusion that modern containment methods have had little impact on the spread of disease, and that the means employed to control the spread of disease have quite often been bent to favor the interests of wealthier countries against poorer and more vulnerable ones. Harrison compares the containment methods of the past with those of the present, and finds them equally inadequate. He argues that they both have the potential to do economic damage on a global scale. Among other things, it seems clear from Harrison's analysis that nations have historically taken advantage of containment measures in order to foster their own protectionist policies (pp. 278–279).

In framing the periodicities of disease containment, Harrison identifies two "great divergences" in the development of disease containment (p. 276). The first was the European effort in the seventeenth century to contain plague outbreaks, an effort that was largely successful over time. The second success took place in the second great divergence, when other diseases, such as cholera, were effectively eliminated from the native soil of advanced Western nations. Nevertheless, Harrison makes it clear that quarantine was often used as a "weapon of war." In an environment in which nations opposed to quarantine risked retaliation by other trading partners, opponents of quarantine became inured to the watchful eye of rival trading states, and their propensity to whip up the domestic support of fearful citizens for their protectionist containment policies.

Harrison presents a number of convincing and original arguments as he covers the history of contagion in this comprehensive analysis of the history of epidemics over the course of some seven centuries. His first chapter begins with the Black Death of the fourteenth century. As a scholar of the Black Death, I was particularly impressed with the breadth and scope of Harrison's research in this area. His discussion of the origins of the bubonic plague and its scope outside the Western world is a thoughtful, incisive, and original contribution in its own right.

For the Black Death and bubonic plague in general, Harrison does an effective job of teasing out the nuances of issues such as the clash between deductive theory (of late medieval medical doctors) and practical reality. Here he brings a fresh perspective to the historically abrasive mismatch between the syllogisms of medieval medical tradition and the empiricism of the "informed laity"—a laity that had become all too familiar with the deadly connection between long-distance trade and the spread of plague. Harrison details how European medical thought, so inured to miasma theory, gradually came around to the view of those who saw and experienced the tight bond between contagion and commerce.

Harrison uses this encounter with *Yersinia pestis* to weave together the threads of seven centuries, using skill and finesse to produce a complex tapestry of the changing dynamic of global disease transmission. He covers in depth the broad meanings and fine details of pivotal historical issues, such as the clash between the demands of quarantine and the attraction of free trade for economic elites in Western countries. He demonstrates that plague quarantines in Europe, though effective in the long run, became a truly politicized affair, used to foster economic self-interest. In chapters three and four, Harrison describes how quarantine began to lose popularity as Europe's profit from trade increased by leaps and bounds. In chapter five, he explores how some sought to replace quarantine with what he calls "sanitary intelligence": in essence a system of surveillance that kept observers watching for development of contagious diseases in foreign ports.

In chapters six and seven, Harrison insightfully examines the tightening of containment and quarantine as a reaction to the fear spread by cholera and the appearance of *Yersinia pestis* in the modern world. As he discusses this third global outbreak, which started in the 1890s, he makes a strong case for the notion that the international response was reshaped by this pandemic, and details how the focus shifted from quarantine to a system of surveillance and containment that included sanitary measures and improvements to sanitary conditions. In chapter eight, Harrison engages the book's central thesis, that the policies and politics of containment have played a substantial role in dictating the nature of international efforts to halt the spread of viruses and bacteria. Finally, chapter nine details some of the more complex issues of present-day efforts at disease containment and the ongoing tension between policies of disease containment and policies of free trade.

Harrison concludes by saying that the mutation and spread of new diseases presents a significant challenge for the global community in the twenty-first century. That may seem obvious, but Harrison's perceptive analyses of links between economic development and the threat of new pandemics put the problems in a new light. His closing arguments sound the alarm about some very serious trouble brewing: the formation of a new link in this chain between commerce and disease. In this respect, his last words are as ominous as they are specific, and by themselves justify reading this excellent work. With *Contagion*, Harrison has made an important contribution to the history of disease and medicine.

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Gregory T. Cushman. *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History*. (Studies in Environment and History.) 2013. Pp. xxii, 392. $99.00.

Gregory T. Cushman's *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World* moves skillfully from the largest scale of global history to smaller spatial scales, including the transnational, oceanic, regional, and local. And then Cushman moves in even closer to the scale of bird excrement,

all the while keeping his attention on the connections between those valuable droppings and more common human and ecological issues. A stellar contribution to Pacific, environmental, world, and Latin American history, Cushman's study demonstrates the potential of following relationships far outward from a substance that most people prefer to wipe from the soles of their feet.

The focus of this book is the contribution of guano, nitrates, and phosphates to agricultural and industrial production during the modern age, given the worldwide population boom and increasing demand for raw chemicals. Cushman convincingly links the guano trade to a range of wider issues: the centrality of the Pacific to world events, the scientific innovations that propelled industrial production, the attendant ecological destruction of the modern era, and the ethical contradictions of geopolitics and scientific advances. All this and more derives from bird excrement accumulated over the millennia on Pacific islands. However, Cushman's story is also intensely personal in the way that individuals—colonial guano lords, European chemists and explorers, transpacific laborers, industrialists, and Leopoldian conservationists—influenced human destinies through their work, ideas, and innovations.

Two historiographical interventions stand out in this sprawling and intensely researched monograph. The first, as Cushman observes at the outset, is "the Pacific's place in history," which he argues is one of virtual absence, at least in comparison to the multitudinous studies of the Atlantic world (p. xiv). If some historians question the absence of serious Pacific scholarship, Cushman's work goes a long way toward firmly placing the Pacific in the context of world history. The nineteenth-century "guano age" emanating from Peru's islands not only encompassed global trade, agro-industrial transformation, and scientific breakthroughs, but it did so in a way that situated Pacific islands in direct relationship to metropolitan centers and input-intensive agricultural hotspots. In this reading, the Pacific can no longer be considered the empty one-third of the globe, but instead moves front and center for all world historians.

The second significant intervention is Cushman's utilization of environmental history. He demonstrates his extensive knowledge and rigorous research in things both big and small: the global dissemination of knowledge about chemical processes, the practice of phosphate mining on small islands, the spread of disease, the ethical contradictions within the conservation movement, and the minutiae of avian defecation. The Pacific's oceanic environment remains pivotal throughout the study; for instance, ENSO (El Niño–Southern Oscillation) patterns wreaked havoc on the best plans hatched by technocrats attempting to fix the problems they had already caused for bird and fish populations. Peru's creation of the Compañía Administradora del Guano in 1909 represents an early attempt at environmental planning, but the company was not successful at the long-term conservation of fish, guano birds, or guano itself.

And the wealth generated by guano's natural attributes? Hardly any of it remained in Peru, and none of it on the island of Niue or other Pacific atolls. Cushman's analysis of ecological and scientific imperialism is in deep conversation with (and expands upon) the models of Alfred W. Crosby, John R. McNeill, Donald Worster, Richard H. Grove, and Richard P. Tucker. The extractive and industrial form of neo-imperialism practiced on islands such as Banaba and Nauru created nightmarish results for Pacific people and the environment.

No silver lining (and very little eco-green lining) exists in *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World*. The nineteenth-century guano age boosted production in wealthier nations until other chemical inputs came on line. The guano and fish resources of the Pacific facilitated a meat-intensive diet for some populations around the world while devastating the ocean's marine stock. Public officials and scientists struggled for growth, according to Cushman, but "ended up making the Pacific World a much deadlier place for birds, fish, and humans" (p. 328). No silver lining indeed, except for the possibility that humanity can quickly decide on a different way of utilizing its oceanic environments.

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Teemu Ruskola. *Legal Orientalism: China, the United States, and Modern Law*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 338. $39.95.

Students of Chinese and Western legal history have long focused most of their attention on either China or the West. Thus there are only a few serious comparative studies on Chinese and Western law. Teemu Ruskola's *Legal Orientalism: China, the United States, and Modern Law* is a timely and very welcome addition to the field. As Ruskola notes, "this book examines how China, the United States, and law are related to each other—historically, conceptually, culturally, and geopolitically" (p. 3). More important, it aims to tell "the extraordinary and virtually forgotten story" of how "European prejudices about Chinese law developed into an American ideology and practice of empire" (p. 3). Although many previous studies have discussed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Shanghai Mixed Court in the International Concession, Ruskola, drawing mostly on U.S. primary sources, provides readers with a more detailed and lucid account of the legal, racial, imperial, and political dynamics behind U.S. policies toward China.

In chapter one, after clarifying the main argument of his book, Ruskola analyzes "popular and journalistic accounts of China" (p. 31) that compare Chinese and U.S. laws. The United States has often been associated with democracy, modernity, and the rule of law in such accounts, while China is associated with despotism, primitivism, and the lack of a rule of law (pp. 6–9).

The next chapter explores the question of why Western popular opinion, policymakers, scholars who do not specialize in China, and students who do not specialize in law tend to believe in the notion of Chinese lawlessness. Ruskola argues that Westerners were misled by the Qing Dynasty's official Confucian ideology, which "systematically privileged morality over law as a means of social control" and ignored the fact that "in practice, the state relied on a sophisticated legal system to govern the empire" (p. 36). Additionally, invoking European scholars' mostly negative views on Chinese law, religion, and politics, Ruskola points out that American Orientalism "remains indebted to as well as departs from" the "European Orientalist scholarship [that] created Chinese lawlessness as a globally recognized 'fact'" (p. 42).

Chapter three examines the operation of legal Orientalism in a specific field of Chinese corporate law. In contrast to the traditional view that China lacked the legal forms and societal foundations for capitalist "enterprise," this chapter argues that in China family law has "historically performed many of the functions that modern corporation law performs today" (p. 62). Ruskola makes the particularly interesting point that, like a modern corporation, the traditional Chinese household also "contained an incipient separation of ownership and management" (p. 69).

The fourth and fifth chapters center on two striking cases: the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Shanghai Mixed Court. Chapter four "recounts an Orientalist narrative of international law that came to justify expansive U.S. claims to extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, and elsewhere in Asia" (p. 110). By rediscovering "the little-known story of America's extraterritorial empire in the Asia-Pacific" (p. 112), Ruskola convincingly argues that U.S. imperialism in Asia began not in 1898 or in 1854, but in fact "with the signing of the Treaty of Wanghia in 1844" (p. 130). In addition, the Shanghai Mixed Court, another typical form of U.S. legal Orientalism, shows us how "American lawyers took up their civilizational burden in the Orient and how U.S. legal institutions functioned in the paradoxical conditions created by extraterritoriality" (p. 152). While the Mixed Court in theory was a Chinese court, the "opinion" of the foreign "assessor" carried more weight than that of the Chinese magistrate, and thus "the foreign assessors ultimately determined what Chinese law was" (p. 191). This practice of law lasted well beyond the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912.

After "briefly reviewing China's postimperial legal history," the final chapter looks at "the afterlife of America's extraterritorial empire and its replacement by a range of multilateral institutions after World War II" (p. 198). Here Ruskola also attempts to speculate on "the future of both China and the U.S. in the world that legal Orientalism has made" (p. 200). He makes the crucial point that "some aspects of life in China" likely exist "beyond the binary code of legal versus illegal altogether" and could best be characterized as "unlegal," "nonlegal," or "extralegal" (p. 220).

As a jurist specializing in Chinese and American law, Ruskola did not intend to spill too much ink on Chinese legal history (p. 200). For that reason, we find some omissions of the far-reaching legal reforms of the late Qing, which tellingly helped lay the foundations of the legal reforms in the republican period. Moreover, although the notorious Cultural Revolution seemingly championed "lawlessness" (p. 202), new studies find that certain legal principles such as procedural justice were still largely followed by communist criminal investigators throughout this turbulent period. Another minor issue is that the book relies more on U.S. primary sources than on Chinese primary sources in describing Chinese legal history and culture as well as the legal Orientalism embodied in the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Shanghai Mixed Court.

Those minor quibbles, however, do not lessen the value of this book. It will stand out as one of the most significant contributions to the comparative study of laws in China and the U.S. It is recommended reading for anyone who is interested in the role and extent of the impact of Western legal notions and practices on China.

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Robert J. Cottrol. *The Long, Lingering Shadow: Slavery, Race, and Law in the American Hemisphere*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 370. Cloth $69.95, paper $24.95, e-book $24.95.

In *The Long, Lingering Shadow*, Robert J. Cottrol provides an impressive synthesis of major laws and legislation relating to race in the Americas writ hemispherically. In only 300 pages of text, he manages to cover, in broad brushstrokes, the major features of the *longue durée* of racial history, with its enormous national diversity. In contrast to the considerable literature on law and race in the United States, there has been relatively little written for Latin America, even though slavery lasted longer there, and even though there were fifteen times as many enslaved Africans in Latin America as in the United States (eleven times as many in Brazil alone). As one might expect from a book that examines slavery and its consequences, *The Long, Lingering Shadow* focuses on the exclusion and legal attempts at inclusion of African-descended peoples, covering indigenous peoples or immigrants from Europe or Asia only at a few relevant points.

Cottrol's overarching concern is "the relationship between a society's broader sentiments concerning equality and the rights of individuals and the role of law in sustaining or combatting patterns of racial inequality" (p. 19). The book looks at race relations in three subregions: the United States, Brazil, and Spanish America (as represented by Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Peru, and Uruguay).

The nine chapters are organized in three parts focused on historical periods: the eras of slavery, post-abolition exclusion, and legal inclusion, with a chapter devoted to each subregion in each part. An epilogue discusses the often unintended consequences of laws that have sought to regulate racial hierarchy—most notably the fact that racially inclusive laws have not had their intended effect of stemming racial prejudice, discrimination, and inequality throughout the Americas.

In the introduction, Cottrol provides an overview of the *longue durée* of race and law in the United States from slavery to civil rights. By comparing aspects of Latin American cases, including the relative absence of race-based laws in Latin America for a century or more after abolition, he questions key assumptions about race and law that have become paradigmatic and derive almost entirely from the single U.S. case. Cottrol successfully illustrates Frank Tannenbaum's claim that comparative race and slavery studies can tell North Americans as much about others as about themselves.

The author appropriately distinguishes the three subregions' different racial histories, as well as differences among the nations in Spanish America and between the U.S. North and South. However, the contrast with the United States stands out most clearly, perhaps because this has been the emphasis in the comparative literature and Cottrol has written the book mostly for a U.S. readership. The first section, on slavery, emphasizes such Latin American generalities as the high sex ratio, which promoted race mixture as the excess men sought out black, *mulato*, and indigenous mates; the influence of status on relatively fluid racial classifications; castas in Spanish America, which predated the idea of race but sought to create a hierarchy based on ancestry; early and gradual manumission prior to abolition, and thus a large freed black and *mulato* population; how slaves often earned manumission by fighting in wars for independence; and the presence of black elites in the nineteenth century. Certainly, the Spanish American nations varied widely in these respects, but they generally stand in contrast to the United States at the time. The timing of abolition in those nations also varied significantly, with some achieving it before and some after the United States.

The second section, on the period between abolition and the racial justice revolution, emphasizes the persistence of ideologies of white supremacy throughout the hemisphere. However, in contrast to Jim Crow and segregation in the United States, Latin American elites generally pursued whitening policies, seeking to attract European immigrants who would mix with their often large black populations. To varying extents, these policies would be replaced by ideas of mestizaje, which would instead celebrate race mixture. Brazil went so far as to make mestizaje a national symbol and to declare itself a "racial democracy," where supposedly there was little or no racism. At the same time, Brazil, like most of Latin America, was not democratic but authoritarian and socially hierarchical, so there was no need to reconcile its democracy and equality with the persistent low status and exclusion of the large majority of blacks, as was the case in the United States.

The third section examines legal struggles for racial equality, which began at mid-century in the United States, with the passage of extensive civil rights legislation, and in the past decade in Brazil, where most universities now have racial quotas. In this regard, Spanish America is quite diverse, ranging from Colombia, which has recognized black communities and legislated limited affirmative action, to the Dominican Republic, where such legislation is thus far nonexistent. Finally, Cottrol laments the ongoing denial of African heritage in many parts of Spanish America, especially in the face of widespread racial inequality.

Most of this will be familiar territory for students of race in Latin America. The book's strength lies in its ability to synthesize a large amount of research over many years and many nations. It should become the go-to text for introducing students to comparative race and slavery, particularly the role of law and legislation, and for conveying a better understanding of racial formation in Latin American history. Moreover, anyone interested in slavery and race in the United States should read this book, as it reveals much about the U.S. case by drawing out its singularities and commonalities with other systems and the numerous paths that slavery and white supremacy have taken.

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Edward E. Andrews. *Native Apostles: Black and Indian Missionaries in the British Atlantic World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 326. $39.95.

As author Edward Andrews notes in the introduction to his fine book *Native Apostles*, a number of works have already been published on the pivotal role of native pastors in the modern missionary movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, few explore the development of the role of native and black missionaries a century or two earlier. I am grateful to have this rich collection and analysis of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century indigenous ministers who were "ubiquitous" in this era and formative in "narrating themselves and their congregations into the history of Christianity" (p. 86). These clerics bring out the multidimensional nature of the era's Christian leadership and of the indigenous religious experience.

Andrews mines both published and unpublished collections of letters, sermons, and accounts of and by Indian and black missionaries for a window on the negotiation of contested relationships in the British Atlantic during the early colonial period. In doing so, he illustrates the vitality of Christian activity in these years, the dependence of European and American missionaries on native pastors for translating and interpreting the Gospel to native communities, and the efficacy of these pastors in disseminating the faith while also shaping the cross-cultural discourse. He convincingly supports the thesis that not only would Protestant

mission history be the poorer without the work of Indian and black clergy, but they played a crucial part in the formation of religious and racial identities at a time when such boundaries were more fluid.

The pages of this study are replete with the stories of renowned figures such as the eloquent Mohegan preacher Samson Occom, who founded the Christian community of Brothertown, New York, in 1785. Despite Occom's success in evangelistic work, as well as in raising substantial funds in Europe for a native college (Dartmouth), he could not prevent a rupture with his mentor Eleazer Wheelock, whose expectations of the preacher's submission to his designs for native ministry did not align with Occom's own. In an effort to preserve and distance his people from Wheelock and colonial encroachment on native lives and lands, Occom used the spiritual authority of an ordained minister of the Gospel, the rhetoric of the Book of Exodus, and the power of native oratory to shepherd his flock to greener pastures.

Among the lesser-known native evangelists were the West African (Fetu) Anglican missionary Philip Quaque. He was educated in England and sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1766 to serve as chaplain at the Cape Coast Castle, the unrivaled center of the African slave trade. He became an indefatigable critic of slavery, even as he preached the merits of the Christian faith and British culture espoused by the traders. Having lost the fluency of his native tongue in the decade during which he was away from Africa, he depended upon native translators to preach to the slaves. It did not endear him to them or provide him with many converts. And although he was partially employed by the merchants of the trade, he was disdained by them and considered little better than those being sold. Many in the Anglo community refused to sit under his preaching, and the SPG continually tried to rein him in when he sought to evangelize further afield. In death, however, he was credited as a catalyst to the abolition of slavery and even memorialized on the grounds of the castle.

These pastors, and many others who appear in these pages, exemplify the complicated lives of indigenous Christian leaders who were cultural brokers between their own people and the dominant society, but were often misunderstood and even rejected by both. In that "middle ground" where cultures overlap and boundaries of identity are blurred, native preachers such as Occom and Quaque sought to forge new identities for themselves and their people based on Christian virtues and allegiances. However, they were often racialized and ignored by the very people who sent them, even as they were not always welcomed by those to whom they preached. It often made, as Andrews so clearly illustrates, for lonely and frustrated evangelists. However, they formed a crucial part of the missionary force of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as highlighted by the thirty-page table in the appendix of the book in which some 275 indigenous missionaries are listed by date and denomination.

Andrews uncovers a rich tapestry of narratives that support his contention that these pastors not only provided alternative spiritual opportunities for their people, but also helped to "blur the boundaries between nativist revitalization and Christian revivalism" through their contextualization of the Gospel message (p. 124). As he concludes, these native preachers were able to "cross-stitch traditional indigenous rituals, practices, and ideas with those of Christianity" (p. 66), even as they forged identities that denied essentialization by both their own people and their colonial brethren.

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Denver Brunsman. *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World.* (Early American Histories.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 364. $29.95.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, Britain attained an unprecedented degree of maritime mastery, developing Europe's most powerful navy while expanding its merchant marine across its burgeoning empire. But as Denver Brunsman illustrates in this wide-ranging and enlightening study, this seaborne success came at a great human cost, as perhaps a quarter of a million men—after slaves, the largest group of forced laborers in the British Empire—were forcibly impressed into naval service in Britain's nearly perpetual wars. Deploying an impressive set of widely varied sources, Brunsman explores how "cultures of impressment" (p. 13) varied across the empire, and how Britons attempted to square their claim to be building an "empire of liberty" (p. 35) with the widespread use of coerced maritime labor.

While impressment had existed in England from the late medieval period, it became crucial to the manning of the navy in the late seventeenth century, when imperial needs expanded at the same time that merchant seafaring became a significantly more attractive option to the nation's limited population of sailors. Imperial administrators upheld a "blue water" policy that stationed navy ships around the globe, but at the same time were adamant that Atlantic commerce, the nation's lifeblood, must continue even in wartime. But not any man would do for a sailor, and among Brunsman's successes in this monograph is his careful deconstruction of the persistent myth that press gangs in both Britain and its colonies specifically targeted the poor and other perceived undesirables, as a sort of class- and ethnicity-based warfare. In reality, it was "able seamen," also known as "topmen" (p. 53), whom the gangs sought, seizing them off the streets of seaports, from taverns and inns, and, most gallingly for their victims, literally off the decks of merchant ships approaching their home ports. As Brunsman points out, press gangs engendered tremendous popular hatred—from mariners, their families, and the general public—"simply by fulfilling their primary charge of entering qualified seamen into the navy" (p. 83).

In keeping with the Atlantic orientation of his proj-

ect, Brunsman emphasizes the ways in which impressment practices affected and were influenced by colonial realities. While press gangs were far from popular in the metropole, they were even less so in British America, from Massachusetts to Jamaica. Not only were they an unwelcome reminder of imperial dominance to colonial governors and the governed alike, but the loss of able-bodied adult white males was especially problematic in these smaller societies, particularly in New England, where such men were needed on local trading and fishing vessels, and in the West Indies, where the tiny white minority lived in constant fear of slave rebellion. While naval authorities ignored the 1707 American Act, popularly known as the "Sixth of Anne," which outlawed impressment in the colonies, press gangs found that their chances of success in rounding up sufficient numbers of experienced sailors improved significantly when they were least aggressive in challenging local authority and most willing to adapt their activities to colonial conditions. Those who failed to do so found themselves faced with communal resistance in the form of widespread riots, most notoriously the so-called Knowles Riot of 1747, in which enraged Bostonians engaged in the largest anti-imperial action prior to the far-better-known Stamp Act Riots of 1765.

Turning from the administrative to the personal, Brunsman describes the variety of strategies by which men either evaded press gangs entirely or soon escaped from naval service. Yet, as it turns out, seamen hated the process of impressment itself far more than they did actual naval service, and the great majority of men who were impressed not only remained with their ships, but performed with great loyalty and distinction in imperial warfare. Being coerced into service deprived seamen of their freedom of movement and of contact with their loved ones, and Brunsman deals briefly but eloquently with the suffering of some of these families. But as the works of Jeffrey Bolster, among others, have shown in relation to the maritime experiences of slaves and free men of color, "naval service returned to impressed seamen some of what their capture had taken away" (p. 141): the possibility of prize money; better work and living conditions than were commonly found in the merchant marine; the likelihood of professional advancement; the camaraderie of their shipmates; and a strong sense of the dignity and masculinity of their labor. For many sailors, the idea of the British Empire as a place of liberty was a convincing one in light of their shipboard experiences, even those that had begun with involuntary impressment.

As is frequently true, it is a challenge in a review of this length to engage fully with such an extensively researched, gracefully written, and intellectually rewarding book. *The Evil Necessity* is crucial reading for scholars of the British Empire, but will be of great value as well to anyone interested in the negotiation of freedom between center and periphery, and between impersonal systems and individual agency.

Natalie A. Zacek
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Jeremy Baskes. *Staying Afloat: Risk and Uncertainty in Spanish Atlantic World Trade, 1760–1820.* (Social Science History.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 393. $70.00.

The "monopoly merchant" is one of the favorite villains of Spanish American colonial history. The monarchy granted the merchants of the *consulados* of Cadiz and Mexico a monopoly of the *carrera de Indias*. Irrational regulations allowed them to squeeze colonial and peninsular societies alike by excluding competitors, restricting supply, and charging "monopoly" prices for their wares. Earning legendary profits, they turned economic dominance into political and social power reaching deep into society. Only the concerted efforts of late Bourbon reformers secured the promulgation of the *comercio libre* (free trade) decrees of 1778, which finally broke these merchants' hold over transatlantic trade. Competition drove prices down and traded quantities up. Or so we were told.

Jeremy Baskes challenges most of that story. He argues that historians have misrepresented the organizational structure of Spanish American trade, and that in their blanket condemnations of supposed "monopoly merchants," they have chosen to ignore the single largest challenge of Spanish American trade: uncertainty. Baskes is not the first to point out that Spanish American colonial trade was never organized in a monopoly. His contribution is to refute the myth of such a monopoly point by point through a comparison of how risk and uncertainty worked before and after *comercio libre*.

Under the old system, trade had to be routed through a small number of ports and in convoy at fixed intervals. The *flota* trade was controlled by the *consulados* of Cadiz, Mexico, and Lima. Yet, in contrast to the true colonial monopoly companies that dominated Dutch Asian and American and English Asian colonial trade, there was competition between individual guild members. In addition, on either side of the Atlantic, numbers were always too large even for an oligopoly to operate successfully. Any attempt by a few trading houses to withhold their goods in order to drive up prices just handed a windfall to other traders. The *carrera* was neither a monopoly nor a cartel.

Baskes's point is that the merchants did defend regulation against the reformers. Yet they did so because it helped them to deal with risk and especially uncertainty. Risks are "known unknowns," uncertainties "unknown unknowns," to use the cynical terms coined by a former U.S. secretary of state. The former were a problem with a solution: merchants could insure against shipwreck or spoiled cargoes because they had a fair idea of the probability with which such events occurred. Uncertainty was a larger problem, because it was incalculable and therefore uninsurable. Uncertainty resulted from poor information, shallow markets, and wars. In the late eighteenth century, the length of a trip from Cadiz to Havanna varied between 55 and 176 days (p. 25). Merchants had no idea whether their

shipment would arrive at a time of relative scarcity or in the middle of a glut.

Before 1776, when ships traveled in convoy in the *flota* system, this did not matter too much. Merchants knew that all the wares would arrive at the same time and be traded at the same fairs. Gluts were an integral part of the system. Yet correspondents in Mexico (and Portobello/Lima) also knew that the next shipment was two years away. The total quantity shipped, and therefore the glut, was predictable, stabilizing prices over time.

Cadiz merchants still bore the risks of buying in bulk and financing trade for two or three years before their capital could be liquidated again. But once they got to the fairs, they received cash from Mexican and Peruvian wholesalers, who financed the storage and distribution of the wares for the next two years. On either side of the Atlantic, the large merchant houses served as buffers, smoothing out demand and supply. Convoys were also the single best way of reducing uncertainty resulting from war and privateering. After the abolition of official convoys, insurance companies offered steep discounts to vessels going in private convoy, and merchants clamored for royal escorts, read convoys, whenever war resumed. *Comercio libre* led to a quantitative expansion of trade by between 50 and 100 percent. However, it also led to unpredictable gluts. In combination with the entry of new merchants with little capital, it triggered waves of bankruptcies.

In response, some Cadiz merchants moved out of trade and into maritime insurance. But as Baskes shows, the regulation by the *consulado* was then too lenient, and the sector collapsed under the weight of wartime losses. Bankruptcy proceedings were meant to shield illiquid but solvent merchants from going under. But now merchants were actually insolvent, because insurance had allowed them to overleverage in a way that trade never did. *Comercio libre* ended in tears because reformers (and historians) misunderstood the problem. The regulation had evolved not to give inordinate profits to a cartel of merchants but to protect the vital trade against inordinate uncertainty.

Baskes's book is not without its flaws. The integration of what is essentially a business history of Cadiz insurance partnerships in the later chapters with the larger themes of the earlier ones could have been handled more elegantly. There are petty repetitions that an editor should have caught. The author uses basic quantitative techniques and explains them entirely in the text rather than in conventional tables. This is a worthy experiment in trying to make quantitative research accessible to colleagues not familiar with the methods, but the jury on its success is out. Overall, however, Baskes does a splendid job of explicating economic reasoning and concepts to the interested non-specialist.

Those minor quibbles take nothing away from the fact that Baskes's book presents a serious challenge to much of the literature on eighteenth-century Spain and Spanish America. It does so in the wonderfully quiet way of the historian who knows his archive and who, document after document, chips away at the received wisdom. Any historian of colonial Spanish America will want to read this work—except, of course, those who want to continue believing in the myth of the Spanish "monopoly merchant." They would do well to stay away from this excellent piece of research.

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Andrew Cayton. *Love in the Time of Revolution: Transatlantic Literary Radicalism and Historical Change, 1793–1818*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute for Early American History and Culture. 2013. Pp. 351. $45.00.

In *Letters on the Study and Use of History* (1752), Henry St. John Bolingbroke wrote that in showing the causal connections among events, history should display the motives of the characters involved and the consequences of their virtues and vices in such a way as to "transport the attentive reader back to the very time" (p. 149) and enable him to "live with the men who lived before [him] and inhabit countries [he] never saw" (p. 40). This is what Andrew Cayton has done. *Love in the Time of Revolution* is a well-written imaginative re-creation, based on historical research, of the motives, thoughts, arguments, and interrelationships of important British and American radicals, including Mary Wollstonecraft, Gilbert Imlay, Joel Barlow, and William Godwin in the first generation; and Percy Bysshe Shelley, Mary Shelley, Charles Brockden Brown, and Elihu Hubbard Smith in the second. Where eighteenth-century conjectural historians would make up speeches and put them in the mouths of historical actors, Cayton uses snippets from their letters or published writings, and paraphrases of their major works.

Cayton's rendering of Wollstonecraft's motives for going to Paris in 1792 is typical of his gripping, popularizing, storytelling style: "Disappointment drove her from London as much as hope brought her to Paris. She was still trying to let go of her 'rational desire' for the married painter Henry Fuseli, who had recently refused her proposal that she live with him and his wife. The pain was intense. She missed him. She missed their intimacy. Above all, she missed *them*. Wollstonecraft had 'always [caught] something from the rich torrent of [his] conversation, worth treasuring up in [her] memory, to exercise [her] understanding'" (pp. 12–13). Wollstonecraft is portrayed as a desperately lonely spinster in her thirties who rashly rejected marriage but longed for love. She "craved" from Fanny Blood, Henry Fuseli, Imlay, and others the kind of voluntary, affectionate, and respectful mutual relationship between equals that she had only "imagined." When they betrayed her, Wollstonecraft was overcome with "self-pity," became depressed and suicidal, and "imagined" a good society founded on the same principles of mutual love and respect, equality, and "natural sociability" that she sought, but repeatedly failed to find, in her personal and domestic life. Imlay, Brissot de Warville, and Joel Bar-

low are represented in similar terms. Barlow, a neglectful husband, "thrived on crisis, on the disjunction between imagination and reality" (p. 67); "Imlay was as much at the mercy of his imagination as Wollstonecraft" (p. 73). But the male characters are also adventurers, who are primarily driven by self-interest: "Brissot, like Imlay and others, refused to distinguish between social change and personal opportunity. His ambition was to thrive in a world transformed" (p. 75). Wollstonecraft was naïve—failing to understand that people's natural impulses have to be restrained by law and coercive social institutions. But for men such as these, who were nobodies, the revolutionary overthrow of extant social hierarchies and social institutions (Parliament, the law, the Christian church) was a "strategy for becoming somebody" (p. 62).

Cayton quotes Edmund Burke: "The most important of all revolutions [is] a revolution in sentiments, manners and moral opinions" (p. 7). David McCullough created just such a revolution in the public's sentiments and moral opinions about John Adams by telling Adams's story in his own way. Cayton is doing the same with his "transatlantic radicals" and their ideas for "social change." Burke would have applauded Cayton's underlying argument that "time-honored institutions to monitor human behavior" (p. 8) and deference to patriarchal authority "rooted in reason" (p. 7) must supplant radical imaginings and "delusions." And the Tory case against the radicals, which Cayton subtly presents and embellishes, has not been sufficiently heard.

This is a book that I would give my undergraduates were it not for its frequent errors of historical fact, and for paraphrases of novels and ideas that not only oversimplify, but distort. It is not the case, for instance, that "All over Britain, organizations sprang up to facilitate reading" between the abolition of perpetual copyright in 1774 and 1800 (p. 23). "Cheap editions of older works, anthologies, and abridgments" (p. 23) go back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and reading organizations of one sort or another to the beginning of the eighteenth. "Mixed-gender social commerce" was not the radicals' "sentimental solution to a patriarchal society" (p. 42); it was universally practiced by the polite and well-born in country houses and domestic gatherings, assemblies and balls. And anyone who has read Rousseau's novel *Julie; or The New Heloise* (1761) will wonder at Cayton's account of it as "narrat[ing] the efforts of a small group of flawed but well-meaning friends to balance the rational pleasures of love . . . with the transient enthusiasm of sex" (p. 20). There is nothing transient about Julie's passionate love for St. Preux. Her "rational" marriage to Wolmar is dutiful, and forced upon her by her father. However, since only her father and Wolmar compose the group of friends, it certainly is small. This is an imaginative and highly readable performance that is seriously historically flawed.

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Lars Maischak. *German Merchants in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 295. $95.00.

This book does not deal with a swimming exercise, as the title might seem to suggest, but describes a much more important development of nineteenth-century economic history. Lars Maischak, who is well read in both German economic and American history, fixes his analysis on roughly the end of the second third of the nineteenth century, when a significant change took place on both sides of the Atlantic. At this point in time, he sees the self-inflicted decline of what had previously been a very successful business model: the trading practices of merchants located in Bremen, Germany, with their partners in New York and Baltimore. It is impossible to present here even a small sample of the tremendous wealth of details that the author has collected from archives on both sides of the Atlantic to prove his point. He was lucky to come across letters that members of important merchant clans—the author politely calls them "Hanseats," implying that their way of doing business originated with the medieval European trading-city network known as the "Hanse"—exchanged with their trading partners on the other side of the "big pond." These letters reveal detailed information about the clans' attitudes toward doing business as well as their religious, social, and political views.

The author dates the partition to approximately the time of the Civil War in America, which roughly coincided with the abandonment of the guilds in Germany. Before that time, small firms run by family members had developed networks through which they often operated successfully over several generations because, to give just one example, they gave credit only to those business partners whom they knew and had confidence in. Their very personal business relationships did not end at the firms' doorsteps, but included socializing in clubs with those who shared their views and values. All this came to an end when merchant capital began to be replaced by industrial capital. (Interestingly, these terms were borrowed from Karl Marx.) The steamship company North German Lloyd, for example, was a publicly owned enterprise that came into existence to replace the sailing vessels that had previously carried the merchandise of the small family firms across the Atlantic.

Maischak had access to voluminous archival material located in Bremen, Baltimore, New Haven, Connecticut, and New York. I estimate that at least one-fourth of the book is taken up by the notes, in which the author cites not only the sources that he used, but also a multitude of details not directly related to his main points. Reading the notes was as much a pleasure as studying the monograph itself. Included in the bibliography of more than 300 titles are numerous rare American and German monographs.

The book is the published version of Maischak's dissertation, for which he was awarded the Fritz Stern Dis-

sertation Prize by the Friends of the German Historical Institute in 2006. I have only one minor complaint: because this is such a well-researched volume, with references to thousands of persons, the index does not include all the names mentioned in the book. That, however, does not depreciate the value of the author's tremendous amount of work. He well deserved the Stern Prize for this unique contribution to transnational history.

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Roland Wenzlhuemer. *Connecting the Nineteenth-Century World: The Telegraph and Globalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 339. Cloth $110.00, e-book $88.00.

Roland Wenzlhuemer has written a deeply researched study of the telegraph and its contribution to globalization in the late nineteenth century. Much has been written about this technology, including the important works of Paul Kennedy, Daniel R. Headrick, and Anton A. Huurdeman, but Wenzlhuemer, through extraordinary archival efforts, has added a mass of quantitative material that elucidates the spread and distribution of the telegraph, both globally and in Britain and British India. He has also introduced a number of new concepts, drawing upon histories of science and technology, to the discussion of the telegraph.

Wenzlhuemer sets himself the task of exploring "the relationship between actors and network technologies in a historical context" (p. 14). As he puts it, "How do the functions that such technologies fulfil for their users and the ways in which they are applied shape the network structure? And, in turn, how do these structural conditions then feed back into the rationale of the technology?" (p. 14). The heart of the book, then, is an examination of the interactions between humans and the global telegraph system of the nineteenth century.

In empirical terms, this means that a great deal of attention must be paid to Britain and the British Empire, given that the bulk of international telegraph cables were operated by either the British government or British companies. In addition, an enormous number of archival sources are available on British and British Indian telegraph operations. In the former, the nationalization of the system has bequeathed to historians "a number of sources of very rare depth and quality" (p. 16). To Wenzlhuemer's knowledge, no other nation has comparable source materials. In British India, the importance of the telegraph for rule, especially after the critical role that it played in the British suppression of the Rebellion of 1857, led administrators to produce a number of evaluations of the structure and usage of the system. Britain and India, therefore, are two important poles around which the book is organized.

For this reviewer the highlights of the book are the maps that Wenzlhuemer generated from the voluminous data that he compiled. Several show the development of the global submarine cable network between 1865 and 1903. These maps amply confirm Wenzlhuemer's contention that Britain and India were critical to the shaping of the global telegraph system. In 1865, the longest submarine cable in the world stretched from the Persian Gulf to western India. Even as late as 1903, Britain was the central node from which an enormous network of submarine cables emanated. In 1877, either the British or the Indian government operated more than half the length of government-run submarine cable, and companies operating from London controlled more than 88 percent of the length of privately owned cable.

Another series of maps beautifully illustrate the density of telegraph traffic in Britain and India in the nineteenth century. Not surprisingly, in 1868 London dominated the British network, with Manchester and Liverpool a distant second and third. In British India, Bombay and Calcutta dominated telegraph traffic, with Madras a distant third. In all three cities, internal messages dwarfed external.

While the mapping based on quantitative materials represents the most important contribution of the book, Wenzlhuemer does not lose sight of the cultural dimensions of the telegraph in the nineteenth century. The impact of the new form of communication on language, structures of authority, and authenticity is explored at a number of points in the volume. These aspects of the telegraph's history are vividly illustrated with revealing cartoons from *Punch*. The cultural elements are explored only in the context of Britain, however. It would have been interesting to examine them in British India as well, especially given the centrality of India for many of the other arguments in the book.

In sum, *Connecting the Nineteenth-Century World* is a worthy addition to the burgeoning field of global history.

Prasannan Parthasarathi
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Monica Rico. *Nature's Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth-Century American West*. (The Lamar Series in Western History.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 287. $40.00.

No one ever accused Buffalo Bill and his managers of being slouches when it came to publicity. At the 1887 American Exhibition in London, the Wild West show's advertising operation shifted into overdrive to get the word out about how the Prince of Wales and European heads of state had boarded the Deadwood Stagecoach and raced around the arena pursued by a cast of cowboys and American Indians. For British and European aristocrats, the opportunity to be seen as part of the show gave them a chance to connect with the masses, to experience the thrill of being part of an imagined frontier, and to enhance their own sense of manliness. No less important, according to Monica Rico, the American West itself became a stage for American and British elites to enact engendered fantasies of domination and liberation. As Rico explains, a bevy of aris-

tocrats from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean "negotiated gender and class within a global context that made the West imaginatively and physically available to them as a space where they could experiment with new identities" (p. 85). This study, in short, fits into a burgeoning body of scholarship that makes transnationalism the central subject for analysis.

Nature's Noblemen is structured around several intersecting biographical vignettes, beginning with some British travelers: Sir William Drummond Stewart, a Scottish military officer who spent seven years in the American West gathering artifacts and recording impressions that would serve as the basis for several novels; Moreton Frewen, a free-spending and irresolute member of the landed gentry who tried to redeem his family's fortune and name by entering the Wyoming cattle-ranching industry; and the Earl of Dunraven and the explorer Isabella Bird, both of whom found in Estes Park a "space for self-discovery" (p. 95) and reengagement with imperial dreams. Two additional chapters turn to William F. Cody, western showman and parvenu extraordinaire, and Theodore Roosevelt, who rode his adventures in the American West to the White House and beyond. "Nature's noblemen," Rico writes, "turned to the West because they believed that wilderness would confirm their superiority and prove that their dominance over others was no mere social artifact" (p. 211). In advancing the cause of imperial masculinities, the American West, no less than the frontiers of Africa, Australia, and Canada, helped elite travelers fill trophy rooms and mental spaces with artifacts and ideas of conquest.

Rico's book is fascinating for its detail about relatively unknown British sojourners in the West and for her reinterpretation of Cody and Roosevelt in light of their embeddedness in networks of empire and masculinity. While not the first to address either of these issues as they pertain to Buffalo Bill and the future American president, Rico does make clear that both Americans, along with their British contemporaries, wore on their sleeves their concerns about American and British masculinity and lived out their concerns in a transatlantic world where elites constantly expressed and tried to compensate for their anxieties about their race, gender, and class.

Rico's book, in short, is no ordinary tale recounting the adventures of British and European travelers to the American West. Her aim is to examine how race, class, and gender became entwined in the transatlantic Victorian context. She has produced an innovative and suggestive study that will frame the way comparative histories of *fin-de-siècle* America, England, and Europe are conceptualized by scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. Whether Rico is right in her challenges to historian Harry Liebersohn's argument that the engagement of German and French intellectuals and travelers with the American West, and especially with Native Americans, differed from that of their British counterparts will depend on future research—research that, I hope, will examine how ideas about and European and British experiences in the American West influenced thinking about cosmopolitanism in the transatlantic world as well.

All told, this is an important book for the emerging field of transnational studies—a field that could benefit from more cultural biographies. Rico's argument that "the American West was unique, but . . . not exceptional" (p. 15) for elites responding to the crisis in masculinity in the late nineteenth century will raise questions about how to study the American West in a global context. More than a century after Frederick Jackson Turner, Rico reminds us that lively debates continue about how to best understand the significance of the American West for crafting national identities in multiple nations around the planet.

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Graeme Morton and David A. Wilson, editors. *Irish and Scottish Encounters with Indigenous Peoples: Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2013. Pp. vi, 389. Cloth $100.00, paper $34.95.

Romantic revolutionaries envision the oppressed rising up as one against the oppressor. This volume asks the question: Do the oppressed really see themselves as one people? Do those oppressed in one part of an empire identify with others whom they are in turn oppressing? Did the evicted Irish and Scots see the other subjects of the British Empire and the United States as "fellow victims of colonialism" (p. 3)? Fourteen of the fifteen essays in this volume examine situations in which the Irish and Scots dealt with various indigenous peoples in the course of what Donald Harmon Akensan labels "the Great European Migration"—roughly from 1815 to 1914—when "55 to 60 million Europeans" settled overseas (p. 22). Four of the essays deal with Irish-indigenous relations in the United States and Australia, along with one dealing with Irish involvement in nineteenth-century anti-imperialist movements. After a piece on Highland Scots in New Zealand, the final nine essays involve Irish and Scots in Canada.

Only Cian T. McMahon's "Transnational Dimensions of Irish Anti-Imperialism, 1842–54" discusses the possibility of a sense of Irish identification with the other subject peoples. He argues that "Irish nationalists were capable of sympathizing with nonwhite victims of imperialism" and that "Irish anti-imperialism was part of a wider, international struggle for freedom and self-government," but this identification seems more rhetorical than practical (p. 92). Two essays, one by Pádraig Ó Saidhail and the other by John Eastlake, deal with Irish Americans—James Mooney and Jeremiah and Alma Curtin—who worked for the Bureau of American Ethnology. Mooney was acclaimed as the "Indian Man," the man who knew more about the Indians of North America than anyone else (p. 50). Jeremiah Curtin was a well-known "collector of traditional Irish narratives," and also of Native American myths (p.

71). Ó Saidhail concludes that none of these individuals showed in their work with and about Indians any evidence that being Irish generated any special sympathy for them (p. 60).

Ann McGrath's essay on Irish relations with indigenous people concerns the "Shamrock Aborigines," that is "Aboriginal Australians of Irish descent" (p. 108). A community of mixed parentage does not, however, prove any fundamental identification of the Irish and the aboriginal population as fellow oppressed peoples. Brad Patterson's piece on Scots Highlanders and the Maori opens with a description of the Highland Games being held in a small New Zealand town for the 142nd time in 2006. In these games there is "a demonstrable Maori presence," another example of cultural mixing, but not of shared oppression (p. 145).

Canada is the site of the final nine essays. Michele Holmgren discusses "Irish Identifications with Aboriginal Culture in Canadian Literature" (p. 170), examining Irish writers Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Thomas Moore, whose work was influenced by what they saw in Canada. Fitzgerald came to Canada as a British officer, but according to Holmgren, the experience of seeing Indians still playing a role in imperial politics may have influenced his later career as a rebel in Ireland. Moore's later literary works were influenced by his encounter with aboriginal myths and legends. There is an irony here that Holmgren does not mention: Fitzgerald was descended from the Anglo-Norman adventurers who began the conquest of Ireland in the late twelfth century, thus initiating English overseas expansion and contact with primitive peoples.

Catholic missionary activity was another aspect of Irish-Indian contact in Canada. A diocese was established in 1841, and Michael Power, born in Nova Scotia, was appointed bishop of Toronto. The situation of Catholics in Nova Scotia was difficult because of the penal laws and other limitations placed upon them. This background might have made Power sympathetic to the situation of the Indians, but instead he demonstrated "loyalty to Catholicism and the Crown" (p. 197). Furthermore, Power had difficulty with "the quality of the priests, mostly Irish," in his diocese (p. 201). To replace them, he recruited "some of the most highly skilled missionaries of the time—French-speaking Jesuits" (p. 212). And as Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton demonstrate in their essay, Scottish Protestant clergyman William Bell, who sharply criticized the immoral way of life of the Irish and the Highland Scots in Canada, showed little interest in the original inhabitants. Discussing the image of the Indian in Scots-Gaelic literature, Michael Newton points out that some authors did see similarities between the Indians' plight and that of the Highlanders. The result, however, was less a realistic description of the Indians than "the rhetorical aims of the author"—that is, to emphasize the oppression of the Highlanders (p. 237).

Three essays focus on relations between the indigenous people and Scots who were recruited for the fur trade. Patricia A. McCormack points out that many of the early employees of the Hudson's Bay Company were Scots, but concludes that rather than empathize with the Indians, "the once-exploited Scots did not hesitate to exploit Aboriginal people and even to replicate the abuse they themselves had suffered" (p. 269). Scots affected the indigenous population of Canada significantly by introducing new crops in place of the hunter-gatherer practices of the Indians, what Beverly Soloway labels "horticultural imperialism" (p. 298). Marjory Harper's essay points out that Scotland continued to provide employees for the Hudson's Bay Company well into the twentieth century.

The final two essays deal with the interaction of Scottish elements and experience with indigenous activities. Anne Lederman suggests that the musical and dancing traditions that developed in Canada over the centuries reflect a blending of Scottish and indigenous traditions that have created a unique artistic tradition. Kevin Hutchings discusses how serving as governor general of Canada (1935–1940) affected the famous Scottish adventure novelist and imperial official John Buchan. Hutchings suggests that meeting with Canadian Indians and observing their way of life as it was coming to an end affected Buchan's "view of race relations . . . since his days in South Africa" early in his career (p. 361), when Buchan had represented an "imperialist and racialist philosophy" and "the white man's burden" (p. 345) At the end of his life, however, he embraced a "progressive" notion of "an inclusive brotherhood of all" Canadians (p. 362).

The romantic revolutionaries were wrong. The cynical realists who operate successful empires have always known that oppression is particular, not universal, and that empires survive by balancing the tensions among their various subjects. What these essays demonstrate is that there were various ways in which Scots and Irish interacted with indigenous peoples, not only affecting the indigenous peoples themselves, but even creating new subcultures (such as the "aboriginal Australians") and new cultural forms (such as Scottish-influenced "aboriginal fiddling"). But in the long run, these essays do not demonstrate any extensive identification of Scots and Irish emigrants with aboriginal peoples, and no evidence of bonding together against a common enemy. And after all, the elite units that defend the Queen of England include the Irish and the Scots Guards.

James Muldoon
The John Carter Brown Library

Regina Lee Blaszczyk. *The Color Revolution*. (Lemelson Center Studies in Invention and Innovation.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 380. $34.95.

This beautifully illustrated, widely researched, and well-written book brings two little-studied subjects—color and the occupation of colorist—to the history of product design and manufacturing, marketing methods, and consumption patterns from the early nineteenth century to the 1970s. Regina Lee Blaszczyk introduces us to inventors and innovators, artists and architects,

identifying the connections between them and covering such topics as requirements for the colors of military uniforms and for wartime camouflage, industrial demand in industries such as textiles and automobiles, and advertising and the print media. Moreover, Blaszczyk takes a transnational perspective, emphasizing the cross-fertilization between French fashion, German dye works, and their American counterparts, especially up to World War I, after which she focuses more exclusively on the United States and commerce, shifting her attention to automotive and paint companies and advertising. She argues that the color revolution was "uniquely American in its blend of Old World design thinking and the perpetual re-invention that was part and parcel of modernity" (p. 289). Although one might query the absence of any discussion of Oriental and African influences on the color profession (which were certainly felt in the French case, as well as in the international fashion industrial complex that set style trends well into the twentieth century, even in the U.S.), this is already an ambitious book, one that constantly informs and occasionally amazes.

Blaszczyk's methodology consists primarily of a series of biographical sketches and institutional profiles. In the former she introduces us to "color intermediaries"—individuals such as William Henry Perkin, a student at the Royal College of Chemistry (now the Imperial College) whose experiments with aniline compounds resulted in the formulation of purple dyes, which led to the "Mauve Mania" among textile and fashion designers in the 1860s and 1870s; and Albert Munsell, an American who adapted French chromatic circles and a British light-measuring apparatus to create a standardized color system for schools and industry that had currency at the turn of the twentieth century. Among the profiled institutions are the Textile Color Card Association of the United States, whose color-management tools—the Standard Color Card and seasonal forecasts—set the basic colors used by textile manufacturers and other style industries during and after World War I; and the Duco Color Advisory Service, a division of Du Pont that worked with General Motors to modernize automotive coatings as a way of differentiating GM brands and encouraging regular replacement of automobiles in the interwar decades. Other institutional participants include the French, British, and American military camouflage corps—the artists, architects, carpenters, filmmakers, and house, sign, and scene painters who created paint colors and built structures to hide and protect arms, ships, and troops during World War I, then transferred their skills to postwar consumer industries, where as "corporate colorists" they adapted wartime processes for peacetime commercial purposes. For example, reverse camouflage was used to create visual streamlining, a technique of painting a car so that it appeared longer and slimmer.

Women enter the story with the interwar expansion of color advertising and consumer businesses. Marketers and manufacturers believed that women were more emotional and thus more susceptible to manipulation by color and more interested in interior decorating than men. After some missteps, they began hiring women to appeal to the female consumer. Among the entrepreneurial women was Hazel H. Adler, who wrote advice books for interior decorators and homemakers and designed color harmony charts for linoleum manufacturers. Her consulting business, the Taylor System of Color Harmony, helped colorize the Model A and plumbing fixtures.

These individual vignettes, presented in chapters with enticing titles like "Rainbow Cities" and in "zinger" inserts (on colored paper) about subjects like Art Deco radios, are engaging in themselves. But the individual parts are woven together into a narrative about standardizing, harmonizing, and forecasting colors, which served the military's requirements for distinctive uniforms, traffic planners' need for universally understandable lights and signs, and textile, clothing, paint, and other manufacturers' efforts to prepare for annual and seasonal trends. The author attributes these developments to modernity and associates them with collaboration between experts and practical men and between competing businesses in trade associations with color advisory boards. Once the need for reliable colors was met, some principles of color harmony had been advanced, and forecasts could be communicated rapidly, then came the phase of color engineering, corporate colors, and signature palettes for businesses, which Blaszczyk links to globalization. She also addresses the frequent question she encountered about why one cannot purchase items of clothing in certain colors, by eschewing conspiracy theories in favor of an explanation about globalization: instead of globalization expanding the color palette, global corporations employ their own color experts to create signature palettes, which means less color diversity.

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Christopher Hull. *British Diplomacy and US Hegemony in Cuba, 1898–1964*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. ix, 291. $92.00.

The story of Britain's relationship with Cuba in the twentieth century may be more dramatic than it at first appears. Ultimately, it is hard not to feel the force of a Foreign Office summary from 1964 of "the view that we have always taken," namely that any possible benefits to the United Kingdom of improved relations with Cuba were "infinitesimal" in relation to the risks to the all-important relationship with the United States (p. 207). Yet this monument to craven caution was inscribed shortly after the notorious sale to Cuba of British Leyland buses, which contravened the U.S. trade embargo imposed in October 1960. As Christopher Hull chronicles in his lively account, this was by no means the only example, even if it was the most serious one, of efforts by the British to pursue commercial interests in Cuba in disregard of U.S. wishes. Odd incidents occurred, such as a British deal to supply the dic-

tator Fulgencio Batista with military aircraft in 1958, shortly after the United States had itself imposed the arms embargo that, in one of the many ironies of U.S.-Cuban relations, hastened the victory of the Cuban revolutionary movement. Moreover, there were repeated attempts to conclude British-Cuban trade agreements. Not everyone in the various UK governments—and certainly not everyone in the wider economy and society—agreed that British trade should be constrained by deference to U.S. political preoccupations. It comes down to a question of emphasis, but at least some of the evidence in Hull's account raises questions about his conclusion that the British set out not to annoy the Americans and by and large succeeded.

It is a reasonable assumption that Hull's research was prompted by the declassification of UK government documents under the thirty-year rule (although he does not explicitly say so). He was therefore able to access official sources on the Leyland episode, which had previously been analyzed using newspapers, parliamentary records, and Leyland papers. To set this incident in the context of the history of British policy since 1898 is a good project, and there is no doubting the diligence of his archival research. Hull has consulted a wide range of documents in the UK and the U.S., and he consistently demonstrates sensitivity to competing bureaucratic interests in both policymaking establishments. He has also looked beyond governments, unearthing some particularly interesting material from Chambers of Commerce in Birmingham and Liverpool. One could cavil that more could have been done from the Cuban side, adding memoirs, biographies, and Cuban histories to the printed sources, mainly newspapers, that are included. But the primary source base is strong; the weakness of this book is that the author does not engage directly with debates in the secondary sources.

An opportunity has been missed here to take forward the discussion about British relations with Latin America. Since the 1960s, work by Latin Americanists (mainly British) has been carried out alongside, but with very little interaction with, the more extensive scholarship on the wider UK-U.S. relationship, usually referred to, albeit problematically in so many ways, as Anglo-American relations. This latter historiography tends to pay attention to Latin America only in passing as a barometer of how far the UK was prepared to probe U.S. tolerance. Hull has drawn upon both historiographies, suggesting that he is well aware of their relevancy, but their differing claims are alluded to in his account rather than being explicitly tested out by his evidence, so that it is not fully clear whether his research challenges or confirms previous findings. The reader is left wondering precisely how the Cuban example fits into debates about whether the United Kingdom consciously ceded influence in Latin America during the early twentieth century or, rather, lost it in a prolonged bout of late imperial absent-mindedness.

Hull's entertaining chronological overview of a still under-researched period in the history of Cuba, especially its international history, is a worthwhile contribution to the historiography of British relations with Latin America. There is much to appreciate in this book: a wealth of useful information, especially about British Foreign Office views of their predicament as the waning imperial power in Latin America; a vigorous narrative drive; and many vivid vignettes of cultural contact, both British-Cuban and British-U.S. American. I could not help wishing, though, that Hull had done more to develop one of the tantalizing interpretations he mentions in passing, for example, that "British servility [. . .] contributed to Cuba's exposure" to the United States (p. 211), or, even more promising as an analytical framework, that British-Cuban relations could be a revealing case study of the dynamics of Anglo-American relations during the period. Pursuing either of these ideas could have given the work a sharper analytical focus and greater resonance beyond the specifics of its immediate subject. Even so, anyone interested in the international history of the Americas should read this book.

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Drew Keeling. *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States, 1900–1914*. Zurich: Chronos. 2012. Pp. xix, 345. €34.00.

In the *Times Literary Supplement* of October 20, 2006, Robert Skidelsky, the biographer of John Maynard Keynes, wrote that "historians have largely abandoned economic history. Economic history has mutated into 'historical economics.'" Excusing Lord Skidelsky for a slight overstatement (there are indeed a few crossover scholars), he is fundamentally right about the situation in North America and the United Kingdom. What had in the 1960s been a moderately comfortable common-law marriage between economic historians and mainline historians had by the first decade of the twenty-first century evolved into an agreed separation that at present is heading toward permanent estrangement.

The one subfield that regularly seems to bridge the gap successfully is business history. Drew Keeling's study of the transatlantic migration trade in the first decade and a half of the twentieth century is a triumph of the genre. He writes very well and explains complexities without being condescending. He provides a deeply evidence-based discussion that will be useful not only to business historians, but to labor historians, to historians of diaspora and of migration generally, and also to economists who are looking for real-world case studies with which to test their theoretical models. Physically, the volume is beautifully produced, with notes conveniently available at the bottom of the page.

The core of the book is the development of the international shipping cartels that were constantly being negotiated, falling apart, and then being renegotiated, all in an only modestly successful effort to regularize an economic activity that really could not be controlled: international migrants just will not conform to nice, predictable patterns. Keeling tells the stories of the big

shipping lines well, and lets us enjoy some side stories, such as watching J. P. Morgan prove that though he could perhaps spell "transatlantic oligopoly," he certainly did not know how to run one.

One of the several virtues of this study is that Keeling sets the transatlantic cartels in a context that makes it clear that their activities were part of a bigger story of transatlantic economic and migration patterns. The cartels were servants of people, usually of middling or lesser means, who were going to make major life changes and would make these moves whether or not massive steamship empires existed. Keeling has admirable discussions of the conditions of second- and third-class facilities on ships and of their surprisingly rapid upgrading around the turn of the century, much greater improvements than simple economic rationality would have dictated. Given his prodigious research, my only disappointment on this front is that Keeling either intentionally ignores or is unaware of the second most comprehensive contemporary study of transatlantic migration patterns in this period (the report by the U.S.'s Dillingham Commission was the most sweeping). This was the Swedish government's *Emigrationsutredningen* (1907–1913). It consisted of a massive report and twenty appendixes, several of which were monographs in themselves. A significant portion of the data collected compared European nations and their participation in the transatlantic migration business. Information on the details of migrants' conditions was assembled by interviewers and also by direct investigation of the conditions of carriage and of shore-wait facilities. My guess is that this material would have strengthened Keeling's conclusions, not undermined them.

Of course, all historical authors have to negotiate their own trade-offs between depth and breadth. The depth of this study is made possible by the author's concentrating almost entirely on the four main U.S. Atlantic ports (New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore). However, the worldwide migration trade was more extensive than Keeling is willing to grant. The U.S. was often only a landing port for a stepwise migration to other nations, especially to the various parts of the British Empire and to South America. It would be splendid if he would make that his next project.

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Glenda Sluga. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. (Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp. 211. $69.95.

Internationalism, as social scientists might say, is under-defined. This is especially evident when one considers the phenomenon of nationalism, with which internationalism is often paired. The theoretical and empirical scholarship on nationalism is massive. Yet despite what Glenda Sluga aptly calls the "international turn in history" in recent years, the scholarship on internationalism remains rudimentary by comparison. For this reason alone, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* is welcome.

In the book, which is more an extended essay than a monograph, Sluga explores the nature of twentieth-century internationalism. Her basic argument is that internationalism and nationalism were "entangled." "[T]he history of internationalism," she writes, "maps profoundly onto the genealogy of nations and nationalism," and "in the twentieth century the international and national shadowed each other as the object or method of political ambitions" (p. 157). Scholars, accordingly, need to write internationalism back into the history of the last century, a history, Sluga notes, that is dominated by "narratives of nationalism" (p. 3). In very general terms, there is not much to be said about this argument. Few scholars nowadays are likely to disagree that internationalism and nationalism are interconnected or that an exclusive focus on nationalism and the nation-state is insufficient. More intriguing is the way in which Sluga defines internationalism.

Sluga is principally interested in liberal internationalism, which encompasses the manifold activities of individuals and organized groups aimed at promoting global peace, prosperity, and liberty. Liberal internationalists viewed unbridled nationalism as the principal threat. In a world of competing nation-states, nationalism fostered endemic rivalry, conflict, and war. To subdue nationalism meant to restrain the nation-state and, more precisely, the exercise of national sovereignty by individual states. Numerous proposals were floated, among them creating some form of world government, establishing regional federations, and constructing human and minority rights regimes. Meanwhile, efforts to cooperate across national borders flourished on a host of issues, including labor, health, women's rights, anticolonialism, and disarmament. One important advantage of Sluga's definition of internationalism is that it allows her to highlight the scope of the phenomenon: a vast and diverse array of people and groups strove to make the world a better place. There is much fodder here for the enterprising scholar. At the same time, Sluga's definition risks obscuring other actors who operate across borders and regions, such as migration networks, multinational corporations, anarchist groups, and organized criminal enterprises.

In focusing on liberal internationalism, Sluga roots her study of the subject in two prominent international organizations: the interwar League of Nations and the postwar United Nations. Here she builds on recent scholarship by Patricia Clavin and Susan G. Pedersen, among others, who show that the League was not simply a security institution, but was also active in the social, economic, financial, and colonial realms. This choice reinforces Sluga's emphasis on attempts to restrain national sovereignty. After all, whether implicitly or explicitly, the League's Covenant and the UN's Charter both envisaged a world divided into sovereign nation-states in which governments enjoyed undisputed au-

thority at home. In working with, through, and alongside the League and the UN, liberal internationalists sought, in effect, to improve international governance. Just as importantly, for the most part they did not look to overthrow the existing international order. Throughout, Sluga is at pains to stress the realism of the individuals and groups she identifies. They were not "ideologues and radicals" but practical and progressive political operators imbued with a communitarian sense of international politics (p. 2). Taken together, she insists, they imagined "a liberal international world order compatible with national patriotism and 'collective security'. . . and profoundly connected to the history of democracy as well as peace and moral improvement" (p. 6). For Sluga, two points follow from the emphasis on a realistic reform agenda centered on the League and the UN. First, at several moments during the twentieth century, and particularly following World War II, the liberal internationalist vision and its prescriptions were immensely popular in the Western world, occupying the "liberal political mainstream" (p. 8). Second, in recent decades the UN has declined as the leading locus of internationalism, as countries have opted for more "nation-state-specific responses" to the international challenges facing them (p. 149). For Sluga, the history of twentieth-century internationalism is thus the story of a "world that we have lost" (p. 150). No longer do people conceive of the nation-state as a transitional development in a world advancing toward "ever-widening circles of association" (p. 150).

One might question whether the UN has been as marginalized as Sluga suggests or whether liberal internationalism belongs to the past. More fundamentally, perhaps, one wonders whether other definitions of internationalism might generate different narratives and conclusions. But if so, this simply underscores the immense value of Sluga's contribution. She has written a stimulating essay that prods its readers to think hard about a multifaceted phenomenon that marked the twentieth century.

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Jonathan M. House. *A Military History of the Cold War, 1944–1962.* (Campaigns and Commanders, number 34.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 546. $45.00.

Jonathan M. House seeks to fill some empty spaces with this general survey of military history in the early Cold War period. In many ways this work is a logical addition to the publisher's Campaigns and Commanders book series, which offers traditional unit histories, military biographies, narratives of epic battles, and studies of transformations of tactics in the Western world. While including some of those aspects, House's synthesis aspires to do more by examining the "neglected middle ground" between elite policymakers and the proverbial boots on the ground (p. xi). It reminds readers that, despite politicians' characterization of the period between wars as "peacetime," millions served in uniform in a state of constant military readiness. House gives even-handed treatments of several themes: military alliances, civil-military tensions, conscription and demobilization, and inter-service bureaucratic battles over appropriations, reorganizational structures, and control over nuclear weapons. By doing so, he shows how military history encompasses more than non-specialists often realize.

The book fills another common void left behind by other military histories of the Cold War. It moves the narrative away from a traditional bipolar understanding of the Cold War by examining the international dimensions in places as diverse as Greece, China, Algeria, Lebanon, and Cuba. This comprehensive military history succeeds in demonstrating how historical actors on the periphery, particularly colonial insurgencies and revolutionaries, caused the superpowers to react in many strategic locations. Perhaps the book's greatest achievement, therefore, is its ability to cover the breadth of military experiences across much of the globe, balanced with the depth of specific operations, all in the context of the international Cold War.

By showing how operations were executed, House connects the dots that other histories ignore. For example, diplomatic histories of the origins of the Cold War often reference the Truman Doctrine of 1947 and aid to Greece as early signs of the U.S. containment policy that would soon include the Marshall Plan and the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In this work, though, readers come to understand what military assistance looked like in the context of the withdrawal of British troops, the Greek Civil War, a bickering insurgency, and tensions behind the Iron Curtain. Despite the substantial investment of $1 billion to prop up the anticommunist government, House concludes that it would be "simplistic" to assume that the Americans played the decisive role, as is often portrayed in other works (p. 74). The insurgency ultimately failed when it attempted to wage an impossible conventional war, and the Soviets' reluctance to intervene, thereby avoiding a wider war, also sealed the fate of the Communists. In this and other case studies, readers can gauge the limits of power and also understand how military affairs provided the fuel that kept the Cold War on a warm simmer.

One should pause before finding fault with any ambitious work that spans more ground than a specialized study. And yet, one concern is worthy of consideration. This is a two-directional history. One direction shows the impacts of external forces on a nation's decision and ability to wage war; the other direction flows down the chain of command within a state. Despite bringing in more historical actors, House largely ignores a third direction that moves from the bottom up: the people who were affected by military developments at all levels, especially those who influenced the very policymakers and commanders under examination. This is, of course, in part by design. But individuals at the unit level and in the broader public helped shape decisions made at

higher levels. In other words, to focus on some influential aspects of the grassroots is to understand the development of the military in the early Cold War years.

The "new military history" isn't so new anymore, but its emphasis on the social and cultural developments of the military as an institution, in peacetime as well as war, continues to influence how the field matures. Readers of this book may be left wondering, where have all the people gone? "Hearts and minds" are given superficial treatment, though surely they helped determine the outcomes of operations in many places. In the context of the United States, the public filled the ranks of the selective service, paid the taxes, voted, and in some cases even protested. Women, racial and ethnic minorities, and pacifists and antiwar activists hardly appear despite increasing interest and participation in military matters. Scant attention is given to Truman's executive order to desegregate the American military in 1948, for example, or how Red Scare politics surrounding the "loss" of China in 1949 encouraged the militarization expressed in National Security Council Report 68 (NSC-68). The quagmire in Korea—brought home so vividly by returning veterans, prisoners of war, and the media—affected operations there. As citizens bristled at life under a mushroom cloud, the antinuclear movement mobilized and pressured Dwight D. Eisenhower—who was already harboring concerns over the "Military Industrial Complex"—to announce a moratorium on testing in 1958, which resulted in the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1962. For House, in many respects, the inclusion of "the people" is a bridge too far.

This should not detract from what is otherwise an excellent introduction to the subject and a reliable resource for general readers and specialists alike. It deserves a place on library shelves next to other works that detail the grand strategy, the political and diplomatic calculations, as well as "the face of battle."

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Frank Zelko. *Make It a Green Peace! The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 385. $34.95.

Frank Zelko's *Make It a Green Peace! The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* is a thought-provoking addition to the history of the modern environmental movement. Often understood as the "environmental decade," the 1970s saw the institutionalization of what Hal Rothman, in *Saving the Planet: The American Response to the Environment in the Twentieth Century* (2000), termed "full-stomach environmentalism." Works on the mainstream embrace of environmentalism such as Samuel Hays's *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (1987) and Adam Rome's *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism* (2001) have focused on how middle-class concerns over pollution, open space, and energy shaped environmentalism during the decade. In contrast, *Make It a Green Peace!* joins studies such as Andrew Kirk's *Counterculture Green: The Whole Earth Catalog and American Environmentalism* (2007) in exploring the tremendous influence of the counterculture on environmental thought and activism, which redefined the modern environmental movement.

Wonderfully written and deeply researched, at its core *Make It a Green Peace!* is an institutional history tracing the creation, evolution, and finally establishment of the renowned environmental organization Greenpeace. And yet it is a very human tale of a disparate group of idealists who sought to revolutionize the world around them. Zelko tells this story by focusing on the complex relationships among an array of individuals who played a part in Greenpeace's evolution from a grassroots group born out of the anti-nuclear movement of the 1950s into a professionalized environmental organization with thousands of members and a global reach. He begins with four of the founding members, Irving and Dorothy Stowe and Jim and Marie Bohlen. Horrified by the destructive nature of the atomic bomb and the world's continued pursuit of nuclear weapons, they were among a growing community of anti-nuclear protesters following World War II. Rejecting the United States' embrace of the bomb, the two couples found themselves in Vancouver, British Columbia. There they joined together with a diverse group of younger activists, including Ben Metcalfe and David McTaggart, to create Greenpeace.

The nascent organization soon gained international attention by campaigning against French nuclear testing in the southern Pacific. Greenpeace garnered early notoriety using confrontational tactics such as steaming a ship into the testing area, bringing all nuclear testing to a halt. But, Zelko points out, within three years of its creation, generational differences—the two married couples were of the World War II generation, whereas many of those now joining the group were baby boomers—brought about a dramatic shift in both its philosophy and its goals. Led by radicals such as Bob Hunter, the organization took on a more countercultural tone and began to focus on stopping the global whaling and sealing industries. While this change in leadership brought greater acclaim, it also brought greater challenges. By the end of the 1970s, Greenpeace's leaders struggled to balance their countercultural ideals with the very real difficulties entailed in running a global organization. And as so often has been true, the men and women whose creative zeal had been responsible for the organization's success found themselves no longer in charge of what had become a professional environmental institution with global reach and influence.

It is Zelko's connection between the counterculture and the nascent environmental movement of the 1970s that constitutes the important takeaway from *Make It a Green Peace!* Historians have long placed the postwar environmental movement within the context of consumer culture's response to issues such as air and water pollution, the desire for open space, and the fear of nuclear energy. While acknowledging the power of such

sentiments, Zelko asserts that Greenpeace's vivid and confrontational style made environmentalism cool to a generation of war protesters who viewed environmentalists as "middle-aged Sierra Club hikers in corduroys and cardigans" (p. 5). The counterculture thus acted as an important bridge between anti-war and environmental activists, and redefined environmental politics by employing direct action to draw attention to a myriad of global issues. The counterculture's rejection of a human-centric worldview, questioning of consumerism, and use of direct action came to define Greenpeace. Its use of direct action transformed environmental politics.

Zelko does a superb job of portraying the myriad of personalities who created Greenpeace, but this approach is both the strength and the weakness of the book. Readers will certainly be drawn into the drama between the organization's founders, but they may be left wondering about the hundreds of others from New Zealand to Great Britain who joined the group: Who were they? Such mild criticism aside, when put alongside works on the wilderness movement, suburban consumerism, and ecological science, *Make It a Green Peace!* significantly adds to our growing understanding of the diverse ideologies and personalities that influenced environmental politics throughout the late twentieth century.

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Katharina Gerund. *Transatlantic Cultural Exchange: African American Women's Art and Activism in West Germany*. (American Studies, number 5.) Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag. 2013. Pp. 315. Paper €39.80.

This transnational interdisciplinary study examines the reception in the Federal Republic of Germany of the work of Angela Davis, Audre Lorde, Alice Walker, and Toni Morrison, African American women who have received significant attention in Germany since the 1970s. Scholars have examined the impact in West Germany of all four women, but Katharina Gerund provides the first monograph bringing all of these cases together. In doing so, she sheds new light on how West Germans, as they engaged with these women's writing and activism, came to rethink a wide range of matters, including culture, gender, race, and Germanness. Although these women shaped West German views on all of these subjects, Gerund further shows that there were important limits to their influence, as German culture proved resistant to change. The ideas and agendas of all of the women were in varying respects reinterpreted and managed, though never completely, as a particular German vision of African American culture emerged in the Federal Republic.

Gerund productively situates her book at the intersection of several sizable scholarly literatures, including African American studies, works on blacks in Germany and the black diaspora, critical whiteness studies, and the historiography of Americanization. Fruitfully applying a term coined by Tyler Stovall, she explains that her four subjects contributed to an "African Americanization" of West Germany (p. 17). After summarizing thoroughly the existing historiography on African American culture in Germany up through the 1960s, Gerund turns to her four case studies.

The first of these addresses Angela Davis, whose imprisonment and trial by U.S. authorities in the early 1970s aroused enormous attention in Germany. Gerund persuasively argues that Davis, as a politically radical black woman, represented a new sort of figure in the German public arena. Davis ultimately became an icon with multiple and shifting meanings for her varied German interpreters, who had their own agendas. West German radicals regarded her as representing an "'other' America," and their expression of ideological solidarity with her represented a critique of the Cold War policies of the governments of the Federal Republic and the United States (p. 112). Gerund is especially effective in contextualizing the West German discussion of the Davis case, which was framed by concerns about racism in the United States, Black Power, the Cold War, the emergent New Left, and the Red Army Faction.

The second case study focuses on Audre Lorde, who fostered the birth of the Afro-German women's movement in the 1980s. During her stay in Germany, Lorde cultivated solidarity among Afro-Germans and linked them with the international black diaspora. Although she did not receive the attention in the wider West German media that Davis, Walker, or Morrison did, Lorde helped shape a collective identity among Afro-Germans, especially among lesbian women, which found effective voice in publications condemning the inability of German culture at large and West German feminists in particular to recognize the presence of black Germans or white privilege. In Lorde's case, the reciprocal influence from Germany upon her was especially important, since the encounter with Afro-Germans led her to widen her understanding of the black diaspora and reflect on the situation of African Americans in it.

Gerund last turns to the reception in the Federal Republic of the writings of Alice Walker and Toni Morrison, with the focus on Steven Spielberg's 1986 movie *The Color Purple*, based on Walker's novel of the same title, and press coverage of Morrison's receipt of the 1993 Nobel Prize in Literature. While German opinion regarding the authors was divided, Gerund highlights ways in which the critical edge of their books was blunted as they were framed for a German audience who tended to regard them ambivalently as both alien and important insofar as they touched on universal themes. The dynamic Gerund discerns of "whitening" alien black culture for German audiences operated, for example, when *The Color Purple* was dubbed into German for the version released in German cinemas (p. 236). The German actors who provided the voices for the African American characters spoke in "standard German without any significant dialect or other markers of regional, ethnic, social, or cultural difference" (p. 233). In this way and others, West German audiences

encountered African American culture that had been mediated in a particularly German manner.

Gerund's book would have been strengthened had points of comparison among her case studies been more prominently interwoven. In addition, the German context for the reception of Lorde, Walker, and Morrison could have been filled out. These criticisms aside, the analysis is insightful and more complex than this short review can fully convey. Gerund has produced a rich study that will interest scholars of German and American history.

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ASIA

Olivia Milburn. *Cherishing Antiquity: The Cultural Construction of an Ancient Chinese Kingdom*. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph, number 89.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, distributed by Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 392. $39.95.

The kingdom of Wu (585–473 B.C.E.) provided some of the most enduring personalities in the Chinese literary canon: the cultured diplomat Prince Jizha, the famed beauty Xi Shi, and the wise minister Wu Zixu. In this thoroughly researched book, Olivia Milburn explores the cultural construction of this ancient kingdom, and readers learn about both the ancient kingdom itself and the ways that writers in imperial China interpreted Wu. The title, *Cherishing Antiquity*, is a translation of the Chinese term *huaigu*, denoting poems on the past inspired by visits to places of historical significance. Milburn applies *huaigu* broadly to encompass a large variety of writings about Wu, from poems, to local histories, to bronze and stone inscriptions. Wu was an especially interesting subject for later writers because the site of its capital, Suzhou, was located in the heart of Jiangnan, a region known for its cultural florescence in late imperial times. In its own time, however, the state and people of Wu occupied the cultural margins of "China," or the Zhou confederacy.

The six substantive chapters of the book are divided into two parts. In Part One, Milburn shows how Wu was portrayed in texts produced during the Warring States era (475–221 B.C.E.) and the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.). For readers unfamiliar with early Chinese history, this section also serves the useful function of introducing major figures and events of Wu and its rival kingdoms. Chapter one, "The Royal House of Wu," introduces the kings of Wu. More crucially for later writings, it shows how one member of the Wu royal house, Prince Jizha, was remembered in early accounts, as an ambassador who traveled to other states in the Zhou confederacy, demonstrating his mastery of Chinese culture in the process. Helü (r. 514–496 B.C.E.) and Fuchai (r. 495–473 B.C.E.) are the subject of chapter two, "The Last Kings of Wu." Accounts of the surprisingly sudden demise of Wu centered on the failings of the final ruler: his extravagant lifestyle and his refusal to take the advice of Wu Zixu. Milburn emphasizes the gaps in current knowledge about Wu history. This comes across most clearly in chapter three, "Reflections on the Royal House of Wu." Reading early texts against newly discovered archaeological evidence, Milburn shows discrepancies in the nomenclature of Wu kings and in the precise relations among members of the royal house.

Part Two shifts the focus to depictions of Wu in the writings of scholars and poets of the middle and late imperial era, long before the archaeological evidence was discovered. The chapters here are organized around particular sites in Jiangnan associated with Wu personages. Chapter four, "Commemorating Master Ji of Yanling," features a temple dedicated to Prince Jizha in the city of Changzhou, where the prince's fief had been located. Milburn traces the cult of Jizha to the Tang (618–907), and shows how the temple became a wealthy foundation by the Ming (1368–1644) and hosted visits by touring emperors in the Qing (1644–1911). King Helü's tomb, located outside Suzhou, is the subject of chapter five, "The Tomb at Tiger Hill." Though Tiger Hill was crowded with Buddhist temples and other institutions in the late Ming, for Suzhou literati the tomb remained important as "one of the few tangible reminders of southern independence and power" (p. 275). Chapter six, "Numinous Cliff and Gusu Tower," describes two Suzhou sites associated with King Fuchai and his lover, Xi Shi. These two sites provided less tangible connections to the Wu kingdom. Late imperial literati could visit Numinous Cliff Mountain, yet no trace of Fuchai's palace that once stood there remained. Gusu Tower provided a greater challenge, as its precise location was unknown. Nevertheless, both sites were adaptable to the conventions of *huaigu* poetry, as they provided inspiration for ruminations on a doomed king doting on a palace woman in luxurious surroundings.

The strengths of this book lie in the author's meticulous attention to detail in tracking references to images of the Wu kingdom in later writings. While this might challenge readers with little background in Chinese history and literature, Milburn expertly shows how older images were recycled in later writings. Beyond the history of texts, some readers will want more description and analysis of the historical contexts. One wonders about the context of Buddhism in the Six Dynasties era, when at least two of the sites discussed were converted from privately owned estates to Buddhist temples. Likewise, the precise relationship in the late Ming between commercialization and a revived interest in local culture is open to debate. Were commercial interests in Suzhou a threat to the city's cultural legacy (p. 300), or did they in fact undergird the revival of interest in the city's history? That said, this *longue durée* approach to textual analysis has its advantages; tracing the production of images about this ancient kingdom across

more than two millennia reveals the changing priorities of each generation of writers.

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Gang Zhao. *The Qing Opening to the Ocean: Chinese Maritime Policies, 1684–1757.* (Perspectives on the Global Past.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 267. $56.00.

Globalization theory has forced many historians of Asia to rethink the continent's recent, and increasingly also the not-so-recent, past. This applies as well to historians of Chinese maritime trade. This subject has traditionally been studied by students of John King Fairbank, largely on the basis of archival documents from the Chinese bureaucracy and within the framework of China's tributary relationship with the surrounding world. Yet as early as the 1950s, the Chinese anthropologist and historian Tian Rukang published two pioneering articles about the relative importance of Qing-era private traders whose overseas ventures had nothing to do with the policies of the court. His writings have inspired a number of historians of early modern Southeast Asian trade, including Jennifer Cushman on Siam, Li Tana on Vietnam, George Souza on Macao, and me on Chinese trade with the Indonesian archipelago. In the maritime history field, new studies have appeared that, based on a mix of Western and Asian sources, focus on the Chinese junk trade with the Nanyang and seek to explain the growing Chinese presence all over the Nanyang from the late sixteenth century onward. These studies also show how, in contrast to state-supported early modern European enterprise in Asia, Chinese overseas trade was organized exclusively around private enterprise, with very little overseas intervention by the Chinese imperial government before the close of the nineteenth century.

Owing largely to the overwhelming preoccupation with the state-directed exploits of Admiral Zheng He in the early Ming dynasty, until quite recently Chinese historians paid little attention to the history of private maritime trade in the Qing period. Ironically, most research in this field was originally carried out by historians of Southeast Asia, and by Japanese historians who sought to explain their own country's overseas trade networks during the Tokugawa period, when, owing to its maritime prohibitions, or *kaikin*, Japan was served solely by Chinese and Dutch shipping.

In *The Qing Opening to the Ocean*, Gang Zhao directs us back to the question of the state's role in the considerable expansion of Chinese overseas maritime trade during the Qing dynasty. The author reopens the debate on the Chinese government's alleged lack of interest in overseas private trade. Arguing that the Manchu authorities were in fact intensely interested in it, he uses previously unexplored Chinese archival documents to show that shortly after the annexation of Taiwan in 1683, the Kangxi emperor opened the door to overseas trade activities by Chinese private merchants. What makes this study particularly interesting is that the author demonstrates that this border policy was part and parcel of longstanding Manchu policies on the northern border.

The book is less clear, however, about the specifics of the foreign trade that was given such free rein. Junks that carried a hundred tons of cargo did not "weigh" that amount. Gang Zhao confuses Dutch and English ships (p. 107). It is also unlikely that sixty-four Western countries were trading in Canton by 1800. Contrary to what the author states, Chinese officials *were* sent on various occasions to Manila and Batavia to conduct commercial espionage. Particularly bothersome—and the editors should share the blame for this—is that the author often puts a book title in a footnote without adding the relevant page numbers.

Moreover, numerous questions on policy remain unanswered. For instance, the Kangxi emperor reneged on his earlier-declared "open door" policy and again forbade overseas private trade to Southeast Asia, with the exception of Vietnam. Why is this not persuasively explained? Even if his successors allowed overseas trade again, they did so while imposing rather draconian measures on those going overseas and by imposing all kinds of taxes.

My main criticism of this otherwise very useful study is that Gang Zhao does not clearly distinguish between the commercial coastal trade and the trade to overseas destinations when he draws our attention to the enormous expansion of Chinese customs offices along the Chinese coast in the eighteenth century. Also, a more detailed explanation would have been useful regarding the often diverging interests between the court and local authorities in collecting duties at the border stations. Many of the state-imposed regulations did not function well as the eighteenth century progressed, and by the turn of the nineteenth century, the distinction between *shang chuan* (coastal trade junks) and the heavily regulated *yang chuan* (overseas licensed trading junks) had all but disappeared, as the first encroached on the spheres of activity of the latter.

In addition, this study suggests that from the late 1680s, most Chinese ports were open to visits from Western ships. This is basically untrue. Although foreign traders occasionally attempted to trade at ports other than Guangzhou, they always had to abandon those efforts, frustrated by their dealings with the local authorities. From the perspective of the Chinese bureaucracy, the real value of overseas Chinese private trade during the Qing lay in the degree to which it could be exploited either by the Manchu court itself or by the local authorities.

These critical remarks, however, do not alter the fact that the author has made a valuable contribution to the existing literature on Chinese court policies toward private overseas trade during the Qing dynasty. Bringing forward a host of hitherto unexplored Chinese sources,

he invites us to take a new look at premodern Chinese overseas enterprise.

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Jodi L. Weinstein. *Empire and Identity in Guizhou: Local Resistance to Qing Expansion*. (Studies on Ethnic Groups in China.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2014. Pp. xiii, 217. Cloth $75.00, paper $30.00.

Ever since its incorporation into a province of Ming China in 1413, the Guizhou region has occupied a low rung in the Chinese administrative hierarchy, disdained by officialdom as a bastion of aboriginal rebellion and by the populace as an economic backwater. Recent scholarship has traced Guizhou's economic, military, cultural, and political conflicts with the Ming state, emphasizing the effects on ethnic relations of Han ethnic prejudice, migration pressure, resource competition, and imperial encroachment upon native chieftaincies. Jodi L. Weinstein's book, which focuses on the Tai-speaking Zhongjia people of western Guizhou (also called the Buyi ["ethnic minority"] since 1953, or Bouyei since 1991), expands the coverage into the eighteenth century, when Qing control over the frontier was at its strongest. Beginning the story with the replacement of Guizhou native chieftains by imperial appointees around 1725 and closing with the 1797 Nanlong Rebellion, Weinstein shows that even during the peak of imperial power, Guizhou's integration was still tenuous, destabilized by constant resistance and occasional setbacks. Emphasizing indigenous agency in the evolution of frontier society, Weinstein argues that ethnic resistance was grounded in local livelihood practices and sustained by local ecological resources; hence its tenacity over time and variability in form.

Substantive evidence on the connections between Zhongjia forms of resistance and their economic environment is provided in chapters three and four of this rather short book, presenting a series of court investigation records that conveyed a sense of the prosaic ways in which resistance and livelihoods shaded into each other. In one case, a wandering band of low-class Zhongjia used fraudulent schemes—including false claims of religious credentials, sales of charms and talismans, and a brazier for "magically" transforming copper into silver—to defraud locals, but caused official alarm because their paper charms had Chinese characters that reportedly contained millenarian or anti-dynastic messages, although this rumor was subsequently dismissed. The other cases and the Nanlong Rebellion also involved various Zhongjia actors using magico-religious or violent methods to procure and protect their livelihoods, which threatened imperial rule to different degrees. In this economically depressed frontier, where woefully few options existed outside the common beyond difficult subsistence farming, most non-farming methods for making a living or a profit involved activities that were deemed suspicious by officials.

A methodological strength of the author's "livelihoods approach" lies in its potential for analyzing diverse ethnic and economic processes on a frontier in a common framework of human-ecological interaction, with descriptive richness and coherence. Within this framework, state and non-state actors in borderland settings can be given equal analytical status, as agents equally capable, but also equally in need, of changing their ecological endowments to sustain livelihoods in different ways. To take full advantage of this framework, however, it is necessary to provide a detailed description of how exactly livelihood practices joined interethnic interactions with ecological processes in a given environment. For this book, this analytical task would involve addressing the question of how such connections actually worked on both sides of the Zhongjia-Han divide. In this regard, while Weinstein's book makes consistent references to Zhongjia livelihood considerations in indigenous actions, it could have benefited from a more substantial examination of commerce, farming, religion, and, ecology among the Zhongjia, particularly where and how they interacted with Han society in terms of both livelihoods and resistance. For example, the repeated combination of magico-religious claims (as *duangong* and *bumo* ritual specialists), written Chinese characters, and silver and copper currencies in the prosecution accounts seems ripe for a fuller treatment. What historical and economic exchanges between the Guizhou frontier and outside society produced this nexus, and how did these items acquire value among the Zhongjia as symbols of status and instruments of profit-making? Likewise, an expanded description of the seasonal and geographical patterns of the Zhongjia economy, together with its connections with Qing China and Southeast Asia, would have better positioned the author to evaluate Zhongjia resistance activities as concomitant livelihood strategies. Information on these issues can be obtained from Ming-Qing sources and contemporary publications without much difficulty.

Ethnic-language primary sources on Chinese frontier societies are seldom abundant or easy to obtain. Since the Zhongjia did not keep written records, it is understandable that Weinstein's indigenous sources are limited to oral literature, including a text on cosmology and several folksongs and poems. The author offers a sympathetic reading of these translated sources, always remaining sensitive to possible government editorial superimpositions. She takes a critical approach to her staple sources of Qing palace memorials and dynastic chronicles (*Veritable Records*), reading "against the grain" and attempting to tease out Zhongjia voices wherever possible. In all, despite some source limitations, Weinstein's book contributes to a reconceptualization of the place of the Guizhou frontier in the making of imperial China.

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PETER GOTTSCHALK. *Religion, Science, and Empire: Classifying Hinduism and Islam in British India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xx, 421. $65.00.

It has long been argued by scholars of colonized societies that the categorization of peoples deepened ideas of difference and exacerbated rifts between groups of people. What Peter Gottschalk's latest book offers its readers, however, is a fascinating and highly original meditation on the relationship between imperial classifications of religion and category formation in science. In this book, Gottschalk argues that understandings of category formation in science helped the state to naturalize distinctions between Hindus and Muslims as mutually exclusive categories. This knowledge had reverberating impacts. As the author notes, the universalization of the category of religion was central to the structuring of knowledge in burgeoning academic disciplines. How did the interplay of scientific principles of categorization factor into how colonial officials understood and made sense of religion?

Gottschalk anchors his work in the village of Chainpur in Bihar, India. Throughout the book, he is attentive to how category formation was used by diverse historical actors to achieve a variety of aims and agendas. It was not just the British who benefited from this structure of knowledge. Gottschalk is sensitive to the agency of the everyday person in making categories, albeit within certain limits imposed by the structure of imperial power. For instance, fears of being included in certain categorizations, such as the census, could change to fears of being excluded. Using a place he has studied for decades as a focal point for these processes, Gottschalk provides much texture and nuance to his theoretically informed arguments.

Gottschalk structures his inquiry into the epistemic order of imperial India by dividing the book into eight chapters and three theoretical interludes that reflect the development of a diverse set of intellectual disciplines and cultural knowledge. The first chapter demonstrates how Christian-centered understandings of the category of religion were undergirded by a rising hegemony of science and scientific understandings, creating totalizing views of social life. The second chapter explores the rise of cartography and its role in reifying religious divisions by plotting religious divides across spatial dimensions. The third and fourth chapters look at how the travel writings of missionaries, travelers, and ethnographers deployed comparisons in their observations of Indian society that described and reinforced ideas of religious divides. In chapter five Gottschalk discusses statistics and demography, with a focus on the colonial census, and examines how the deployment of scientific taxonomy created complications in the classification of peoples. Chapter six demonstrates the use of narrative strategies by anthropology, folklore, and ethnologies to delineate divisions by language, race, caste, and religion. In chapter seven, the author explores how archaeology and historiography became formalized in institutionalized arrangements, such as the Archaeological Survey of India. In the final chapter he examines the continued presence of scientism in Chainpur sixty years after independence, as well as how legacies of classification still impact the lives of villagers today. Although Indians in a village like Chainpur may have experienced little if any direct British presence, the impact of British classificatory schemes is made manifest.

The three theoretical interludes that Gottschalk provides, on the dynamics and modes of comparison and classification in the natural sciences, are especially well thought out, masterfully written, and an integral part of his argument. His organization of the book in accordance with these principles provides a stellar example of how historians integrate theory into their work, and how they present it to their readers. Gottschalk's careful narrative style keeps the reader engaged throughout, and his arguments are measured and well-substantiated by the evidence he deploys. This book would be ideal for teaching not just in the history of science or the history of Asia, but in classes concerned with historical methodology as well as intellectual history. Though it is not directly mentioned in this book, Gottschalk's own creative, interactive website "A Virtual Village," based on his ethnography of Chainpur, would provide an excellent supplement to this work to use in class, enabling readers to explore an online representation of the place that Gottschalk has so painstakingly rendered.

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SHEFALI CHANDRA. *The Sexual Life of English: Languages of Caste and Desire in Colonial India*. (Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2012. Pp. 275. Cloth $89.95, paper $24.95.

The Sexual Life of English emerges from Shefali Chandra's astute observation that British India's English-educated subjects did not aim to widen the reach of English to castes and classes that had historically been excluded from learning. Instead, they "taught English to their own women" (p. 5). To analyze this pedagogical process, Chandra untangles a complex history of the "languages of caste and desire" in colonial western India. The result is not a triumphalist narrative of the spread of the English language across the subcontinent, or of its mastery by colonial subjects. Treating English as "a linguistic structure, a cultural sign, and a metaphor" (p. 27), Chandra examines how English was deployed to mark distinctions between indigenous and invading cultures, between normative and prohibitive sexuality, between upper and lower castes, and between licit and illicit desires. Indian sexual politics thus came to delineate the authoritative power of English, even while keeping English studies within the caste and class locations of the first English-educated colonial subjects.

Chandra traces this history in the western Indian cities of Bombay and Poona between 1850 and 1930. The

first half of the book focuses on the histories of educational institutions, including the Alexandra Native Girls' English Institution, the schools of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, Female Normal Schools, and the Indian Women's University. Based on school reports, education department files, and popular debates in both English and Marathi, these chapters investigate the place of English in various gendered pedagogical projects. A central tension echoed through many of these educational initiatives. On the one hand, educating women in English promised a certain cultural equivalence with the colonizing power, whereby colonized men could challenge claims of civilizational backwardness and lay claim to their own modernity. On the other hand, an English education also threatened to upend existing caste and gender norms by removing upper-caste women from domestic spaces, by questioning caste patriarchies, and by challenging upper-caste monopolies over knowledge production. Schools negotiated this simultaneous threat and possibility of English education in varied ways. For instance, the Indian Women's University (later to become the Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey or SNDT Women's University) emphasized instruction in vernacular languages rather than in English for its middle- and lower-middle-class students. In the process, it reinscribed heteronormative conjugality by intertwining marriage, reproduction, and vernacular language via its pedagogies.

The second half of the book examines biography, memoir, and autobiography to look more intimately at the lives of women and men as they grappled with English. In some instances, male biographers exercised their power to contain English within heteronormative upper-caste structures. For example, in his biography of Avadi Bhide, a Brahman widow and the first student to enroll at the Poona Native High School, biographer Ganesh Janard Agashe marked his subject as virtuous by representing her dedication to the sexual standards of her caste. As Avadi's commitment to her studies was enfolded into her enactment of virtuous Brahman widowhood, her possession of English served to reinscribe the superior status of the Brahman caste. Patriarchal and caste power contained English in a somewhat different way in two Marathi-language autobiographies penned by Ramabai Ranade, who learned the language from her husband, Mahadev Govind Ranade. As historians of domesticity in colonial India have amply demonstrated, social reformers like M. G. Ranade articulated a reformed patriarchy that challenged the power of older females within the household while reempowering husbands as arbiters of their wives' time, labor, and activities. Chandra's analysis demonstrates that English played a critical role in this process, since the reformed patriarchy of the Ranades would "tether the phallogocentric power of English to normative gender roles" (p. 154). As the young Ramabai learned English from her husband in private, his pedagogical project linked the emotional experiences of conjugality to the disciplines of the new patriarchy.

The Sexual Life of English concludes, quite fittingly for a book that rejects a triumphalist narrative about English, with the Marathi-language autobiography of Parvatibai Athavale, a widowed sister-in-law of the educator Dhondo Keshav Karve, who claimed that she had failed to learn English. In a fascinating account of Parvatibai's travels from Poona to Bombay and ultimately to the United States in her quest for English, Chandra demonstrates that Parvatibai negotiated class, racial, and gendered hierarchies, but ultimately remained unable to learn English to her satisfaction, suggesting, perhaps, the limits of this pedagogical project initiated by the first English-educated classes in India.

This monograph offers a rich account of the entanglement of English studies with caste, patriarchy, and heteronormativity, and historians of colonial India will find much of value here. Given the centrality of caste to Chandra's arguments about domesticating English, a deeper engagement with the shifting meanings of caste hierarchy and community in western India would have been useful, as would a more complex historicization of Brahman identities in this period. Nevertheless, the book poses startling and important questions for historians of gender, sexuality, and language, and transforms how we understand the production of English as an Indian language.

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Nikhil Rao. *House, but No Garden: Apartment Living in Bombay's Suburbs, 1898–1964*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 300. Cloth $90.00, paper $30.00.

A key question confronting those who wish to understand the modern Indian city is the apparent disjuncture between its colonial past and postcolonial present. Existing scholarship has tended to accentuate this divide. On the one hand, historians have mostly concentrated on the "colonial city" during the high noon of empire from the mid-nineteenth century to the onset of World War I. On the other hand, writings on the contemporary Indian city—mostly the preserve of anthropologists, geographers, sociologists, and political theorists—have tended to focus primarily on the processes of urbanization that have unfolded since the early 1990s. To bridge this gulf, one needs to recover the complex, contradictory, and contested histories of South Asian cities in the crucial intervening decades from the 1920s to the 1980s. Nikhil Rao's imaginatively conceived and elegantly crafted monograph is an accomplished foray in this direction.

At first glance, Rao's choice of subject—the creation, peopling, and politics of "suburbs" in Bombay circa the 1920s–1960s—might seem a curious one. Suburbanization is widely regarded as a quintessentially British, European, or North American phenomenon. But Rao argues that the suburb in this period became "a meaningful category and experience for all the various entities concerned with Bombay's growth" (p. 4).

Equally, the suburbs "*pioneered* many fundamental elements of the modern city of Bombay" (p. 12). In highlighting the salience of the suburb as a "compelling" analytical category for understanding the constitution of the modern Indian city, Rao also subtly challenges scholarly perspectives that regard informal "squatter settlements" as the paradigmatic form of colonial and postcolonial urban development in the Global South (pp. 11–12).

House, but No Garden develops its arguments on three levels. First, it focuses on the physical creation of the suburbs. Chapter one considers the much-neglected suburban development schemes of the Bombay Improvement Trust in the early twentieth century. This civic agency, established by the panic-stricken colonial government following the outbreak of the plague epidemic in 1896, was primarily responsible for developing the lands on the northern outskirts of the city. In acquiring, developing, and leasing out vast areas in the new suburbs of Dadar, Matunga, and Sion, the Trust effected a profound transformation of the city's built environment and laid the foundations of its modern land market. But chapter six identifies a very different logic at work on the large neighboring island of Salsette, which was eventually annexed in 1957 by the Bombay Municipal Corporation to form "Greater Bombay." In this case, urban authorities resorted to "town planning," rather than compulsory acquisition, in converting agrarian land to urban use. The result was a "collaborative model of urban expansion in which agrarian landowners at the city's edge themselves sought to convert their land to (sub)urban use" (p. 214).

At another level, this monograph offers a fascinating account of the changing nature of urban dwellings in Bombay. Chapters three and four chart the rise of the "self-contained" flat and "multistory, multiroom, multifamily" apartments as the dominant built form and mode of dwelling in the newly created suburbs. Rao's perceptive analysis shows how specific historical contingencies, rather than an ineluctable process of "suburbanization," paved the way for the "Bombay Flat." These included the cycle of boom and bust in the Bombay land market circa 1916–1922; the role of the civic agencies, builders, and investors in property; and, perhaps more importantly, the advent of indoor plumbing and flushing technology in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Rao pays close attention to the last factor, arguing that the "inward migration" of the toilet became a defining feature of the "self-contained" flat. The social significance accorded to this self-containedness, he suggests, "was intimately connected to emerging notions of middle-class identity in 1920s and 1930s Bombay" (pp. 102–103). Three concurrent developments—the construction revolution ushered in by RCC (reinforced cement concrete) technology, the rise of the first generation of Indian architects catering to Indian sensibilities, and the Improvement Trust's regulatory policies—served to consolidate further the dominance of apartment buildings within the suburban landscape (pp. 137–170).

At a third level, the book explores the making of "community" in the newly created suburbs. It focuses in particular on the world of the educated migrants from South India who began flocking to Bombay in large numbers in the early twentieth century and became a prominent part of the city's white-collar workforce. Chapter two describes how South Indian immigrants fashioned new modes of urban living and community identity in Dadar-Matunga. This, in turn, led to the articulation of a distinctive suburban political identity, based on the quest for citizenship rights and the delivery of civic services. Chapter five considers the emergence by the 1930s of a synthetic "South Indian" identity in the city that transcended "specific caste and linguistic differences" (p. 172). Rao suggests that such regional identities also acquired an increasing salience for migrants—notably the "Sindhis" and "Punjabis"—in post-1947 Bombay. However, his contention that the suburbs *pioneered* the creation of "meta caste" identities is open to question. Arguably, attempts to forge overarching forms of identity can be discerned among the diverse castes and communities in colonial Bombay even prior to the onset of suburbanization.

This quibble aside, *House, but No Garden* is a pleasure to read for the clarity of its exposition, the rich variety of source materials that it draws upon, and the original insights it offers into a hitherto unexplored aspect of Bombay's past. It will be indispensable for all those who are interested in the history of Bombay, urban South Asia, and the global career of suburbanization more generally.

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Jeffrey Paul Bayliss. *On the Margins of Empire: Buraku and Korean Identity in Prewar and Wartime Japan.* (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 349.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, distributed by Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 437. $39.95.

One of the recurring themes in the field of modern Japanese history has been how to define "Japanese." Of course, issues of racial, national, ethnic, class, or gender identity have been notoriously problematic and plastic in histories of modern nations and empires, and Japan is no exception. Given the historical development of modern Japan, where nation-building and empire-building overlapped, the identity politics of prewar Japan entailed polemics, policies, and practices that were riddled with contradictions and paradoxes.

Jeffrey Paul Bayliss actively engages with the complicated features of prewar and wartime Japan by bringing in the politics of minority identities at the heart of the expanding Japanese Empire. Pointing out the problematic tendency among scholars to examine particular minority groups vis-à-vis the majority society, but not to cross-examine them against other minority groups, he uses a comparative approach to investigate the two largest minority communities in Japan, burakumin

("outcasts") and Koreans. Bayliss maintains that they were subjected to different levels of state control because of the perceived "cultural distance of each group from model standards of behavior" (p. 265), with the burakumin being viewed as closer to the center. In turn, the stronger official distrust of Koreans furthered the stratification between the ostracized groups, which made it more difficult for them to support each other and work together against the state while contributing to the proliferation of negative stereotypes.

Bayliss examines the similarities and differences between the two groups as they struggled against repressive and assimilative state policies, as well as the prejudices and discrimination directed toward them by the majority society. He highlights "the cooperative nature of the discourse between state and civil society" (p. 76) in the formation of minority stereotypes regarding sanitation, hygiene, and eugenics that were twisted by social Darwinian ideas. As for the responses of the burakumin and the Koreans to the state-society construct, Bayliss seeks to rectify the prevalent misconception that each minority constitutes a coherent and homogeneous group. He provides examples of the kinds of negotiations, tactics, and compromises these marginalized communities used in their attempts to overcome or remedy social discrimination and injustice, thereby demonstrating their diversity.

Among both minorities, relatively well-to do members were enthusiastic and eager to improve their precarious social position by embracing the majority society's discourse and by supporting the state's nationalist and imperialist projects. There was a difference, however, in how they remained connected to their own groups. Whereas buraku elites maintained social, economic, and cultural ties with their larger community, successful Koreans did not. Such tactics made it harder for the burakumin to carve out an autonomous minority position within the majority society, whereas Koreans had only to confront the "paradox of assimilation," in accordance with which "they could move 'up' but not 'in'" (p. 322).

It was these limitations that the organized minority rights movement attempted to overcome. In the 1920s, the buraku organization Suiheisha worked to establish a clear minority position that emphasized the community's distinctive ethnic heritage, as separate from the majority Japanese society. The movement, however, was not free from conflicts of interest between leaders and rank-and-file members and was complicated by the growing influence of class-based activism within the group. The decade also witnessed increased migration from Korea and the birth of the Korean rights movements. Bayliss's chapters on Koreans in Japan complement Ken C. Kawashima's *The Proletarian Gamble: Korean Workers in Interwar Japan* (2009) by illustrating the gender dimension within the Korean working-class community and its diversity in terms of individuals' educational background, occupation, or position in an organization. The two minorities' organized movements also differed in that the burakumin were more amenable to state discourses and policies, while Koreans were always more influenced by class ideologies.

How did the state respond to the growing minority problems? Oscillating between policies of "conciliation" and "assimilation" and practices of co-optation and coercion, the state attempted to assimilate these minorities into the majority society, and then later to enlist them in the total-war effort. Bayliss examines the reverse flow of empire-building at this stage, or how the experience of governing colonies shaped minority policy in the metropole in general and against Koreans in Japan in particular. This is a crucial point that needs to be scrutinized further. Bayliss suggests that it was in the context of "bureaucratic rotations of officials through the colonial administration and back into various ministries and agencies within the home government" (p. 151) that conciliation slogans and policies toward Koreans in Japan were shaped. However, it has been pointed out that a large percentage of colonial Japanese bureaucrats in Korea were "aborigine" in the sense that they started and finished their bureaucratic careers as members of the colonial government. If this was the case, then might the persistence of official distrust toward Koreans in Japan have been related to the rigid institutional separation between home and colonial governments? That said, this is a well-researched and judicious study on the marginalized that also raises important questions about how empire-building abroad shaped the culture of the Japanese state.

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Louise Young. *Beyond the Metropolis: Second Cities and Modern Life in Interwar Japan.* (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 307. $49.95.

In *Beyond the Metropolis*, Louise Young explores how urbanization beyond Tokyo unfolded in four "second cities" during the interwar period. Per Young's carefully nuanced analysis, this unfolding did not develop in straight-line fashion, nor was it uniform in Okayama, Kanazawa, Niigata, or Sapporo. She instead concludes that diversity was second-city urbanization's common attribute, and, despite Tokyo's undeniable influence, second-city urbanites relied on local agency to shape local modernity. The point—and why it is important in a framework beyond the Japanese experience—is nicely summed up in the study's final sentence: "a second-city frame of reference helps us to rethink the understanding of terms such as *modernity*—and to locate agency in the wide world beyond the metropolis" (p. 257).

Young focuses her study on the transformation of four pre-Meiji cities into modern urban "chronotopes." She uses the term to mean the interplay of time and place, the connectedness of both, in creating the regional cities. Preliminary to comparing and contrasting the emergence of her sites, and discussing their ties with

the Tokyo metropolis, she devotes a first contextualizing chapter to "World War One and the City Idea." She explains the importance of the wartime period as a genuine turning point. It was at this "moment" that economic development shifted from the nation to the cities. The sea change created new built environments using novel materials and processes (e.g., concrete, steel, electricity), a new if small middle class, and tensions between new social groups (workers versus managers, residents of the countryside versus people in first cities, and the regional chronotope versus surrounding hinterland).

Once Young establishes the profound shift around 1918, she delves into the distinctive characteristics of interwar urbanization en route to answering her central question: "How did the city become the center of modern economic and social life?" (p. 31). The question is not simply answered, in that there are urban centers and then there is Tokyo. Consequently, while Young fittingly foregrounds the dynamic transformation in her select group of chronotopes, she also discusses how these national cities were peripheral bodies in an inescapable orbit around the new national capital.

In later chapters, Young moves to "urban biography," largely setting aside the Tokyo-periphery issue to concentrate on how local people, some re-planted after a stint in the capital, re-created Okayama, Kanazawa, Niigata, and Sapporo as new cultural and social units. She brilliantly captures the Janus-faced essence of the project. Her careful depiction of various local-history movements demonstrates the methods used to remake the past to provide local identity and valorize local authority (and authorities, dead and living). While this new past was created and consumed at schools, memorialized in local histories, and made materially manifest at designated "famous sites and places" (*meisho*), a parallel project that associated the regional city with the future went full-steam ahead. Young associates the interwar re-creation of the regional city and modernity through the lenses of the "exhibition boom," at which local Babbittry ran rampant as regional city boosters spent lavishly to demonstrate that everything was up to date in Kanazawa City and its counterparts. The effort showcased the technology and regional economic advantages that inhered in the way modernity was being popularly understood. This was a positive association that was conjoined with anxieties about the "modern girl" and the necessary tension between what future changes might hold for the recently remade and usually hagiographic urban biography.

Young's sharpest, most convincing analysis is her tracing of the influence of the local-history movement and activities of literary leaders in Tokyo and in the regional cities. Her comprehension of the texts and teasing out of the significance of local histories and the capacity of local cultural heroes to create new social and cultural spaces reads like a satisfying mystery story. The clues are there, but the story is not without twists and turns; the end is unpredictable but convincing.

Telling the political story behind the new urban chronotopes is more difficult. In contrast to Young's close reading of the local-history and literary movements, her perspective on second-city politics is formed from a greater distance. This may be because the evidence for explaining how individuals and group interacted to effect political change is often inconclusive. Young does show us sweeping before-and-after political changes in the four cities, but we seldom get close enough to see who is acting politically on whom. Young also seems to be somewhat of two minds about the importance of geography in influencing politics. In places she suggests that geography fixed the limits of the possible and set political parameters, but in her concluding chapter she argues for the importance of local agency. I prefer her final thoughts on this issue. Geographical determinism probably reached its end as new technologies became capable of overcoming environmental barriers. At a certain point, for example, the mountains and rivers of the "backside of Japan" (*ura Nihon*) probably became more of an excuse for ignoring one region than a genuine explanation of what could or could not be done.

Young's deeply layered work combining cultural and urban history is a remarkable achievement that fills in some of the blank parts of Japan's modern historical map. *Beyond the Metropolis* deserves a wide readership as a fundamental text on which others will surely rely in building a history of modern urbanization beyond Tokyo.

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Yukiko Koshiro. *Imperial Eclipse: Japan's Strategic Thinking about Continental Asia before August 1945.* (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 311. $39.95.

In *Imperial Eclipse*, Yukiko Koshiro argues that "[u]nder the US military occupation, the Pacific War narrative eclipsed Japan's Eurasian worldview and produced Japan's postwar amnesia about its colonial empire." Aiming to "restore the comprehensive landscape of Japan's war," Koshiro "returns the Soviet Union to the scene and renames the conflict the Eurasian-Pacific War" (p. 1).

The book's central argument is that toward the end of the war, "Japanese war planners concluded that the Soviet Union had significant connections with regional nationalists that could help check US hegemonic ambitions in East Asia," and "[t]hey hoped that Soviet presence in the region would achieve a desirable balance of power vacuum created by the fall of Japan's empire" (p. 2). The first two chapters suggest the forgotten yet substantial presence of Russians in Japan, and Japan's historical affinity to it. The following two chapters demonstrate that in the early stages of the war with China, Japanese military officers and diplomats were getting accurate information on the strength of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), its tensions with the USSR, and their respective influences in Korea.

The next three chapters, on the process of ending the war, argue that these officers and bureaucrats knew that the USSR would eventually join the war and attack Japan.

While Koshiro has consulted extensive diplomatic and military archival and reprinted documents, a large part of her analysis is based on intelligence documents created by the Japanese army units on the continent, and to a lesser extent in Korea, as well as materials from the South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), and the Imperial General Headquarters (IGHQ), and military orders to the garrisons in China. This part is a fascinating read, which reveals the details of war situations on the continent, and the extent and depth of Japan's intelligence operations in the area.

How were, however, these intelligence materials used for decision-making? Were key Japanese military officers, especially in the army, and other policymakers so ready to view these communist forces favorably, rather than regarding communism as one of the biggest threats to Japan's national security, along with the Allied attacks? In the desperate last moment of the survival of their nation, were they in a position to decide not to put up a strong resistance against the USSR's advance on the Manchurian and North Korean fronts, based on a calculated grand vision for the postwar order in Northeast Asia? Indeed, there were some, especially Takagi Sōkichi, who expressed such a postwar vision in March 1945 (pp. 182, 202). It is unclear, however, whether this view was dominant in the decision-making process at the Supreme Council for the Direction of War (*Saikō sensō shidō kaigi*) in August. The book suggests that one particular action taken by Foreign Minister Tōgō Shigenori—his deliberate delaying of a meeting with the Soviet ambassador, Yakov Malik (p. 240)—may have been key to answering some of these questions, but the author does not elaborate on this. Her main theme, therefore, will pose a further debating point in the view of recent works on the Cold War in Asia, as well as new scholarship according the USSR a more significant role in the Pacific War than was previously thought.

Koshiro also makes a few important points on the scholarship of modern Japanese history. She argues that until recently the "Pacific War" was examined predominantly from the perspective of the relationship between the U.S. and Japan, and she rightly points out that this resulted in Japan's amnesia about its colonial past, or more precisely Japan's unfulfilled moral responsibility not only to the Allied countries, but also to those in Japan's and Allies' colonies in Asia and the Pacific region. It is for precisely this reason that Kurasawa Aiko, among others, has argued that what is commonly called the Pacific War is a part of a broader war, the Asia-Pacific War (*Ajia Taiheiyō Sensō*). It would have been good to know how Koshino understood Kurasawa and others' argument.

The book reinforces another critical point, made by John Dower and Sheldon Garon: that there has been a gap between English-language-based scholarship on modern Japanese history, which was previously dominated by the modernization theory, and Japanese-language-based scholarship, which was written mostly in the Marxist framework. This once-significant gap is narrowing as more diverse angles are evident on both sides, and more scholars are integrating scholarship in both languages. Works like this book will enhance this trend, making the scholarship even richer and fuller.

Three last important points should be made. First, Koshiro's statement about the "ultimate power" to be given to the Supreme Council for the Direction of War (p. 3) needs to be qualified, as Itō Takashi elaborates in "Kaisetsu" (in Itō Takashi and Takeda Tomoki, eds., *Shigemitsu Mamoru: Saikō sensō shidō kaigi kiroku, shuki* [2004], pp. 371, 373, 374, 377, 378). Second, certain confusion in her understanding of the organizational structure can be detected in her use of the names of the offices in charge of civilian intelligence activities. Koshino uses the term "the Cabinet Information Bureau" for *Naikaku jōhōbu* (pp. 43, 44, 99, 109, 112, 113). It is normally translated as "the Cabinet Information Department," which was created in September 1937 to succeed the Cabinet Information Committee. She describes *Jōhō kyoku* as "the Intelligence Bureau . . . of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (p. 48). It is normally translated as "the Board of Information," and it was not a part of the MOFA. The Board of Information was created in December 1940 as a part of Konoe's administrative reform. It was intended to expand the capacity of the Cabinet Information Department. While it absorbed the Department of Information of the MOFA, and became the clearinghouse for civilian intelligence, its duties went beyond the area of civilian intelligence, and encompassed the areas of diverse information-related activities, such as propaganda and the national spiritual mobilization movement. Third, a bibliography at the end, with all the key primary sources and select secondary sources, would have been useful for readers.

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Aaron Stephen Moore. *Constructing East Asia: Technology, Ideology, and Empire in Japan's Wartime Era, 1931–1945*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 314. Cloth $55.00, e-book $55.00.

Historians interested in how science and technology shaped Japan and its wartime empire have been rewarded with a handful of excellent studies published over the past five years by Yang Daqing, Janis Mimura, and Mizuno Hiromi. Aaron Stephen Moore's book adds to this illustrious canon. Moore argues that technology was "much more than simply advanced machinery and infrastructure" (p. 6). Rather, "it included a subjective, ethical, and visionary dimension" (p. 6) and "constituted a widespread force of rationalization" (p. 5). Moore documents how technology—described by his oft-employed phrase "technological imaginary"—

operated as an ideology for wartime mobilization and colonial rule. Though his study suffers from a few afflictions common to many first books, *Constructing East Asia* challenges us to see Japanese technocrats, their professional aims, their continental objectives, and the realities of their undertakings in Northeast Asia in new, sometimes rational, ways.

Moore begins and ends his study in Japan. He focuses his attention first on how leftist intellectuals such as Aikawa Haruki theorized technology's meaning in interwar and wartime Japan. Drawing extensively from the writings of Aikawa, Moore documents how and why Aikawa "abandoned class as the primary lens to analyze and organize society in favor of an idea of society as a complex mechanism of actively mobilized subjects and institutions that revolutionized all areas of life" (p. 25). He implies that scholars who have embraced the *tenkō* explanation—ideological reversal as a result of coercive state pressure—have oversimplified things to a considerable degree. While this section is very dense, Moore succeeds in documenting that "objectives of Japan's wartime fascists and communists like Aikawa were indeed reconcilable and at times mutually complicit, especially within the discourse of the technological imaginary" (p. 62). So why worry about the use of labels such as "fascists" and "fascism" to describe wartime Japan, particularly when Moore uses such a big-tent definition of the f-word? He defines fascism with one big brushstroke "as an ideology and mode of power translated globally into various national contexts that combined antimodern and modern elements for the revolutionary transformation and mobilization of society" (p. 8). This is too broad and simplistic to be meaningful, especially since Moore's scholarship illustrates how such tired labels need reconceptualizing or, better yet, abandonment.

Moore thereafter examines various engineers, technical experts, and technology-focused bureaucrats and analyzes how they contributed to an expanded, often "explicitly technocratic definition of technology as the rational organization of Japan and its empire" (p. 64). They did so, he demonstrates, for two reasons: first, to define their identity and improve their status within the state; and second, to document their usefulness, if not their primacy, for Japan's policies of agricultural and industrial development in Northeast Asia. Moore documents how engineers formed professional associations and published their ideas to prove their efficacy to state bureaucrats seeking to improve the lives of Japan's citizens and colonial subjects through more efficient, rational, technology-based social management policies. Better still, by tapping into the writings of Home Ministry engineer and colonial development advocate Miyamoto Takenosuke, Moore explores how many technocrats saw Korea, Manchukuo, and parts of occupied northern China as a "'mecca' that could save Japan's engineering world" (p. 71).

Comprehensive technology projects undertaken in the name of colonial development took many forms, including town planning, port development, and irrigation works. Not one, however, was as important or as grandiose as dams. Moore spends roughly one and a half chapters (pp. 135–187) examining hydroelectric projects in Japan's empire; in my opinion, he could have focused his entire study on this topic. Not only does he give us a solid and at times rich historical understanding of the Fengman and Sup'ung dam projects, but he also uses them as a lens to document that Japan's colonies were no dreamscapes upon which large-scale engineering endeavors could be conjured neatly into existence through desire or ambition alone. Rather, projects were hobbled by ignorance of the natural environment, continuous political squabbles, and bureaucratic jealousies that required imagination and tenacity to overcome. The "Promised Land" could be just as frustrating to starry-eyed dreamers as the home islands. Such findings are not bolts of revelation from the blue; moreover, questions remain that I wish Moore had discussed. Why, for instance, did so many engineers see Japan as a country lacking in opportunity? Were there not large-scale public works projects that could have been carried out in Japan? Moreover, did engineers and other technocrats reflect on the fact that colonial East Asia was no "mecca" for their creative impulses? If so, what did they write? Were any of the management and labor practices that Kuga Tokuhei witnessed and lauded during tours of the Grand Coulee Dam project ever implemented in any of Japan's large-scale hydroelectric construction projects under his direction?

Constructing East Asia is a solid and at times engaging study of the tantalizing allure of technocratic modernity as a force of rationalization and development both in Japan and in Northeast Asia. It reminds us that Japan's colonies were not blank slates awaiting uncomplicated exploitation and development. Academics and graduate students interested in science, technology, engineering, and empire will find much about this book rewarding.

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Mark Metzler. *Capital as Will and Imagination: Schumpeter's Guide to the Postwar Japanese Miracle*. (Cornell Studies in Money.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xvii, 295. $49.95.

Capital as Will and Imagination is Mark Metzler's second monograph, and I suspect that it would pose a challenge for any reviewer. This is not because the book is ill-conceived, poorly structured, or lacking in some other respect. It is rather because of its density and its ambition to grapple with the nature of money—arguably one of the most neglected, yet inevitably central themes in economic thought—by means of a historical case study. Add to this the background of a recent surge in unorthodox economic thought (e.g., the Institute for New Economic Thinking), and this book is sure to leave the reader with a host of new questions.

At the most rudimentary level, the book is an exercise in the history of economic thought. It tells how the

Schumpeterian ideas of a handful of Japanese administrators, journalists, scholars, and political entrepreneurs shaped the contours of some fifty years of Japanese economic policymaking (the neoliberal wave under Junichiro Koizumi representing something of an anomaly). Their encounter with Joseph Schumpeter and his thinking was a matter as much of happenstance as of necessity. Both Schumpeter and his Japanese students formed their ideas in the immediate aftermath of a destructive war. Both had witnessed what Schumpeter called the financing of that war "as an enterprise," by means of the purchase of resources and, equally important, inflationary credit creation (cf. my own book, *The Money Doctors from Japan: Finance, Imperialism, and the Building of the Yen Bloc, 1895–1937* [2012]). Interestingly, most of the Japanese protagonists had been foreign students in Weimar Germany, and thus witnessed its much-studied hyperinflation at first hand. Also, although admittedly at different points in time, Schumpeter and his students both experienced the debilitating impact of postwar *deflationary* efforts, seeing it as a product of political will and not part of the natural course of things. Japanese economics students were exposed to Schumpeter's ideas through early translations of his works. Schumpeter, for his part, having fallen out of grace after Austria's post–World War I stabilization crisis, was offered a professorship at the University of Tokyo (he declined for family reasons); this cemented his admiration for Japan and its aristocratic history (pp. 22, 25).

However, Metzler extends the discussion far beyond the narrow bounds of postwar Japanese development. In three dense chapters he explores the role of money in modern capitalism and economic development, focusing on an often neglected aspect of Schumpeter's thinking: inflationary money creation or "credit capital" as the necessary complement of entrepreneurial innovation. In a quote used as an epigraph at the top of chapter three, Schumpeter identifies capital as "a means of diverting the factors of production to new uses"—shorthand for everything that follows. It is all the more relevant in view of classical economists' continuing insistence on treating money as neutral in the economic process, which is true even for Keynesian thinkers such as Paul Krugman. What sets Schumpeter's thinking apart is that it draws attention to the special role of banks in the capitalist system. They are not mere intermediaries, channeling money created by the central bank to the general economy, as classical economists would have us believe. Instead, they can call purchasing power into being *at will*, as they can establish claims against themselves, something that is borne out by the practice of double-entry bookkeeping (and which is factually unrelated to money being deposited "prior" to commercial bank lending). Metzler's references to Schumpeter's Japanese students demonstrate that they, too, were astutely aware of modern money's protean potential. A quote from Nakayama Ichirō (p. 53), stressing that funding creates savings, *and not the other way around*, is especially enlightening. Indeed, as Metzler explains in chapters five through eleven, this approach has historically been used to create extremely robust, albeit inflationary, economic growth. Pioneered by Japan since the early 1950s, it was the monetary pillar of the much-debated developmental state, and was later adopted by several Asian economies. The crisis of 2007–2008 and the subsequent explosive expansion of the U.S. Federal Reserve's balance sheet suggest that it may serve as the model for some time to come.

Although the book's density inevitably raises more questions than answers, I am inclined not to treat them as caveats. Several of these questions are sure to be treated in Metzler's coming work, if they have not already been addressed in his seminal *Lever of Empire: The International Gold Standard and the Crisis of Liberalism in Prewar Japan* (2006). First of all, one wonders about the politico-cultural context of inflationary growth. Is it not surprising, as Metzler himself points out, that inflation came to be politically acceptable in a country that places so much emphasis on the merits of saving? Should savers not conventionally be thought of as highly averse to inflation, as it erodes purchasing power? Or is inflation an acceptable tradeoff for something considered even more valuable: national economic strength, as is arguably the core tenet of Abenomics? Only in the conclusion does Metzler shed some light on this issue. More of a puzzle is the deflating of the bubble in the early 1990s. If monetary claims can indeed be created at will, then why did the model break down, and why at that point in time? Were there domestic constraints at work (demographics, as many economists now seem to agree upon? financial sector deregulation?), or did the international economic environment sabotage the smooth workings of an established formula? If anything, these questions are sure to inspire further thinking (and confusion!) about a topic that is finally receiving due attention. *Capital as Will and Imagination* comes highly recommended.

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Yumi Moon. *Populist Collaborators: The Ilchinhoe and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1896–1910*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 296. $45.00.

Activist groups in contemporary Japan and Korea see the "million-member" Ilchinhoe (Advance in Unity Society) either as enlightened—a group that encouraged Japan's annexation of Korea; or as traitorous—one that sold out its country to the Japanese invaders. Yumi Moon's *Popular Collaborators* criticizes both portrayals as overly simplistic: the Ilchinhoe, which attracted no more than 500,000 members, cooperated with the Japanese as a means to pursue its own nationalist agenda. She concludes that the group's shortsightedness was in its belief that it could "pursue its reforms via collaboration with foreign assistance[, a choice that proved to be] not viable in the context of emerging Japanese colonial rule in Korea" (p. 285).

Moon employs Ernesto Laclau's definition of "populist" in her portrayal of the Ilchinhoe: "constructing a collective identity against power [here the Korean monarchy's establishments] and making such an identity 'hegemonic'" (pp. 16–17). Over the pre-annexation decade, Koreans saw their country (along with Manchuria) used as a territorial wishbone contested over by Japan and Russia during their bloody war in 1904–1905. The Ilchinhoe, accepting Japan's self-defined role as regional peacemaker, saw collaboration as a means of gaining this hegemonic identity in Korean society. Two chapters, one each on the group's tax resistance and landownership reform campaigns, trace the group's efforts to develop this populist platform. Its populist agenda weakened after attracting the intense hostility of the Korean people. Its collaborator benefits disappeared after the Japanese withdrew their support for the group.

Populist Collaborators addresses critical questions glossed over by polemic impressions of the Ilchinhoe: How did the group manage to attract support from the traditionally rebellious and xenophobic Tonghaks (Eastern Learning) just after this group had fought the Japanese? What caused the Japanese colonial government to order the Ilchinhoe's disbandment soon after Japan annexed the peninsula in August 1910? Regarding the first question, Moon introduces the great transformation in which primarily Tonghak northern factions "departed from their xenophobia and absorbed the ideas of 'enlightenment and civilization.'" The turning point came in 1904, when the Chinbohoe (Progressive Society), organized by the third Tonghak supreme patriarch Son Pyŏng-hŭi, pledged its support for Japan in its war with Russia. The roots of this decision, however, may be traceable to a study tour organized by Son in 1902 that led twenty-four Tonghak children to Japan to be educated (pp. 76–77). To Son and other reformers, the "Japanese model in reforming Korea" now made more sense (p. 75), at least against the Russian alternative.

Moon's answer to the second question regarding the Japanese withdrawal of support for the Ilchinhoe focuses on evolving motivations and interests that both parties pursued over this critical precolonial decade. The Ilchinhoe developed a four-point platform that in hindsight appears contradictory: support for Korean independence and assistance for the "military goals of their ally, Japan" (p. 94). It drafted its appeal for the Japanese to annex their country with the belief that sacrificing formal Korean sovereignty would strengthen the people, who, "under the rubric of Japanese empire," would attain a status of equality with the Japanese (p. 284). The Japanese, however, shifted their support toward Korea's "old elites," the very group that the Ilchinhoe opposed. Now the odd group out, and gradually seen as a potential threat to Japan's interests, the Ilchinhoe was purged by the newly minted colonial administration.

Populist Collaborators extends beyond the Ilchinhoe's six-year history to examine early influences that contributed to the group's development. One major influence was the populist thinking pursued by the Independence Club (1896–1898) to counter what it saw as a repressive monarchy. A second influence was the Pan-Asianist thinkers, who included in different ways Koreans as diverse as Japanese politician Itō Hirobumi's assassin, An Chung-gŭn, and the notorious collaborator-author Yi Kwang-su (chap. two). Moon skillfully demonstrates how an act as seemingly innocent as advancing male haircuts could in these times serve as a political statement, one that exposed the group to criticism: short hair was "ugly" and "pathetic" in appearance, but also in the thoughts that short-haired people espoused (p. 126).

With this monograph, Yumi Moon plugs one hitherto gaping hole in the history of the years that preceded Japanese annexation. Additionally, she offers a sophisticated argument on collaboration that will prove useful for those examining this behavior over the colonial period, as well as Korea's post-liberation handling of this colonial dreg. A possible follow-up to this thorough study might consider the Ilchinhoe from the Japanese perspective. In what ways did Korea's colonizers view this group's utility? And how did these views change over time? Moon's accomplishment provides a solid foundation for more productive debate regarding the question of the Ilchinhoe's role in annexation history, particularly should this book be rendered accessible to polemic groups that exploit this group's complex history to advance their self-serving agendas.

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S. P. MacKenzie. *The Imjin and Kapyong Battles: Korea, 1951*. (Twentieth-Century Battles.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2013. Pp. xviii, 292. $35.00.

S. P. MacKenzie's book about two British/Commonwealth brigades accomplishes several tasks. He has written a social history and constructed battle narratives. Moreover, he connects the genesis of myth to the dynamics of Anglo-American relations in the Cold War's first test of collective security.

In April 1951, the Chinese launched a massive offensive to retake Seoul and unite Korea under Kim Il-sung. MacKenzie devotes eight chapters to studying men under fire. On the Imjin River, the British 29th Brigade repelled human wave assaults for three days. Under intense pressure, the Ulster Battalion broke. Corporal Thomas Cunningham-Booth saw men "running like clappers to get out, slinging their weapons, and generally behaving like a demoralized mob" (p. 104). The brigade's Gloucestershire battalion entrenched on Hill 235. Buttressed by air and artillery strikes, the Englishmen punished the Chinese attackers. Surrounded, Lieutenant Colonel J. P. "Fred" Carne ordered the wounded left behind, while survivors attempted to escape toward United Nations lines. A handful of Glosters made it, but 522 were captured. Brigade losses totaled 1,091—a quarter of its strength.

To the east in the Kapyong Valley, the communist offensive stampeded a South Korean division. But when the Chinese barreled into the 27th Commonwealth Brigade, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry stood their ground on Hill 677. The Patricias fought hand-to-hand, and then, like the rest of the brigade, retreated in good order.

British historians celebrate the Gloster feat as "the Thermopylae of the Korean War." But Canadians and Australians contend that they deserve the greater fame. The soldiers of the 27th Commonwealth Brigade had not only saved Seoul, but also remained combat-effective. MacKenzie cuts through national biases to identify the factors that caused the British brigade's ordeal and explain the understatement of the 27th's contributions.

Practitioners of social history will like the "Prologue" about the social composition of the soldiery. MacKenzie dismisses the theory that the 29th Brigade's conscript base suffered higher losses due to low morale. Conversely, each of the three enlisted elements—conscripts, volunteers, and World War II veterans—added their own unique strength to the fighting mix.

Military historians will appreciate the book's friezes and analysis. MacKenzie recalls the drum major who rallied the Glosters with a bugle. Knowledge of tactics and weaponry enables MacKenzie to show where the failure to deploy units within mutually supporting distances foretold disintegration. When the U.S. Third Division assigned the 29th a sector too big to cover, the brigade general, Tom Brodie, "accepted the challenge," believing British troops superior to Americans or South Koreans (p. 31).

MacKenzie hints that hubris contributed to the 29th's debacle. Early encounters proved that the Chinese were good infiltrators. Assigning brigades fronts too wide to seal would expose them to infiltration. But Carne dismissed the Chinese as "rabble," and a private thought that no "slant-eyed sods from Shanghai" could defeat a British battalion (p. 26).

MacKenzie concludes his tactical inquest with three main points. First, the 27th Commonwealth Brigade at Kapyong faced a less numerous enemy with a smaller objective, rendering the Chinese less able to hurt the 27th. Second, MacKenzie exonerates the chain of command. From Eighth Army headquarters down to Colonel Carne, officers acted competently. However, he says, commanders at all echelons had "seriously underestimated" Chinese numbers and capabilities, "causing among other things 29th Brigade to be caught wrong-footed and, in light of orders from division, unable to respond quickly enough to save the Glosters" (p. 222).

In Tokyo, United Nations commander-in-chief Matthew Ridgway knew that firepower and phased withdrawals would exhaust Chinese formations. The Spring Offensive fizzled five miles north of Seoul.

The bigger story comes in the mythologizing that followed. MacKenzie shows how initial public coverage stressed heroism over critical analysis. The British minister of defense lionized the Gloster sacrifice as a military necessity that had prevented rupture of the front line. Eighth Army commander James A. Van Fleet presented the 29th Brigade with a Presidential Unit Citation. Colonel Carne received the Victoria Cross after a prisoner-of-war exchange. But privately, participants were prepared to blame others for the disaster. "This was not, however, something that the authorities were at all keen to undertake," MacKenzie writes (p. 193). He attributes Gloucestershire myth-building to the imperative of United Nations solidarity. Burton Kaufmann also asserts this in *The Korean War: Challenges in Crisis, Credibility, and Command* (1986). The United States wanted to keep allies. London, worried about Beijing's intentions against Hong Kong and hoping to retain some influence in policymaking, did not risk alienation by accusing American generals of abandoning the 29th to its fate. Above all, no one wanted a repeat of wholesale unit loss, and that invited more sober assessments of Chinese tactics.

MacKenzie ends with the troops. Men from a fading empire "had done their duty" (p. 223). Whether Hill 235 was a Greek epic or another "Custer's Last Stand," South Korea was saved from the bizarre kingdom to the north.

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Charles K. Armstrong. *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950–1992*. (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 307. $35.00.

This book is an exceptional contribution to the understanding of North Korea's independent diplomacy during the Cold War period. Not only is Charles K. Armstrong's analysis framed in a synthetic way, but his use of underexplored and underused primary materials reveals the unknown roots of the weak state's known behavior. Armstrong explains that North Korea's self-reliance on the diplomatic front was a result of both its own developmental path and its ability to resist more powerful states. He shows that North Korean diplomacy was not merely a response to the politics of the great powers, and that in fact North Korea used the splits, mistrusts, and antagonisms among the great powers for its own benefit. "North Korea," Armstrong aptly notes, "has defied all 'imperial logics'" (p. 291).

The book deals chronologically with most of the Cold War period except for the short period between the division of the Korean peninsula after World War II and the beginning of the Korean War. (That period is the topic of another book by the author, *The North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* [2004].) Armstrong lucidly illustrates North Korea's niche diplomacy in the Sino-Soviet dispute, its engagement in the nonaligned movement, and its adventurous, and provocative, policies toward both South Korea and the United States. The scope of the book is comprehensive, and the materials that Armstrong uses are diverse, including newly explored Ger-

man and Russian materials and some underused U.S. declassified documents.

The book is framed around three aspects of the Cold War: the U.S.-Soviet confrontation, Sino-Soviet rivalry, and the inter-Korean competition. North Korea used its strategic value in East Asia to attract Soviet assistance: postwar rehabilitation and military buildup. It also maintained close, but not dependent, relations with China for the latter's economic aid and diplomatic support. At the height of the Cold War, North Korea benefited from this "policy of equidistance" between Moscow and Beijing (p. 228), but by the end of the period, North Korea's survival depended on its longstanding self-reliance. It was this self-reliance that, despite the "protracted hollowing-out" of the economy (p. 136), helped North Korea to endure in an age of sudden changes, including the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of its Eastern European allies.

Armstrong's main objective is to present the ways in which North Korea navigated and maneuvered, and even manipulated, the vortex of superpower politics. However, he also convincingly shows how North Korea strove to prevail in the competition with South Korea. For North Korea, the Korean War was "the Fatherland Liberation War," and the source of the country's self-reliance both in domestic politics and on the diplomatic front. Here Armstrong stresses that "Kim Il Sung took the lead" both in planning and initiating the war and in persuading Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong to help North Korea (pp. 13–14). Kim's lead in the war and his notion of liberation were linked to his determined exclusion of foreign influence in the second half of the 1950s through purges of opponents with Soviet or Chinese backgrounds. Armstrong demonstrates that North Korea's greatest success story was the peace initiatives it extended, at the time of the 1972 Sino-U.S. rapprochement, toward "all countries," including South Korea and the United States (p. 170). Conversely, the 1987 explosion of a South Korean Airlines plane months before the Summer Olympic Games in Seoul, which killed all 115 passengers, was an expression of North Korean "weakness rather than confidence" (pp. 236, 264).

When the Soviet Union and China normalized relations with South Korea, in 1990 and 1992, respectively, it was seen by North Korea as a betrayal. The country's long diplomatic self-reliance helped it adjust to the new reality of the post–Cold War era and the U.S.-led unipolar world. North Korea used the concept of *minjok* solidarity (solidarity among Koreans), "race solidarity" (solidarity with Japanese), and nuclear diplomacy as the basis of state legitimacy and self-reliance (p. 280).

Armstrong's enthusiastic exploration of Russian and German materials helps shed light on many previously unknown aspects of North Korean diplomacy, including the linkage between North Korea's concentration on heavy industries, its protracted agricultural collectivization, its heavy tax on rice, and the reasons for the severe food shortage of 1955 (pp. 84–85); assurances from the Soviets and Chinese in 1958 that they would not interfere in North Korean affairs (pp. 113–114); the self-reflection of Kim Yong-ju, the younger brother of Kim Il-sung, on North Korea's unification strategy (p. 202); and Mikhail Gorbachev's opposition, as early as 1986, to the North Koreans' resistance to both the proposal for mutual recognition of the two Koreas and their simultaneous admittance to the United Nations (p. 273).

Although it focuses on the Cold War period, *Tyranny of the Weak* aptly evidences how North Korea today is able to cope with external and internal difficulties while destabilizing the world. The book sheds light on the fact that a small state can make a significant difference, an aspect that the literature on international relations or international history has not properly accounted for.

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Pierre Asselin. *Hanoi's Road to the Vietnam War, 1954–1965*. (From Indochina to Vietnam: Revolution and War in a Global Perspective, number 7.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2013. Pp. xix, 319. $55.00.

In *Hanoi's Road to the Vietnam War, 1954–1965*, Pierre Asselin provides a lucid analysis of North Vietnam's strategies between the end of the French Indochina War and the beginning of the American war in Vietnam. Based on extensive research in Vietnamese, British, French, Canadian, and American sources, the book tells the history of the Vietnam War as seen from the "other side." Asselin has provided a window into decision-making in Hanoi during this critical period and made an important contribution to what remains a relatively small literature on the topic. The author challenges traditional Western accounts of the war that have tended to portray the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) as an essentially passive actor in a story dominated by outside powers. In the same vein, the book rejects the notion that Hanoi's leaders were nationalists who merely nodded toward communism for the sake of expediency. What emerges is a picture of a dedicated communist leadership that was often torn by internal division and actively engaged in aggressive policies toward South Vietnam.

Asselin's narrative follows Hanoi's transition from a cautious policy based on hopes for a peaceful reunification of the two Vietnams to a far riskier strategy of pursuing full-scale armed operations to "liberate" the south. Party leaders sought to avoid an open confrontation with the United States, but by escalating war to liberate South Vietnam, this is precisely what they received. Thus, the book makes a strong case for North Vietnam's role in provoking the eventual U.S. military intervention. Though he has no wish to "exonerate" the United States for its role in the conflict, Asselin argues that Vietnamese leaders in both Hanoi and Saigon "were neither passive nor innocent in that process" (p. 3).

The book begins in 1954 in the wake of the Geneva Accords that divided Vietnam. Initially, Ho Chi Minh

and the party leadership in Hanoi hoped that the scheduled 1956 elections would result in the peaceful reunification of Vietnam under communist leadership. In accordance, communist cadres in both the North and South were ordered to suspend armed operations, and Hanoi's energies were directed toward domestic economic development. This "North-first" strategy ran at odds with the more militant faction of the party led by Le Duan, which argued that the armed struggle to liberate the south should continue. However, as Ngo Dinh Diem consolidated his regime in Saigon—with the help of substantial support from the United States—Le Duan and the "South-firsters" appeared to have been proven correct. Thus, between 1957 and 1959, the party reluctantly approved sporadic attacks against Saigon. By the end of the decade, a rising southern insurgency was mounting an ever more dangerous challenge to the regime in Saigon. Between 1960 and 1963, Hanoi faced conflicting pressures as the war in neighboring Laos heated up and the Sino-Soviet split trapped the DRV in the middle of a dispute between its two communist patrons. Meanwhile, the scope of U.S. involvement continued to mount in response to the armed operations of the National Liberation Front (NLF).

The climax of Asselin's account arrives in late 1963 at the party's Central Committee Meeting. Held just after the coup that overthrew the Diem regime in Saigon, the meeting marked a turning point in the war. Under the leadership of Le Duan, the militant faction of the party "staged a coup of their own in Hanoi," purging doves and outlining a strategy for sharp escalation in the war in the south (p. 7). In 1964, the DRV launched a full-scale insurgency against South Vietnam in an effort to topple the regime in Saigon before U.S. forces could fully respond. However, this general offensive—and the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Incident in particular—provoked a full-scale response from Washington. Hence, far from being an innocent victim, Hanoi was deeply implicated in the process that led to the Americanization of the conflict in Vietnam. Taking a step back, Asselin argues that Vietnam served as a "crucible of the global Cold War": the DRV sat at the juncture of the superpower struggle, the Sino-Soviet split, and the global process of decolonization (p. 4). At the same time, the war in Vietnam came to represent one of the leading wars of national liberation in the post-1945 era, which did so much to shape the politics of Third World internationalism.

Hanoi's Road to the Vietnam War is a sophisticated treatment of a complex story that has too often been overlooked by historians of the conflict. By returning the DRV to its rightful place as a dynamic agent in the making of the Vietnam War, the book advocates for a more nuanced understanding of the origins of the conflict. Asselin has written a work that is sure to become necessary reading for historians of modern Vietnam and the Vietnam War and deserves an audience in the wider field of international history.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

R. Blake Brown. *Arming and Disarming: A History of Gun Control in Canada*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History. 2012. Pp. xvi, 349. $70.00.

R. Blake Brown has produced a sweeping, thorough, insightful, and well-documented account of gun control in Canada, from the first European contact until repeal of the Firearms Registry by the coming into force of Bill C-19 in 2012. Brown's legal history is neither dry nor technocratic. Instead, the author explores the political, social, economic, and cultural context of lawmaking, law enforcement, and law avoidance bearing on gun possession, registration, and use to produce an eminently readable survey and synthesis that purports to be the first comprehensive account of the history of gun regulation in Canadian law and culture. As such, Brown's book should prove useful and provocative for students and scholars of Canadian and comparative law, society, and politics.

Brown has a great gift for exploring and contextualizing social movements and social tensions, and it is analysis of these cultural forces behind the legislative process rather than a parliamentary insider's perspective that drives his narrative. Three powerful leitmotivs surface repeatedly in Brown's three-centuries-long story: the crafting of Canadian self-images, fear of outsiders and enemies, and regionalism and federalism. Each of these recurring themes in turn manifests itself on both sides of the arming and disarming ledger. Thus, social and political leaders have at times endorsed both the arming of respectable (Anglophone) Canadians (for instance, in defense of British imperialism or as a hedge against U.S. aggression) and the disarming of those perceived as threatening (for example, Native peoples, Fenians, German sympathizers, Communists). And at least from the late nineteenth century onward, urban elites in Montreal and Toronto have tended to take very different views of guns from those that predominated among Native peoples, rural westerners, and, to a lesser degree, residents of the Maritimes. Meanwhile, for much of the twentieth century, these same elites also took very different views of handguns (not desirable in the hands of persons other than the police) and rifles (generally safe enough, at least in the hands of genteel hunters and target shooters).

As well as crafting an overarching, thematic historical synthesis, Brown focuses on particular pivotal events with rich detail and insight. For example, his exploration of the Montreal Massacre of 1989, in which Marc Lépine, a deranged twenty-five-year-old male, used a semi-automatic U.S.-made weapon to kill ten women and injure fourteen other people at the École Polytechnique in a calculated attack against "feminism" (pp. 203–210), serves deftly as a segue to a textured account of the interplay between the movement for gender equality, the reification of the modern regulatory state, and the transformation of the Canadian party system in the election of 1993 that culminated in the passage of

the 1995 Firearms Act, pushed hard by the governing Liberal Party and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien. One identity-based impetus to the passage of the Firearms Act was the widespread Canadian sense that, in the words of a well-known television advertisement for Molson beer at the time, Canadians are not Americans, with one of the principal defining distinctions being the perception that attitudes toward gun regulation in Canada are mostly rational, while those south of the border are in general dangerous and disjointed.

There is no little irony, then, that the social movement in favor of gun rights that ultimately succeeded in pressuring Parliament to repeal the long-gun registry—probably the most ambitious facet of the gun control program implemented in the 1995 Firearms Act—has so much in common with Ronald Reagan's America. As tellingly described by Brown, the movement crystallized to fight 1970s gun control measures and then reanimated in the 1990s to resist implementation of the 1995 act, and in particular the registry. Drawing strength especially from the western provinces, Canadian gun rights activists intoned messages about self-reliance, the dangers and inefficiencies of overbearing bureaucracy, and threats posed by criminal elements to channel popular support among white, rural, working-class men for a robust, libertarian right to weapons possession free of undue (or any) governmental interference (pp. 221–233). Slogans such as "When guns are outlawed, only outlaws will have guns" and "Guns don't kill people; people kill people" came directly from the National Rifle Association in the U.S.; so too, perhaps, did organizational know-how and even funding (pp. 175–188). In marked contrast to the situation in the United States, however, Canada's clashes over gun control have played themselves out at the parliamentary and ministerial level, with the Canadian Supreme Court declining invitations to find either a federalism or Charter of Rights and Freedoms basis for limiting legislative authority over firearms (pp. 226–229). In that respect, at least, vestiges of old-style Westminster-model legislative supremacy endure, even absent invocation of Section 33 of the charter, to cast Canadian and U.S. constitutional cultures and gun rights debates in sharp contrast.

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Jan Noel. *Along a River: The First French-Canadian Women*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2013. Pp. 337. Cloth $70.00, paper $32.95.

It can be a challenge to surmount the image of nineteenth-century women as cosseted, corseted, and confined. When Jan Noel confronted the women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Great Britain, France, Canada, and the American colonies, she found that while these women did not enjoy equality with men, they were much less confined by a concept of their proper sphere than were their female descendants. They participated in business, property management, and the direction of social institutions. In France and in New France, the particular subject of this book, they enjoyed great civil and property rights within the *ancien régime* system of clientage politics.

It goes without saying that a fur-trade outpost would never have become a settlement colony without women. In the case of Canada, single women sent out by the crown, *les filles du roi*, played a fundamental role. Some outstanding women who migrated to Canada in the seventeenth century were financially supported by powerful *grandes dames* in France. Marie de l'Incarnation, founder of the Canadian Ursulines; Jeanne Mance, cofounder of Montréal; Marguerite Bourgeoys, founder of the Sisters of the Congregation; and many hospital nuns established much of the infrastructure of New France. Further, Noel introduces us to women who were active in the import/export and fur trades, the running of sealing stations, a weaving establishment and sawmills, the supply of lumber and foodstuffs to crown enterprises, the building of small ships, and more. Such business opportunities would become closed to women as *ancien régime* ways faded. This was as late as 1840 in French Canada, much later than in more "advanced" societies.

Noel does an outstanding job of placing women in the context of familial fur-trade enterprises and within noble military families, which were themselves enterprises spanning the generations. In both cases, husbands, sons, and brothers were at the colonial periphery, either trading for furs or fighting the enemies of New France or both. A wife with power of attorney could look after the Montréal or Quebec City end of a business and maintain useful connections with influential government officials in Canada and France. The key to trust was family connection, which trumped gender.

In such a setting, widows and even single women thrived as businesspersons, estate managers, and lobbyists. Noel provides an example from 1716 of women who were among the signatories of a merchant petition. The social recognition inherent in their inclusion in such a select group is well worth noting. An example of a very successful woman in business is Marguerite Bouat, daughter of a Canadian innkeeper. She married Antoine Pascaud, a French merchant in Canada, in 1697 and as a widow came to run the significant La Rochelle business Veuve Pascaud et fils.

While lobbying the high and mighty was not exclusively the domain of Canadian military and noble families, it was especially vital to them. Frequently, it was women who drew the attention of the governor, the intendant, or the minister himself to the merits of male relatives, who were either under arms or ardent for military placement. The prime example is Louise-Elizabeth de Joybert, the Acadian-born daughter of a Canadian mother who became the wife of Governor Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. She spent much of her life at Versailles, where she represented the interests of her husband and family, proving herself to be an adept at clientage politics.

The many illuminating examples of female endeavor

in this book can only be hinted at in this short review. The examination of convents and of their perpetuation after 1763 in the face of British laws and prejudices is exceptional. The study of laws of property (which included voting rights) that favored women and that the nineteenth century abolished makes us rethink the rise of liberalism.

What one looks for in *Along a River* is greater attention to class differences. In New France, poor women worked, as poor women still do. Their participation in the public sphere by selling vegetables in the local market, for example, does not seem to differentiate them from women of other chronological periods. Their street demonstrations in Montréal in times of war, on the other hand, may be significant—although in a crisis, societal rules are often momentarily suspended.

One looks forward to seeing women's history and a complementary history of the gender construction of men merge into a reconstructed total history. The considerable strides made in the history of women in New France is evident from this well-written book, with many an observation or turn of phrase that will enlighten or provoke a smile.

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Mark Osborne Humphries. *The Last Plague: Spanish Influenza and the Politics of Public Health in Canada*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 323. $32.95.

If Leon Trotsky was even half right, and war—or failure in war—is the locomotive of history, then epidemics—or a failure to stem them—might be described as the underground train of history, unseen on the surface of history, but affecting millions as it fans out quietly but lethally. The devastating Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918–1919 fits the latter description very well indeed. Hidden by the high-profile culmination of World War I, this pandemic, the worst of modern times, killed 3 to 4 percent of the globe's population. Its death toll of more than 50 million people in six months was more than triple the war's toll in five years.

In this revised doctoral thesis, part of a rising international tide of works on this pandemic in the last fifteen years prompted by twenty-first-century fears of new epidemics and bioterrorism, Mark Osborne Humphries argues that the Spanish flu was decisive to the creation of a centralized public health structure in Canada in the form of the new federal Department of Health, set up in 1919. "The Spanish influenza," he argues, "was the immediate catalyst, the crisis having made the creation of such a department an urgent priority" (p. 168). Moreover, Humphries believes that it was not just the structure of public health that was thus transformed, but also the basis on which it sought to prevent epidemics. Until then, he notes, the authorities had relied primarily on quarantine measures to keep epidemics out, a practice dating back to the 1832 cholera epidemic. But the spectacular failure of these measures to prevent the spread of disease in 1918, along with growing social, ideological, and political pressures within Canada, finally persuaded the federal government of the need to rethink its policy in this regard. Humphries concludes that the result, the establishment of Canada's first federal Department of Health, effectively ushered in the modern era of public health in that country.

In this regard Humphries is not wrong, but he surely needs to give more weight to contemporary changes in medical and scientific thinking that also contributed to this decision, in particular the emergence of bacteriology, which had set the tide flowing in this direction in the 1890s. Recognizing these factors is essential to understanding why Canada was just one of several countries (along with Britain, Australia, and South Africa) to emerge from the Spanish flu epidemic with its public health system transformed. This underlines a more general point, that transnational phenomena like pandemics can be fully comprehended only if conceived of transnationally by historians.

A rounded comprehension of the effects of the Spanish flu also requires a firm grasp of epidemiology. Without this, historians might leap to dubious conclusions, such as the contention that Canada was affected by a hitherto unobserved embryonic first wave of the Spanish flu early in 1918—a claim made on the basis of a rise in cases of "respiratory disease" in military hospitals at this time. Because in 1918 "respiratory disease" could have meant pneumonia, bronchitis, or pulmonary tuberculosis, and not influenza at all, Humphries's argument should be accompanied by a serious caveat, as should the corollary that he draws, that this unobserved pre-first wave gave Canadians a degree of immunity against the "real" first wave in June and July of that year.

It is important to recognize, too, that any social analysis of the 1918 pandemic's toll (as Humphries undertakes in chapter seven) must distinguish between mortality and morbidity, because the two yield different social profiles. Spanish flu morbidity was very high and undiscriminating by class because the disease was so infectious; however, mortality from the disease reflected class differences more obviously because extended bed rest and professional nursing, the two best ways to treat the disease then, were options more easily available to the well-off. Class did tell when it came to the prognosis for a Spanish flu patient.

Critical to comprehending this particular pandemic is its relationship with that other horseman of the Apocalypse, war, and here Humphries, a military historian by training, is well at home. Putting his knowledge of military records to very good use, he illuminates the critical role of Canada's Siberian Expeditionary Force in spreading the lethal second wave of the Spanish flu as they were assembled from across the country and traveled from the east coast to Vancouver to take ship for Vladivostok. New troops joining those aboard the troop train provided "a constant source of new fuel" for the

disease (p. 96), while those who fell sick on the journey across the country scattered the virus at every station en route. In this and every other sense, the Spanish flu was a classic war epidemic.

In short, this addition to the growing historiography of the 1918–1919 flu pandemic in Canada is at its best when its focus is on matters military and political, but Humphries should have called for a second opinion when he entered the medical and scientific fields.

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Robert McLaughlin. *Irish Canadian Conflict and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912–1925*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 275. $29.95.

In this study on Irish Canadians, Robert McLaughlin has stepped into a well-worked garden but is hoeing a new row. Canadian readers have been duly impressed by Mark G. McGowan's *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887–1922* (1999), wherein McGowan contends that during World War I, Irish Canadian Catholics enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force and thus indicated "that English-speaking Catholics were loyal and devoted citizens of Canada and the Empire" (pp. 288–289). Earlier, in *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815–1922: An International Perspective* (1988), Donald Harman Akenson emphasized the common ground shared by "the two incompatible belief systems" (p. 147). Recently David A. Wilson has edited *Irish Nationalism in Canada* (2009), which includes nine essays about the concerns of Irish Canadians during this same period.

McLaughlin has gone beyond the traditional sources and used other journals and private papers, which reveal that many Irish Canadians continued to follow Irish politics into the interwar period. The author focuses his attention specifically on Irish Canadians during a crucial period in Irish history. McLaughlin's research dramatically presents the efforts taken by Northern Ireland to remain a British colony and southern Ireland to become the Irish Free State. As these developments unfolded in Ireland, unionists and nationalists in Canada eagerly read reports of what was happening in the old country. The *Orange Sentinel* (Toronto) expressed strong views about the future of the northern counties and sent letters to governments, and Irish nationalist newspapers produced editorials and wrote letters to the same institutions.

McLaughlin begins his book with the outbreak of World War I, which caused the British government to postpone Irish Home Rule. He then traces the gradual transformation among Irish Canadian nationalists, who began as supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party but, following the repression of the Easter Rising in 1916, became supporters of the republican separatist party, Sinn Féin. The British disregard for the Irish hope of self-government moved Irish Canadians, along with their compatriots, toward the more radical demands of Irish independence.

Encouraged by the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, which proclaimed that small nations should be granted self-determination, Irish Canadian nationalists formed the Self-Determination for Ireland League of Canada. Fifty thousand people joined the league in a short time, including prominent Canadians Lindsay Crawford and Katherine Hughes. Members stressed their loyalty to the empire as they exercised their democratic rights of free speech and freedom of assembly. Orange Lodge Canadians, despite being heavily critical of the British policy for advancing Home Rule, considered Canadians who supported the Self-Determination for Ireland League to be disloyal to the British Empire.

McLaughlin lightens his academic text with some exotic stories. The weekly bulletin of the Criminal Investigative Branch (CIB) of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police recounted that the Self-Determination for Ireland League of Canada was thought to be funded by the Archdiocese of Chicago. Another item of interest monitored by the CIB was the meeting in June 1920 at Plattsburgh, New York, of Irish Canadian leaders from Montreal with Sinn Féin's president, Éamon de Valera. McLaughlin even relates the story of the tragic death of the Lord Mayor of Cork, Terrence MacSwiney, who died in a British prison after a seventy-four-day hunger strike.

McLaughlin argues that until at least 1925, both Protestant and Catholic Irish Canadians "felt an intense emotional connection to Ireland" (p. 197). Yet he might have explored religion more fully as an irenic agent that would have helped to relieve resentment rather than foster it. This study remains purely on the political level, and McLaughlin concludes that the struggles in Ireland and Canada were eased when two governments in Ireland were created—one to govern the six counties of Northern Ireland, and a second for the twenty-six counties of the Free State. Despite some textual errors and the failure to include recent historiographical updates, McLaughlin does provide fresh data and new insights in an interesting narrative that amplifies previous research about Irish Canadians and at the same time establishes the author's own contention that Irish Canadian involvement in the new political structures of Ireland was active and influential in the interwar period. This volume will be interesting for readers wanting to learn more about Irish Canadian history in Canada.

Terence J. Fay
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J. Lloyd Winstead. *When Colleges Sang: The Story of Singing in American College Life*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 340. Cloth $34.95, e-book $39.95.

Spontaneous communal singing by groups of undergraduates may be far removed from typical college ex-

periences today, but as J. Lloyd Winstead shows, until the mid-twentieth century, this practice had been common on American campuses for centuries. *When Colleges Sang* is the first comprehensive survey of singing among American college students. Winstead traces the kinds of music that college students have sung, their role in creating college songs, and the informal, curricular, and ceremonial contexts of their performances. The book's eight well-written and accessible chapters focus on the social history of music and musical performance and are built upon the premise that college singing exemplifies broader social and cultural trends. Although Winstead occasionally addresses aesthetic issues, his study is neither "a detailed history of glee clubs, nor a technical analysis of music literature" (p. 1).

Winstead charts an uncomplicated chronological path from the seventeenth century (chap. one) through the eighteenth (chap. two) and nineteenth centuries (chaps. three and four) to the twentieth century (chaps. five through eight). In the first four chapters he explores how Puritan psalm singing shaped Harvard University's early ceremonial music; informal and ceremonial performances of secular and patriotic songs and instrumental music at Harvard and Yale University in the eighteenth century; the rise of college fraternities and singing societies and their employment of music; and the development of collegiate music publishing from the late eighteenth century to its expansion in the nineteenth century, when collections of student-produced songs first appeared. Winstead also considers the shift in American musical tastes, including within emerging collegiate choirs, toward more refined European repertories in the 1800s. Furthermore, as American college curricula became increasingly comprehensive, literary societies became less important, while musical societies became more so. Neither, however, could compete with the rise in the mid-1800s of the student athlete, whom college songs began to celebrate. During this period, the cultivation of song among groups of students during leisure hours reached its peak, and singing was incorporated into student protests, hazing, and, most importantly, sporting events.

In chapters six through eight and in the epilogue, Winstead increasingly addresses "the loss of casual singing" (p. 211) on campuses. Social transformations following two world wars, the increased prominence of the automobile, and changes to ritual life (e.g., elimination of required chapel attendance) contributed to the decline in campus musical culture, but it was new technologies that turned Americans, including college students, into listeners to (rather than makers of) music. This is the most significant change Winstead traces. Television, video games, and portable playback systems have created a generation of "digital outsiders" (pp. 234–236) who are far less likely to sing, but college students and observers of campus life in the 1920s were already identifying the negative toll that recordings, radio, and film were having on singing on campus. Despite the growth in "competitive singing trends in specialized glee clubs" in recent years, "casual [group] singing by undergraduates was largely a product of the past" (p. 212). For those concerned about the vitality of social music-making, it is a sobering journey from the heyday of glee clubs, the production of the collegiate alma mater, the expectation to know one's school songs (chap. five), and the growth of music as an academic discipline (chap. six) to the abandonment of song composition by college students, ossifying college song repertories, and the collapse of communal singing on campus (chap. seven).

Winstead's use of original materials is commendable. Photographs and illustrated sheet music covers from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provide texture to his account. Diaries and commonplace books of seventeenth-century Harvard students, who copied song texts along with literary extracts, illuminate their informal engagement with secular songs. Nineteenth-century collegiate song collections were thought to reveal much about college customs in their own era (p. 97), and Winstead relies upon lyrics of early songs about boating and football, for example, to track the rise of intercollegiate athletics and the relationship between sport and song. Other lyrics highlight the relative merits of social and academic accomplishments among generations of American college students.

I recommend *When Colleges Sang* to those interested in the changing character of campus life or the social history of American music. Nevertheless, additional consideration, beyond what Winstead includes, of representations of college singing on film would be valuable, as would more thorough exploration of students' musical training. Many were undoubtedly acculturated to campus musical cultures by rote, but those who led in creating new songs probably had prior training. How did the nature of students' musical education change between the eighteenth-century singing school movement and the development of formal departments of music? Finally, the closing chapters understandably focus on the collapse of students' communal singing, rather than on continuing traditions of singing at formal institutional functions. Singing in contemporary chapel services at religious colleges, however, is more student-led and student-oriented (in terms of musical style) than ever before and warrants some attention, which would allow for a more nuanced account of current trends in collegiate singing.

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Alexis McCrossen. *Marking Modern Times: A History of Clocks, Watches, and Other Timekeepers in American Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 255. $45.00.

In this thoroughly researched and documented book, Alexis McCrossen tells the important story of American timekeepers in the "public clock" age. Roughly from the 1870s to the 1930s, public spaces were marked by an increased presence of "time." Jewelers placed clocks in their shop windows. Time balls, dropped from an el-

evated point at noon, did not compute time but still marked it. Especially in the years after the Civil War, clocks were purchased to adorn the exteriors of newly built town halls, courts, and federal buildings. Department stores and public authorities alike attempted to outdo each other in competing to construct the largest, heaviest, and most splendid clock. The monumentality of public clocks in the first decades of the twentieth century, however, came at a point when the public clock age was beginning to wane. As radiotelegraphy and the telephone increasingly sent time to Americans' homes and wristwatches, the public display of time was gradually eclipsed.

After a brief exploration of public clocks in the colonial period, McCrossen begins the main part of her account by describing a transformation of time that began in antebellum America and saw the technology, business, and culture of timekeeping firmly in place by the end of the Civil War. This was the era in which many observatories were founded and in which the manufacture and distribution of household clocks and pocket watches became less costly. Telegraphic circuits originating at the new observatories sent time signals to a growing number of city clocks and time balls. McCrossen's analysis of how Civil War soldiers' demand for and use of pocket watches created a flourishing market for American-made timepieces is particularly interesting. With prices dropping and quality improving, American clock companies eventually overtook European ones.

Clocks had always been associated with authority, and the use of fanciful timekeepers to signify control over time is a well-documented practice among rulers throughout history and across societies. As McCrossen shows, during Reconstruction, time and clocks became closely associated with other symbols of the nation, as well as with efforts to extend the federal presence throughout the country. At the turn of the century, many American cities installed massive clocks. Such efforts often did not go uncontested, as McCrossen demonstrates. As an incident from Milwaukee illustrates, different actors laid claim to the ownership of public space and to the right to determine the place of clocks within it. One night in 1906, the Milwaukee Fire Department leveled the street clocks that jewelers had constructed outside their stores—the city's progressive reformist mayor having deemed them a safety hazard.

At the end of the public clock era, timepieces were not only bigger but also more luxurious and hence expensive. Several monumental novelty clocks won prizes at the frequently held exhibitions and fairs of the period. Ultimately, however, such increasing sophistication discredited public clocks in the view of city councilors, mayors, and others who wielded authority over budgets. Spending large sums on instruments whose utility appeared questionable in the age of wristwatches and telephone time distribution services was now hard to justify.

Two of the book's findings deserve particular mention. The first is the interaction and close connection between the time of public watches and that of individual timekeepers. The public time of tower clocks became meaningful only when it was combined with personal watches. People made a habit of comparing the times of different public clocks and, most importantly, checking them against their own watches. The timekeeping and time-conscious public emerged precisely because of the constant back-and-forth between individual rhythms and times and those of a greater community.

The second contribution of the book is McCrossen's discussion of how the proliferation of timekeepers went hand in hand with attempts to standardize and synchronize time. Existing research has attributed such efforts too narrowly to a select group of observatory directors, railroad officials, and astronomers. McCrossen shows how the adoption of standard time in the 1880s indeed seems to have led authorities to pursue the distribution and display of correct time more energetically. McCrossen perhaps could have been more explicit, however, in pointing out that this only led to a multiplication of time sources, which in turn created myriad problems of synchronization. More clocks did not necessarily mean more accurate and uniform time. Rather, more clocks could mean even more sources of inaccurate and unreliable, differing time. As a result, clock time remained inherently unstable for several decades after its "standardization." As late as 1920, New York newspapers could complain about the hodgepodge of times disseminated throughout the city. In this regard (though this falls beyond the scope of McCrossen's study), America resembled much of Europe and certainly the non-Western world. McCrossen's source base is broad and variegated, and the business records of two of the main American watch companies stand out as particularly insightful. With its focus on the material dimension of time as embedded in social and political contexts, *Marking Modern Times* is a crucial addition to existing works on the transformation of American time.

Vanessa Ogle
University of Pennsylvania

Molly McCarthy. *The Accidental Diarist: A History of the Daily Planner in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. 302. Cloth $90.00, paper $30.00.

Before the Palm Pilot and the Google Calendar, generations of Americans accounted for their time and money in pocket-sized books, the ruled lines or grids on each page providing implicit instruction in a seemingly basic form of self-reportage. This genre of print, so familiar to us, was not so in the mid-eighteenth century, as it may not be to our descendants by the mid-twenty-first. The "accidental diarists" of Molly McCarthy's title, who used these little books from the end of the 1700s through the next century, may initially have catalogued purchases and earnings, but many came to express something of their daily, individual occurrences and strivings on the mass-produced pages. Through a series of case studies, McCarthy traces the career of the

pocket diary in the minds and hands of its producers and consumers.

First there were almanacs, steady sellers of most colonial American printing shops. As early as the late 1500s, English booksellers promoted almanacs as potential diaries, sometimes inserting a blank page opposite each month's calendar to facilitate the customer's jottings. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson used the *Virginia Almanack* in this fashion, like their contemporaries typically "to keep time or to track expenses" (p. 20). Even as calendar pages, tables for calculating interest, and charts of distance between towns encouraged utilitarian response, customers personalized these books. For instance, a Massachusetts country doctor drew small sketches in almanac diaries over four decades—an example of McCarthy's painstaking, illuminating research in hundreds of surviving almanacs and pocket diaries. In a market saturated with competing almanacs, the Philadelphia bookbinder and publisher Robert Aitken experimented in 1772 with a form new to the colonies, "a printed grid of dated spaces for recording monies and memos," modeled on popular London precursors (p. 55). Priced too high, Aitken's *American Register* failed commercially; even his urban, elite audience had scant need to schedule appointments in advance and scant desire to express sentiments daily. These "diary resisters" made Aitken's bust only a forebear of more successful nineteenth-century efforts (p. 98).

The industrialization of the book trades created a new niche: blank book manufacturing. Publisher-stationers from the 1820s to the 1850s tried a variety of specialized almanacs and pocket diaries, many aimed at gender-specific customers. Boston's John Marsh devised the version that stuck: reducing elements of the old almanacs, expanding the blank pages (now ruled for three days', not a full week's, entries per page), and separating financial accounting into back sections. This format fostered personal reflections, especially because writing about daily experience within the confines of the ruled pages consumed little time. So did the culture of self-improvement that accompanied the rise of capitalism, evangelical religion, and social reform. The books did not, however, prescribe what Americans wrote. Nor did they necessarily accommodate consumers to clock time, likewise a byproduct of industrialization: as McCarthy notes, the dailiness of a diary could as easily exist at odds with the minuteness of the clock. After thousands of Civil War soldiers embraced the diary habit, manufacturers created pocket diaries for a national audience, such as Edwin Dresser's *Standard Diary*, which was eventually sold through mail order by Montgomery Ward. Novel features on the metric system and national standard time, as well as engravings of American scenes, accentuated the modern and national. Newly "inclusive, adaptable, cheap, yet refined," the pocket diary now afforded customers "a virtual connection to a national market of goods and a nation of diary users" (p. 200). Philadelphia department-store magnate John Wanamaker transformed the genre into a vehicle for advertising. The long-running *Wanamaker Diary*, inaugurated in 1900, drew upon models pioneered by patent-medicine manufacturers and foreshadowed twentieth-century advertising desk calendars. Replete with ads, it exposed users to a world of goods and a palace of consumption and suggested that consumer aspiration could be a new form of self-improvement. It did not necessarily produce "a new kind of diarist," though: more people apparently wrote about shopping and leisure, but earlier themes of daily life, religious activity, and family persisted (p. 213).

The signal strength of *The Accidental Diarist* lies in this interplay between manufacturers' objectives for the pocket diary and ordinary Americans' uses of it. While careful throughout to avoid technological determinism, McCarthy argues that diaries' format "eased generations of Americans into a daily habit" and helped foster new ways of recording—and, perhaps, understanding—one's time (p. 3). Sensitive readings of extant diaries, including multiple copies of exemplars of the genre, reveal both transformation and continuity in Americans' daily writings, even as the products became increasingly standardized and nationalized. Despite McCarthy's explanation that "daily planner" is "a modern phrase that these early Americans would not have recognized," the title phrase jars (pp. 9–10). Little evidence suggests that customers used these objects to plan or schedule future events, even if today's planners are their descendants. This quibble notwithstanding, McCarthy's work should reshape the ways historians read nineteenth-century diaries. It reminds us, as good scholarship on the materiality of print culture always does, that fully understanding the "content" requires appreciating the history of its form.

Scott E. Casper
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

April R. Summitt. *Contested Waters: An Environmental History of the Colorado River*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2013. Pp. xvi, 286. $34.95.

In this year of the seemingly never-ending California drought, *Contested Waters: An Environmental History of the Colorado River* by April R. Summitt arrives as a much-needed study of water use and contestation in the American Southwest. The author cogently explains the history of Colorado River use, water management, and conflict while showing the efforts to prepare for anticipated reduced river flows alongside increasing population growth.

Summitt opens with the exploration and use of the Colorado River within the context of broader American trends. She quickly runs through the national events that brought the Colorado River region under American control. The author notes here, and later in the book, the role of Turnerian ideology in the early development of water distribution schemes in the American West. Unfortunately, John Wesley Powell's recommendation for a practical water management system was ignored. Instead, the legal principle of prior ap-

propriation and the requirement, based on laws originating from early statutes in mining districts, that water be immediately used rather than hoarded have bedeviled water management efforts throughout the West ever since. Meant to preclude individuals from controlling water resources, these laws triggered a century-long scramble to gain access to and control the precious resource in amounts far beyond what the Colorado River actually produces.

The book is then organized into three chapters on the irrigation projects in California, Utah, Arizona, Wyoming, and other states. Summitt documents the emergence of the Bureau of Reclamation as a powerhouse and the series of conflicts and agreements between southwestern states over water distribution in the twentieth century. At this point she breaks from a standard chronological history, focusing on western cities such as Las Vegas, Los Angeles, and Phoenix. Backing up to their historical beginnings, the author explains their growth in relationship to their ability to access water through means both nefarious (Los Angeles's swiping of Owens Valley water) and legitimate. The next chapter examines the poor treatment of Native American groups in water distribution agreements and their largely successful recent efforts to gain more water. Finally, Summitt looks at the historical treaty agreement with Mexico to provide water from the Colorado and the ongoing neglect of this obligation by the U.S. government. The book ends with an excellent chapter exploring efforts to swap, bank, and privatize southwestern water.

The author's primary concern in this study is the management of water over time, and she handles it deftly. But Summitt also explores the ecological ramifications of these actions. Issues such as loss and endangerment of native fish species and the negative impact of cold-water reservoirs on spawning patterns are explained clearly and concisely. She describes well the dams' interruption of hydrological cycles and interference with the debris, nutrient, and sediment flow so necessary for river habitat health. She also notes that increasing soil salinity, because of both heavy irrigation and salt-infused terrain cut by the river, poses an almost insurmountable problem.

Of course, the history of this river could not be told without a detailed history of the Bureau of Reclamation. Summitt does a nice job of showing the transformation of the bureau from an agency hectically building dams in the 1930s–1950s to one forced by unrealistic water demands, the decline of the river's ecological health, and increasing environmental regulations coming from Washington, D.C., to better balance water use with environmental concerns. This marks a greening of the agency over the second half of the twentieth century as the bureau even enacted and followed sustainability-oriented policies in the 1990s.

Contested Waters fits well with other studies of rivers and water use in the American West. Less critical than Donald Worster's *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (1985), Summitt's book does not explore water as a tool of control or explain the various stages of hydraulic societies. Also, the author gives scant attention to the role of corporate agricultural interests in undermining and weakening federal irrigation programs designed to benefit working-class farmers. Like historian Donald Pisani, she elucidates the ways in which water law, irrigation projects, and distribution gave various southwestern Native communities short shrift. Summitt follows the story through to the late twentieth century, showing the means employed by various Indian nations to secure "wet water" instead of "paper water." The discussion of largely successful Native efforts to turn promises into flowing water through lawsuits and court decisions, with a string of victories in the 1990s and early 2000s, is well written and useful.

Contested Waters is a valuable contribution to the growing library of western water studies and river histories. Summitt's explanations of water use, political negotiations, compromises, and agreements, as well as current conservation strategies, help us better understand the role of one river in driving historical change and economic development. She ends the book on a positive note, writing "Now, we seek to coax the river back to health, from the headwaters to its delta wetlands" (p. 242). Summitt asserts that the power has returned to the Colorado River itself, and southwestern Americans are finally learning to live within the limits of nature.

Jeff Crane
University of the Incarnate Word

Matthew Morse Booker. *Down by the Bay: San Francisco's History between the Tides*. (Authors Imprint.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 278. $29.95.

In *Down by the Bay*, Matthew Morse Booker examines the environmental impact of a century of privatization on San Francisco Bay. His roughly chronological case studies document economic exploitation of bay and delta wetlands and shallows that resulted in resource monopoly and ecological impoverishment. According to Booker, development in and around the bay has left behind "ghost" landscapes that constrain current urban planning and environmental restoration efforts, and will haunt future responses to global warming.

Booker begins his story on the mudflats of San Francisco, where entrepreneurs filled in marshes to improve port facilities, or for real estate speculation. In the 1840s, newly arrived Anglos, in particular, built land because, as a commons, the intertidal zone was empty and unencumbered by Mexican land claims. After statehood, land-making continued and was endorsed and assisted by government surveyors. In this chapter, Booker introduces two themes that carry through the rest of the work: first, converting commons to private property redistributed resources from the poor to the wealthy; and second, land users' and policymakers' decisions were (and continue to be) shaped by the physical legacies of

these ghost landscapes. This is path dependency turned on its head. Booker does not deny that infrastructure, once established, constrains policy options. Rather, he highlights the impact of past landscapes, and their geological, environmental, and geographic processes, on the present.

In his second case study, Booker moves to the Sacramento–San Joaquin Delta, where capitalists manipulated the Swamplands Act to amass huge holdings. The state legislature aided this process by removing acreage limitations from the Swamplands Act of 1868. An assemblyman from Colusa County claimed that this was unintentional, but he nonetheless defended the legislation because it transferred land to individuals who had the resources to improve it (pp. 84–86). And he may have had a point, given the technical and fiscal demands of controlling floods and draining farmland in the delta. Booker could have stated more clearly whether the delta land monopoly was unique or part of a larger pattern of fraud and monopoly in American land development. But this does not detract from the more important story: privatization in the delta reduced public resources, redistributed resources to the wealthy, and left subsequent generations with an enormous water and land management tangle.

From the delta, Booker turns to the transformation of San Francisco Bay from a food commons, to a private oyster empire, to a toxic but scenic preserve. Karl Jacoby explored similar redistributive patterns in *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (2001), as did Coll Thrush in *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place* (2007). Gold mining precipitated the first transformation by flushing enough silt into the bay to choke indigenous shellfish, and by creating a lucrative market for oyster farms. Fear of typhoid ultimately bankrupted the oyster industry and discouraged foraging. Public health officials responded to bay pollution by posting health warnings; this may have been responsible health policy, but it nevertheless helped redefine recreation and scenery as the highest uses for the bay.

Booker's final case study traces the shallows of the south bay from salt source to wildlife refuge. This chapter brings bay area wetlands full circle: from commons, to private and corporate exploitation, and back to public ownership. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Leslie Salt Company planned to convert salt ponds into housing tracts and marinas; these proposals had much in common with the land-making efforts described in the first chapter. Bay area environmentalists protected the salt ponds and remaining marshes around the bay, but preservation was, as Booker notes, "a compromise" that emphasized recreation and scenery. Not that there were many other options. Accumulated ecological changes, including toxic sediments, fresh water withdrawals, landfill, and introduced species, all "limited the possibilities of the twentieth-century tidal wetland" (p. 184).

In *Down by the Bay*, Booker explores an impressive range of topics. His central theme—privatization of the commons—is important in the history of San Francisco Bay in particular, and in environmental history generally. This work contributes to recent scholarship on environmental justice and class in environmental history, and the transformation of productive, working-class landscapes into scenic resources for the elite. Policymakers should heed Booker's second theme: that the ghosts of landscapes past haunt the present, from the impoverished salt pond ecosystems to the unstable fill of San Francisco's Marina District. Historical studies of land use and ownership of coastal wetlands are all the more significant because estuaries, deltas, and marshes play such vital roles in pollution control and marine ecosystems, and are so vulnerable to rising sea levels and global warming.

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David Soll. *Empire of Water: An Environmental and Political History of the New York City Water Supply*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 283. $29.95.

Studies of New York City's water supply go at least as far back as Charles King's *A Memoir of the Construction, Cost, and Capacity of the Croton Aqueduct* (1843), and they extend to, among others, Gerard T. Koeppel's *Water for Gotham: A History* (2000), Diane Galusha's *Liquid Assets: A History of New York City's Water System* (1999), Stanley Greenberg's *Waterworks: A Photographic Journey through New York's Hidden Water System* (2003), and *Water-Works: The Architecture and Engineering of the New York City Water Supply* (2006), edited by Kevin Bone. The latter three are richly illustrated. Koeppel's book includes the long period before the construction of the publicly owned Croton system, completed in 1842. Up to then, New Yorkers suffered from water of limited quantity and low quality. Among the obstacles they had to overcome to clear the way for the Croton system was the water monopoly of the Manhattan Company, one of whose owners was Aaron Burr.

David Soll ably deepens our understanding of New York's water supply in two ways. First, he focuses on the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, more specifically the period beginning in 1905, when the nation's leading city began tapping the streams of the Catskills. In the 1960s it would reach to the headwaters of the Delaware River. Second, Soll offers what he accurately characterizes in his subtitle as a political and environmental, as opposed to technological, history.

According to Soll, between 1905 and 1967 city officials, always eager and sometimes desperate to procure enough clean water for their insatiable metropolis, very effectively expanded New York's ability to draw on upstate sources. They were abetted by agreements and legal decisions that clearly favored urban growth over rural interests. New York gained crucial political support from suburban communities by promising them they could tie in to the city's supply, thus sparing themselves the trouble of building their own systems. Soll contends

that after the completion of the enormous Delaware addition, which required protracted negotiations with New Jersey and Pennsylvania, New York emphasized maintaining rather than enlarging the existing system.

To do this, it took steps to safeguard the water supply, such as persuading Catskill farmers to alter their methods in order to reduce the pollution of water destined for the big city and its suburbs and to avoid the additional costs of filtering. It also purchased land in the Catskills to help protect the purity of its sources. It was not until late in the twentieth century that officials began to educate consumers on the need for conservation of water instead of complying with the ceaseless demand for more. Among their initiatives was the nation's largest toilet-replacement program. And, after long resistance from politicians wary of alienating voters, the city finally installed residential meters. But, Soll contends, New York still got more or less whatever it wanted from rural areas until 1997, when it signed the thousand-plus-page Watershed Memorandum of Agreement, whose central provision limited New York's rights to acquire Catskills real estate.

Students of regional politics will enjoy the ins and outs of all the maneuvers, disputes, judgments, and agreements, though there is perhaps a little more detail and repetition than is required to grasp this part of the story. The environmental history Soll tells is full of the ironies and unintended consequences that arise when humans try to manipulate nature. By literally outsourcing their water needs upstate, New York and its suburbs could not only grow their populations but also build parks and other amenities on land they did not have to devote to waterworks. Meanwhile, the damming of upstate streams flooded nearby villages and displaced long-established residents, transforming one-time human settlements into fabricated "natural" preserves.

The story is not unique. The titanic Quabbin Reservoir, constructed in central Massachusetts in the 1930s and 1940s to serve Boston and dozens of other communities, required the submersion of several small towns. It is now the center of a state park where urban and suburban residents can get away from it all and enjoy the profusion of flora and fauna as they fish in its waters and stroll its trails. New York is not, as Soll observes, the last major American city to install water meters; as of 2010, about a third of Chicago homeowners were still paying a flat rate, though the Department of Water Management has been working aggressively to reduce this number. Soll may also understate the challenges of drawing on the Hudson as a reasonable alternative to the Catskills. But his story is a compelling and important one that he tells clearly and effectively.

Carl Smith
Northwestern University

Robert C. Fuller. *The Body of Faith: A Biological History of Religion in America*. (Chicago History of American Religion.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 231. $35.00.

Provocative in intention if sometimes pedestrian in outcome, bold in its challenges while modest about its claims, Robert C. Fuller's *The Body of Faith* argues that scientific advances in fields like evolutionary biology and neuroscience commend an interdisciplinary approach to American religious history that acknowledges human physiology. Confronted by existential perils, the body and brain have developed coping mechanisms—such as creating attachment relationships with protective figures—that religious actions, argues Fuller, mobilize quite effectively. From this standpoint, human culture is a phenotype—an organism's visible characteristics distilled from the interaction between its genetic composition and the environment; hence religion is a somatic as well as a social phenomenon shaped partly by cognitive and affective mechanisms designed by natural selection to "enhance our bodily well-being" (p. 11). Understanding how religious styles draw upon ingrained sensory templates should encourage scholars to craft increasingly fine-grained analyses of spiritual life in the United States. For example, recognizing that people come equipped with "viscerally based modes of surveying the environment" (p. 54) helps elucidate the presence of two major sectarian strains in the antebellum U.S.: ascetic programs advocating self-discipline (e.g., evangelical revivalism) and aesthetic ones celebrating spontaneity (e.g., transcendentalism). The former were underwritten by avoidance behaviors genetically engineered to deflect danger by decreasing exposure to one's surroundings, the latter by similarly contrived approach behaviors crafted to utilize available resources by encouraging exploration into the world.

In asserting that religion has a biological component, Fuller takes special aim at the postmodern turn in U.S. historiography. He credits constructionism for demonstrating both that a full accounting of the nation's faiths is a multidimensional tale and that religion has been deployed to subordinate women and minorities, but he chides it for overemphasizing culture's explanatory power, frustrating comparisons across different groups, and underestimating science's potential contributions. Having rejected one extreme, he smartly avoids promoting another by repeatedly rejecting biological determinism. Attending to religion's physiological substrates cannot replace close attention to other factors, he avows; "no one set of critical terms can alone explain something as complex as human religiosity" (p. 16). Nevertheless, the book's argumentative drift—that genetic codes structure the organic bases of religious life, from which society then fashions distinct arrangements—does privilege functionalist interpretations: religion is an adaptation to maximize our safety, one well-equipped to organize the close, cooperative groups that human beings, possessing few physical advantages, require for overcoming predators. Fuller stresses religion's socially conservative functions; not surprisingly, neither the American Revolution nor the Civil War appears in the index.

The book is an essay on methods rather than a syn-

thetic interpretation of U.S. religious history, and the results vary. Sometimes Fuller adds a dimension to what we already know without altering standard narratives: existing accounts of the Millerite and Adventist movements are incomplete, he contends, because they miss how apocalypticism draws on biological modules that create a stance toward life "inordinately focuse[d] on perceived threats to believers' self-esteem" (p. 91). The most satisfying sections offer perceptive comments—the body, he avers, "may incline us to certain kinds of religious metaphors" (p. 121) and can affect theology as much as theology affects it—or propose novel solutions to abiding questions. Most controversial is his handling of the longstanding observation that women display greater religiosity than men. While accepting constructionist arguments to a degree, he proposes that biology also plays a role. Gender has a genetic component; because of innate psychological, hormonal, and behavioral differences, men, he suggests, are more prone to hold risk-taking outlooks conducive to rejecting religion, while women tend to display authoritarian traits and pursue mating strategies more usually satisfied in religious milieus. Other assertions are less persuasive. Both "physical pain and environmental stress motivate religiosity," he states; hence the higher percentages of believers in the United States compared to proportions in other advanced countries can be explained "by the fact that living conditions are measurably less secure" here than elsewhere (p. 170). Yet if Americans face such constant stress, how can one then explain the rise of "New Age" religion as a seeker-type spirituality that emerges in "emotionally secure environments with relatively low levels of impending threat" (p. 173)? The most persistent issue arises from the inability of appeals to humans' genetic makeup, which has not changed since we emerged as a species, to adequately answer historians' basic queries, which hinge on particularities: Why did events occur when, where, and how they did? If responses to bodily pain can foster religious creativity—witness Christian Science and Pentecostalism—why do large-scale religious healing movements emerge episodically, but not endemically? Surely pain we have always with us.

As insightful as Fuller's case can be, it does not procure a verdict that historians should accord biological explanations as much heft as they do culturally oriented ones. On the issue of how important *The Body of Faith* may be, the MRI is still out.

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Nicholas C. P. Vrooman. *"The Whole Country Was . . . 'One Robe' ": The Little Shell Tribe's America*. Great Falls: Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Montana, joint publication with Drumlummon Institute. 2012. Pp. xiv, 466. $39.95.

Those polyethnic bands composed of Cree, Chippewa (Ojibwa), Assiniboine, and métis families who hunted across the Northern Plains of the 49th parallel (now the U.S./Canadian border) have never been easily categorized or understood by either ethnologists or historians. Likewise, governments attempting to nationalize their indigenous populations and control them on reservations/reserves were confounded by these mosaic groupings. It is to Nicholas C. P. Vrooman's credit that he has attempted to provide an overarching interpretation of these bands from the 1780s to the present. In doing so, he pays attention to both the complexities and the commonalities of these borderland peoples, who for him represent "one robe."

The stated purpose of the book is to demonstrate that the ancestors of the Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa Indians were residents of what is now the state of Montana from at least the eighteenth century, and have been in constant occupation of those lands since then. It is in essence the historical basis of the tribe's claim for federal recognition. As Vrooman notes, the Little Shell Tribe is distinguished from surrounding and associated tribes in being unrecognized by the United States government (p. 17).

This purpose or argument is the thread that ties together the welter of events and vast documentation presented here. To make his case, Vrooman articulates a new interpretation of the native groups on the Northern Plains borderlands of the United States and Canada, and he pursues it relentlessly through twenty-nine chapters. In brief, he argues that the ancestral group out of which the Little Shell Tribe emerged were those Cree, Assiniboine, Chippewa, and métis bands that had originated in the Pembina/Red River region (what he terms the Red River Settlement Zone), and who collectively constituted the Nehiyaw Pwat Confederacy. He argues that this polyethnic confederacy had as its homeland the borderlands of the 49th parallel stretching from Pembina, North Dakota, to the Front Range areas of Montana, with its center at the Turtle Mountains, which straddle the North Dakota/Manitoba border. Component groups of this confederacy, he argues, were in Montana by the 1730s and have been there continuously ever since.

Even if one does not accept this larger argument, Vrooman does present a good deal of supporting documentation, and the story he tells is a fascinating one. His analysis of the various American treaties on the Northern Plains (the Pembina Treaty of 1851, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, the Blackfoot Treaty of 1855, and the Pembina "Old Crossing" Treaty of 1863) demonstrate, at the least, an ethnic complexity that previous treatments have glossed over. Additionally, his accounts of the creation of the Turtle Mountain Reservation and the Rocky Boy Reservation, as well as the struggle of the Little Shell Tribe for recognition since the 1920s, are the clearest we have.

It is inevitable that a political argument like this one will explain events in terms of the desired aims of the Little Shell Tribe. For the most part, Vrooman avoids the pitfalls of teleological argumentation by concentrating on the complexity of the story. There are points in the book, however, where he veers into more prob-

lematic territory. Vrooman has a tendency to endorse ethnologists and historians who support his views as new and correct (Floyd and Susan Sharrock) and those who disagree with him as old or outdated (John C. Ewers) (pp. 378–379). Also, to make the case that the Nehiyaw Pwat transcended the U.S.-Canada border across the Northern Plains, and to make the case that métis from the Red River were resident in Montana in the 1850s, he labels Johnny Grant's Deer Lodge settlement a "Red River Settlement Zone transplanted community" (pp. 116, 133). One of the props of this argument is his assertion that Johnny Grant was born in 1831 at Fort des Prairies, which he takes to be Fort Assiniboine near Brandon, Manitoba, and the Turtle Mountains (p. 133). While it is true that Grant was born at Fort des Prairies, this Fort des Prairies was Edmonton House on the North Saskatchewan River, almost 800 miles from the Turtle Mountains. Indeed, Grant never lived in the Red River Settlement Zone until he left Montana in 1867.

These examples do not invalidate Vrooman's larger arguments, but they do raise some questions as to how other sources have been used in the book. That said, *"The Whole Country Was . . . 'One Robe'"* merits a read by anyone interested in the aboriginal history of the Canadian/American borderlands.

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Courtney Weikle-Mills. *Imaginary Citizens: Child Readers and the Limits of American Independence, 1640–1868*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 265. $55.00.

In an interesting juxtaposition of children's literature and the meaning of American independence and citizenship itself, Courtney Weikle-Mills offers readers a chronological analysis of the development and utility of children's literary works in creating responsible citizens for the new republic. This examination stretches from the religious catechisms and primers of the colonial period to the more informal, and perhaps more entertaining, children's books of the nineteenth century. Weikle-Mills builds on her analysis of the changing types of children's literature to examine the relationships between the infant republic and England, and between ordinary American citizens and their new republican government. She makes a clear argument that the qualities in children of "affection, and patriotism" were equally as important to conceptions of citizenship as were the adult qualities of "reason, rights, and property ownership" (p. 18). She carries her analysis into the modern conception of citizenship when she asserts that the idea of imaginary citizenship for children eventually helped change the law, with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Each chapter develops Weikle-Mills's argument that childhood, as viewed through the proscriptive literature of each era, "informed American citizenship" (p. 26). Chapter one places religious expectations that children should know the Bible alongside civic expectations that they should know the capital laws of the colony, a dichotomy that Weikle-Mills asserts reflects a shift from "subjecthood to citizenship" (p. 33). Chapter two develops the author's conception of affectionate citizenship with the claim that the idea of teaching a child to "love his book" (p. 62) reflected a recognition that affection played an important role in the creation of the new social contract implicit in the new republic. Weikle-Mills correctly identifies the role of affection in this new construction of citizenship, but she fails to identify the rising idea that women, because they used affectionate persuasion rather than the brute force of the rod, were more effective as teachers for the young. This led, in the late eighteenth century, to an increasing role for mothers and young women as teachers. Chapter three addresses "the blurring between adults' and children's literature" (p. 98), with numerous examples of books that could be read by members of either age group. Chapter four provides an interesting analysis of the influence of changing economic realities on the choice of books for children and on the goal of reading those books, especially as it related to the idea of awarding a premium or prize to encourage reading. Chapters five and six extend Weikle-Mills's analysis of children's imaginary citizenship to the eventual passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, which expanded the definition of citizenship to include children even if it did not include their "recognition as citizens beyond basic protections" (p. 209).

While *Imaginary Citizens* provides ample evidence of the influence of children's literature on conceptions of childhood and citizenship in both colonial and antebellum America, Weikle-Mills's argument has some shortcomings. Other scholars have introduced the concept of "republican motherhood" as a powerful analytical tool for understanding how educated mothers in post-revolutionary America could influence their children to become responsible citizens of the new republic. Weikle-Mills does not take this into consideration in her evaluation. Another challenge is that she provides many more examples of literature directed at girls than at boys, and she fails to incorporate questions of class. Many of her examples clearly deal with the reading material available primarily to middle-class children, especially girls, but an examination of conceptions of citizenship in Jacksonian America has to take into consideration the perceived threat of the mob of citizens who not only lacked access to education but also were no longer willing to bow to deferential conceptions of American society and politics. In addition, with the rise of child labor in the American industrial revolution, children from poor families often lacked even the basic education that Weikle-Mills assumes for the period. While her example of the culture of reading and self-improvement that was evident in the millworkers of Lowell, Massachusetts, reveals working women as fully vested in conceptions of American citizenship, it does not tell the whole story. When early labor reform legislation failed to force factory owners to provide eve-

ning schooling for their child workers, many nineteenth-century children remained outside the influences that Weikle-Mills so carefully analyzes.

Despite this, Weikle-Mills provides a fascinating new way to look at American conceptions of citizenship, not only for children who had not reached the age of majority, but for adult women in the nineteenth century, who would never truly share in the rights and responsibilities of public citizenship. She provides an excellent analysis of the proscriptive literature for early American child readers. Historians of childhood will find this book useful, as will anyone who wants to understand the changing position of children and the concept of responsible citizenship.

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Mark L. Thompson. *The Contest for the Delaware Valley: Allegiance, Identity, and Empire in the Seventeenth Century*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 265. $48.00.

This well-written monograph examines an important subject that has not received sufficient attention from recent historians: How can we best understand the contest among European empires for control of the seventeenth-century Delaware Valley? From the English-born Henry Hudson sailing for the Dutch East India Company in 1609 through the *ten* different colonial polities that sought supremacy in the region prior to lasting Anglo-British rule after 1682, there is much to be gained from giving close attention to this contested space before the enduring stability of Pennsylvania.

Mark L. Thompson argues that the synergy between commercial actors and political regimes in northern Europe that fueled overseas expansion also critically stimulated the "national dimensions" of those involved, with nations defined in this era as "integral bodies composed of sovereigns and subjects, each sharing in the rights of the other and each relying upon the other to defend their interests" (pp. 33–34). The linkage between allegiance and rights is the analytical key here, with national identity not simply imposed by elites from the metropole, for "discourses of national identification were often born within the colonies and elaborated in response to local conditions" (p. 8). National identity was not distinct from cosmopolitan and local poles; interacting with them strengthened it. This argument advances principally from how colonists with national identities distinct from those of their erstwhile rulers acted in post-conquest situations. Thompson convincingly pursues how "[n]ational identities once oriented toward empires became ethnic identities associated with customary rights and liberties attached to specific communities" (pp. 8–9).

This defining feature of early Delaware Valley colonial society was expressed above all by settlers of the Swedish nation (as many as half of whom were Finns, largely recruited in Sweden) and derived its regional salience from three chief interrelated factors: a " 'contract theory' of colonial commerce" (p. 66), under which varied colonial traders and Native Americans were seen as equal actors; extremely small settler populations; and weak colonial authority. Together these factors demanded accommodation and negotiation from all participants. Thus in a period of Dutch rule from 1655 to 1664, Swedish settlers "acquired power of their own by embracing their subjection and asserting collective, 'national' privileges" (p. 176).

While the central four of six chapters focus primarily on New Sweden, or Dutch and English officials' relations with Swedish settlers, an impressive range of additional subjects is assessed to more fully understand the distinctive dynamics of this world. These topics include the multinational origins of colonial leaders in north-central Europe (which discussion would have benefited from a map); sustained recognition of how varied Indian nations shaped colonial developments; Dutch West India Company experiences in Brazil as a potential model for rule in the Delaware Valley; the regular incursion of English elements into the region from Maryland as well as New Haven; later developments under William Penn and James Logan; the alternative British colonial conquest model in Acadia; and the shift of the contest of empire to the more western Indian country of the eighteenth century. Thompson effectively incorporates these diverse subjects into his narrative with an assured writing style and a cogent command of a large body of recent scholarship. The broadest argument advanced as the book draws to a close—that eighteenth-century "Britonization" in the Delaware Valley (pp. 207–210) was a creole convergence that combined local and cosmopolitan impulses in ways that "built upon the ruins of older imperial ambitions" (p. 203)—might have benefited from more sustained attention to the region itself as colonial society changed after 1682.

Thompson's evident command of Dutch, Swedish, German, French, and English sources gives him unique linguistic skills to assess the multinational seventeenth-century Delaware Valley, especially when he draws on largely unfamiliar non-English seventeenth-century imprints. For the most part, however, the primary sources used here have been published in English translations, especially by Charles T. Gehring and the New Netherland Project, as well as in valuable older collections. While the author seeks to understand ordinary colonists' self-understanding and actions, as with the twenty-two signatories in a 1653 "mutiny" (pp. 111–119, 144–147), key figures like Peter Minuit, Pieter Stuyvesant, Johan Printz, and Johan Risingh emerge most clearly here, presumably because official papers constitute the main surviving traditional historical sources from the period.

This thoughtful study demands that we think more carefully about how the nation was asserted and transformed in early modern colonial contexts as polities of varied sorts projected power across the Atlantic. Thompson makes an original and reasoned contribution to a sometimes shrill scholarship on the origins of

nationhood. While his insistence on the importance of "nation-ness" in the seventeenth century is unlikely to convince those who dismiss such early developments, this book invites us to reconsider our contemporary connections to that era and should also prompt us to probe more fully how the ethnic assumptions in the imperial scholarship of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries still shapes our historical understanding of the concept of nation.

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Hermann Wellenreuther. *Citizens in a Strange Land: A Study of German-American Broadsides and Their Meaning for Germans in North America, 1730–1830.* (Max Kade German-American Research Institute Series.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 352. $94.95.

What do the execution of runaway slave Elizabeth Moore, the popular hymn "Wo ist Jesus mein Verlangen," and Conrad Weiser's 1741 appeal to Pennsylvania Germans to defend their liberties in the face of war have in common? They all feature in the German-language broadsides that are analyzed in remarkable detail by Hermann Wellenreuther in his magisterial study *Citizens in a Strange Land*. Wellenreuther's book groups the far-flung concerns of this oft-neglected mode of publication into three areas—secular, religious, and political broadsides—with sixteen accompanying color plates and thirty-seven black-and-white figures, as well as a spread of tables and graphs. The book represents the culmination of a research project at the University of Göttingen from 2000 to 2007, which involved meticulous research conducted at archives in Germany and North America and the subsequent assembly of 1,682 different broadsides printed in the mid-Atlantic from 1730 to 1830.

Beyond this archival and bibliographic feat, the Göttingen project and Wellenreuther's resulting study accomplish several major achievements. *Citizens in a Strange Land* takes an analytical approach that goes beyond the more descriptive scholarly treatments of Pennsylvania German broadsides that have previously been published; it thus creates a deeper understanding of the connection between the needs and interests of the readership and the writers, artists, and printers who produced these fleeting publications. Indeed, Wellenreuther paints a remarkably textured picture of the ideals, concerns, and daily lives of Pennsylvania German settlers. With its rich readings, lavish illustrations, and nuanced positioning of these broadsides in the Atlantic world, the book makes German-American culture relevant to American scholars, who have long relegated it to the exclusive métier of folklorists.

The introduction and first chapter situate the broadsides in the particular world of German-language printers and readers in colonial and early national Pennsylvania. More than imported or locally printed books, broadsides responded flexibly to readers' needs and interests, thereby creating "symbiotic relationships between customers and printers" (p. 14). The print run and longevity of broadsides often stood in inverse relationship: Because broadsides with a higher circulation typically advertised a particular event, such as an auction or an election, they "usually lost their function after the event had passed; on the other hand, broadsides whose text discussed issues that were not time-bound—religious questions, hymns, or medical or constitutional problems—retained their function and importance for the owner much longer and in some cases were even passed on to the next generation" (p. 249).

Chapters two through four discuss specific broadsides that can serve as windows into Pennsylvania German life, interests, beliefs, needs, and even anxieties and fears. Although only chapter three explicitly deals with religion, virtually all of the broadsides covered in the book are steeped in German Pietist and often mystical spirituality. Discussed in the chapter on the "Secular World" of Pennsylvania Germans, the famous *Haussegen* (house or home blessing) broadside, for example, was "a prominently displayed statement that informed the visitor that he was entering a house where piety and a Christian lifestyle were practiced" (p. 67). According to Wellenreuther, the prominence of the *Haussegen* reveals a significant sense of insecurity among Pennsylvania Germans. At least in part, this anxiety stemmed from their status as residents or citizens of a place that regarded them as outsiders and aliens. These broadsides, Wellenreuther argues, reveal that "precious few connections existed between the majority of Germans and their surrounding American neighbors. At least as far as their cultural and religious interests were concerned, the two societies lived side by side, but without significant contact" (p. 10). Wellenreuther seems to overreach here, especially since he interprets the political broadsides in chapter four "as part of a political dialogue within the German community and between the German and the English communities" (p. 198).

Nevertheless, the book excels due to its nuanced unpacking of the interaction between text and images, and it makes a groundbreaking contribution to the burgeoning field of material-text studies. For example, Wellenreuther's discussion of the popular Adam and Eve broadsides demonstrates that image and text complemented each other in warning adolescents about the temptations of sexual maturation, yet they also revealed divergent messages: while the text frequently exonerated women from being the sole cause of the fall, the nude images made the female body the object of the gaze of adolescent and grown men alike (p. 105). Such intriguing micro-readings make Wellenreuther's study an excellent teaching tool; instructors and students could use individual case studies to model similar archival and material-text research for succeeding generations of undergraduate and graduate students.

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PHILIP GOULD. *Writing the Rebellion: Loyalists and the Literature of Politics in British America*. (Oxford Studies in American Literary History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. 217. $49.95.

By studying the writing with which loyalists resisted the rebellion against British authority in America in the 1760s and 1770s, Philip Gould's scholarly and beautifully written monograph offers a new way to conceptualize their agency. They, no less than the Whigs, were *writers*. Echoing recent work by Elisa Tamarkin, Leonard Tennenhouse, and Edward Larkin, Gould's monograph challenges the notion that British America suddenly became America in either 1776 or 1783. Instead, the very notion of being American, both during the revolution and in the early decades of the republic, was composed of persistent English political concepts, English cultural identity, and, just as importantly, an inherited English tradition of polite writing and literacy (p. 23).

Writing the Rebellion undertakes to demonstrate the way "the literature of politics," and thus "aesthetics," mediated the political struggle that issued from war. Gould surveys a wide spectrum of loyalist thought over the arch of the imperial crisis, documenting the diverse generic and rhetorical strategies that loyalists deployed in each of its phases: the satiric irony and wit used to deflate the grandiose rights discourse of the American Whigs; the ballad stanzas composed to burlesque the Continental Association's organizational efforts or the feeble military raids in New Jersey by General Anthony Wayne; and the regionalist literary discourse that was mobilized to locate (it turns out incorrectly) Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* as a product of a New England radical Puritanism that had its origins in the Commonwealth.

Gould's book makes available the wit, the invention, and the passion of loyalist writing. To do this, Gould presents and develops nuanced discussions of the writing of a broad range of loyalists: the Newport resident Martin Howard, writing as a "Halifax Gentleman"; the Philadelphia educator William Smith, posing as "Cato"; the Connecticut pastor Samuel Seabury, writing as a "Westchester Farmer"; the British soldier and spy John Andre, posing as a patriot balladeer; and finally Maryland's James Chalmers, writing the *Plain Truth* as "Candidus." Gould's emphasis is not the ideological content of particular disputes, for example, about taxation or parliamentary sovereignty. Instead, he shows that loyalist writers believed that the strength of their political arguments was ensured because of their exercise of the shared conventions of polite writing: a display of erudite reference, trenchant wit, original authorship, and an acceptance of a common standard of taste. These all depended in turn upon an understanding of generic conventions and correct usage. In their writing, loyalists condemned Whig patriots as an intolerant, tyrannical, unrefined, unlettered, boorish mob. Gould suggests that this recourse to the aesthetics of refinement and taste won authors membership in the society of fellow literate loyalists through a kind of aesthetic "insiderism." His readings allow us to discern an increasingly desperate message: "Since we cannot endure the impoliteness of your uncivil society we will at least uphold the civility and taste of our own Tory, Loyalist, British American society, even as it is dissolving around us" (p. 163).

Gould gets us to confront a fundamental question: What was the relationship between America's revolutionary politics (of force, of power, and of polemics; the struggle for leverage and to gather members to a common cause) and English letters (the taste, style, and traditions of literary culture)? Or, put more simply, how did aesthetics mediate politics? I suspect that most readers of this fascinating study will give the aesthetic and literary a more minor role than *Writing the Rebellion* does. For even Gould shows how loyalist aesthetics became a symptom of political weakness rather than a way to seize political initiative. In fact, Gould is at his best in refusing to indulge loyalist laments about a lost world of British America. Instead, he diagnoses the failures of loyalist writing—the way its discourse turns from persuading the public to engaging in a self-pitying address to one another.

Gould's book is also in dialogue with David Shields's pathbreaking *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (1997). If Shields showed how polite letters could work as a bond among the provincial men and women of British America, Gould suggests that polite letters became the last refuge of the loyalists in resisting not a "revolution," but a most uncivil war. As a vehicle for polemics and persuasion, this earlier form of polite writing had little efficacy. Gould shows that loyalists continued to write out of a sense of "dislocation" and uncertainty, of being persecuted by Whig committees, of having their privacy invaded, and of feeling equally "alienated" from so-called patriot Americans and their British allies (p. 10). In the end, they experienced the difficulty of maintaining either a London-centered metropolitan British identity *or* a local American identity (p. 23).

Gould's deeply scholarly and critically acute study of loyalist writing might offer a way to reframe and reread Whig political writing. There we find learned arguments based in English political discourse written by Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Dickinson, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams. The central effort of these patriot Whig writers, as well as the non-native Englishman Thomas Paine, was to fashion an accessible republican style in their address to the people. To do so, they intentionally eschewed the refined and learned style to which their loyalist opponents still cleaved. Perhaps the Whig style of writing *was* the pivot point of victory?

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DANIEL KREBS. *A Generous and Merciful Enemy: Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution*. (Campaigns and Commanders, number 38.) Nor-

man: University of Oklahoma Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 376. Cloth $34.95.

Much has been written about the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), largely and understandably from the view of the victorious American side. Often overlooked have been the 37,000 German Hessians who comprised one-third of the British forces and, in particular, the 5,400 who became prisoners of war. Daniel Krebs has written an impressive chronicle of the Hessians as soldiers and as prisoners.

Krebs's first lesson for his readers is that these German soldiers were generally conscripted from different provinces in the Holy Roman Empire—especially the landgraviate of Hessen-Kassel, hence history's term "Hessians." Trafficking in soldiers was hardly uncommon; armies were regularly rented, an arrangement that was legalized by treaty. Indeed, Hessian troops supported William and Mary, helping guarantee a peaceful transition of power during the Glorious Revolution; they served with British troops under Marlborough at Blenheim; and they assisted in subduing the Highland uprisings of 1715 and 1745. It was not unusual that Britain turned to Hessen-Kassel for help in suppressing the rebellion in its North American colonies.

The second lesson for readers is that the Hessians were not mercenaries, but rather conscripted regular soldiers. George II and George III paid for them, certainly, but the money went to the German princes. Hessen-Kassel and the principalities benefited enormously: public projects, reduced taxes, and the occasional averting of bankruptcy. Once transported to the rebellious American colonies, these subsidized German soldiers were spread from Canada to Florida. Krebs examines each unit in detail, including the soldiers' religions (mostly Protestant) and average age (24). The body of the book describes the course of the Revolutionary War as it affected the Hessian units captured at Trenton on Christmas Day 1776 (which caused the now-cautious Landgrave Frederick of Hessen-Kassel and his neighbors to reconsider the effects of the venture); at Saratoga, New York, on September 19 and October 7, 1777; on the British transports *Molly* and *Triton* in 1779; at Cowpens, South Carolina, in January 1781; and finally during the siege of Yorktown, Virginia, from September to October 1781. By all accounts, the Hessians acquitted themselves bravely throughout the war, despite their widespread looting of civilians, and were even allowed to rename Fort Washington "Fort Knyphausen" in honor of the Hessian general who led the attack that captured it.

The major theme of *A Generous and Merciful Enemy*, however, is the breakaway nation's treatment of the more than 5,400 German prisoners. During a revolution in which policy decisions were chaotic and the opposing British starved to death some 11,000 American rebel prisoners aboard such notorious prison ships as the HMS *Jersey* (the British did not consider the rebels to be prisoners of war until 1782), the experiences of German POWs varied dramatically. Generally, Hessian prisoners received tolerant treatment. Mass surrenders were often ritual affairs, in which the German captives marched past their new captors with flags encased and weapons grounded. In fact, the first German prisoners captured at Trenton were given a tour of Philadelphia before being returned to their units. Such care was offered by George Washington to encourage the Hessians to desert from their British commanders, although fewer Hessians deserted than either British or American soldiers. Those who did desert to American captivity were motivated less by an attraction to the new democracy than by their concern over rampant disease, poor leadership, and the miseries of service (particularly on the Georgia front), and by the economic opportunities of life in America. As in most wars, the prisoners were viewed as bargaining chips in future prisoner exchanges.

While hardly pleasant, the care of Hessian war prisoners was a bright spot in the treatment of war prisoners, considering the brutality of later conflicts. Although enemy officers were eventually paroled, Congress viewed the rank-and-file Hessian POWs as a sop to the war-induced shortage of skilled American craftsmen such as carpenters, weavers, tailors, and shoemakers. The prisoners were used as indentured laborers at major POW camps throughout Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Many were hired out to army suppliers in lieu of payment, while others were shipped to the Moravian towns of Bethlehem and Lebanon, Pennsylvania, and Hebron, Kentucky. Wherever they spent the war years, the Hessian POWs' salaries, however meager, provided a welcome injection of money into the hinterland. With the end of the conflict, the German prisoners had several options: they could join the Continental Army and become American citizens, they could sell themselves into three years of indentured labor before leaving, or they could pay a hefty ransom and leave immediately. Most returned home to a hero's welcome, however penniless their future seemed.

Krebs's excellent study is surprisingly human, and includes family relations, living conditions, and even a report by one Johannes Adler, who respectfully complained that he "did not have any bowel movement for twenty-one days" (p. 264). Krebs's scholarship is most impressive, largely drawn from original letters, diaries, and contemporary documents from two dozen German archives (the list of which occupies six full pages of the forty pages of notes and bibliography), which alone is worth the price of this book.

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Julien Vernet. *Strangers on Their Native Soil: Opposition to United States' Governance in Louisiana's Orleans Territory, 1803–1809*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2013. Pp. vi, 210. $60.00.

In their various paths to statehood, few territories in the United States endured a more convoluted and complex

process than Louisiana. Subject to political control by multiple foreign governments, home to a wide diversity of ethnic and racial groups, and the object of fierce competing loyalties and faiths, Louisiana stumbled toward statehood on the very threshold of chaos. Despite such challenges, the strategic significance inherent in the region's geographic location ensured that the struggle to secure stable governance would be embraced by many.

In the first years of the nineteenth century, what we know today as Louisiana consisted of multiple territories controlled by competing powers. The Orleans Territory served as arguably the most significant due to its control of the strategic mouth of the Mississippi River, along with the South's lone emerging great metropolis, New Orleans. The Crescent City served as the epicenter of divided loyalties and intrigue. In this new volume from the University Press of Mississippi, author Julien Vernet seeks to provide an understanding of the complex circumstances surrounding the transfer of the Orleans Territory to the United States.

With its long tradition of French and Spanish governance, it should surprise no one that the transfer of the territory to the United States was painful. The author demonstrates that the primacy of Creole culture and Catholicism guaranteed a clash with the intruding Anglo-Protestant traditions of the newly arriving Americans. Equal to the culture shock was the intense political maneuvering that characterized the arrival of American governance in the form of Governor William C. C. Claiborne. For many long-term residents, Claiborne's inability to speak French personified the clumsy governance practiced by the Americans. Similarly, within months of his arrival in the territory, Claiborne concluded that Louisianans remained utterly ignorant of representative government. The governor advocated near-dictatorial control, a position with which President Thomas Jefferson seemed to agree. The author concludes that Louisiana became part of the United States as a colony during a time in which the president enjoyed near total control.

The book traces the various letter-writing wars, reports and counter-reports, and attacks in the newspapers, which reveal as much about the clash of cultures as they do about political maneuvering. One of the more interesting segments of the book details the infamous Aaron Burr conspiracy, significant segments of which played out in the streets and courts of New Orleans. The political chameleons, land speculators, and patrons of treason evident in the Burr debacle seemed so much a part of the landscape of the Orleans Territory that in the end, none answered definitively for their intrigues.

This book reads more like a road map for guidance through complex events than a vehicle for interpretive analysis. There is no groundbreaking reappraisal of issues or compelling argument. The notes are seldom fat with documentation of supporting evidence and often rely significantly on secondary source material. Yet the book definitely has value. The events surrounding the American acquisition of the Orleans Territory and its advance toward statehood can be so complicated and confusing that a readable volume such as this one is most welcome. The narrative is concise and well-written, and the author remains focused on his point, avoiding becoming overly entangled in lengthy anecdotes that could distract the reader just as much as they entertain. In short, this book serves as an engaging and accessible tool to assist both scholars and general readers in navigating a challenging segment of territorial history.

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Susan Schulten. *Mapping the Nation: History and Cartography in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 246. Cloth $45.00, paper $30.00.

Mapping the Nation is an arresting title. Although the subtitle restrains the arc of this study to one century of historical cartographic analysis, many details of both history and cartography are overlooked in the book's less than 200 pages of text. Drawing from 161 "thematic maps" (p. 47), Schulten contends that maps were powerful social and political images that helped cement the nation together as it expanded across a continent. The two chapters of Part One, "Mapping the Past," focus on historical cartography and its relationship to the growth of a national history. Part Two, "Mapping the Present," contains three chapters that highlight the mapping of the socioeconomic and political characteristics of the people, particularly via "statistical cartography."

In Part One, through an individualistic approach, Schulten summarizes the work of Emma Willard—educator, author, and activist—who shared with students and policymakers her conviction that if the nation's citizens were to comprehend the flow of history, it was essential that they develop an understanding of geographical settings, connections, and relationships. Willard's work, and that of others, like cartographer Johann Georg Kohl, influenced such federal government agencies as the U.S. Coast Survey and the State Department to collect and archive historical and contemporary maps to provide geospatial information for policymakers and the public. These efforts ultimately led, at the end of the century, to the creation of the national map archive at the Library of Congress.

The use of map analysis in explaining environmental and socioeconomic problems, swaying policymakers and voters, and revealing the demographic compositions of the populace are the undergirding themes of Part Two. The linkage between disease and climate brought fruitful inquiries and cartographic innovations aimed at discovering and measuring sources of infectious vectors. Isolines (lines displaying equal value), particularly isotherms (temperature) and isohyets (precipitation), became key concepts in climatic cartography. Choropleth maps showing the states and counties with slavery infused the national political debate before

the Civil War, and then during the conflict steered strategic military operations. Once again Schulten profiles individuals and their critical work in ensuring that "statistical cartography" would become an indispensable method of understanding the country and its people. Francis Amasa Walker, superintendent of the 1870 census, and Daniel Coit Gilman, nationally recognized geographer and educator, became the foremost leaders in advocating logical, data-driven governance. From their efforts came the 1874 *Statistical Atlas of the United States*, the first atlas based on data from a decennial census and containing pioneering maps that, like today's geographic information systems (GIS), layered geospatial data for visual analysis. Yet interpretations of such maps varied as immigrant and African American populations, the persistence of illiteracy, and the spread of syphilis provoked nativism, discrimination, and fear, thus underscoring Schulten's thesis that maps are arguments that communicate complex ideas.

The focus on "thematic, statistical maps" disregards the influences of other maps from local to national scales: transportation, military, and urban morphology, for example. More specific explanation of cartographic errors, distortions, and omissions in the maps Schulten reviews would have been beneficial. The author's use of the term "spatial" throughout the book rather than "geospatial" is problematic, as are some repetitive stylistic constructs and grammatical irritations (e.g., "data is"). Most awkward is the University of Chicago Press's attempt to bridge the hard copy and digital realms via a companion website, albeit with splendid supplementary maps. The better solution would have been an e-book with hyperlinks to the ancillary maps and other source materials—the twenty-first-century model.

Schulten's detailed research and inclusion of noteworthy nineteenth-century maps are vital contributions in themselves, expressing the power of the state over its territory, people, and resources. Her meticulous scholarly investigation and thoughtful insights certainly inform the discourse in several literatures as they continue to grapple with the conceptions of nineteenth-century nation-building.

Lawrence E. Estaville
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Diana L. Di Stefano. *Encounters in Avalanche Country: A History of Survival in the Mountain West, 1820–1920.* (Emil and Kathleen Sick Series in Western History and Biography.) Seattle: Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, in association with University of Washington Press. 2013. Pp. x, 171. $34.95.

For Diana L. Di Stefano, avalanches in the Mountain West were, during a hundred critically formative years there, not only frequent and voluminously dangerous descents (in accord with the word's etymology) of snow, ice, rock, earth, timber, and other debris on mountainsides, but also nexuses where significant historical forces—of regional identity, community-building, labor problems, litigation regarding acts of God, and more—encountered one another. Those downslides born of snowpack instabilities occurred as either loose-snow or slab avalanches, the latter usually the more massive of the two, more difficult to predict, and able to move at up to two hundred miles per hour. Both were formidable agents of large-scale destruction—of almost everything and everybody in their broad paths—in "Avalanche Country, places where steep slopes and snow converge with deadly potential" (p. 3). As Di Stefano argues emphatically, the people who contended with avalanches in the course of those hundred years, from Alaska and Canada to California and Colorado, were not the hell-bent-for-leather loners of the cinematic West but individuals—initially fur trappers and traders, then miners, mailmen, itinerant preachers, doctors, railway workers, and all manner of intrepid settlers—who learned by dint of menacing necessity to band together to develop the communal knowledge and share the skills and strategies that helped them as they strove to avoid sudden, violent, and suffocating burial.

The narrative begins with a good deal of familiar backstory about the hardships of the first hardy nonnative adventurers in the Mountain West; that established, it elaborates, through vividly evidenced telling, the less familiar episodes of tragedies occasioned by high-altitude snowfall. The gloss on that narrative, its plot stretching from the era of the boisterous rendezvous to the time of full-bore industrialization, always somehow concerns cooperation in confronting perilous environmental realities, and it supports Di Stefano's recurring points that "exchanges of local knowledge became a centerpiece of the mountain experience" and that the risk-takers involved incorporated such knowledge "into workplace practices such as prediction of avalanches, disaster responses like community volunteer rescues, leisure-time activities, and attempts to assign blame that could play out in legal actions" (p. 123). That last topic is crucial to Di Stefano's study and takes up the penultimate three of the book's eight chapters. The reading there slogs a bit in the plethora of details, but the legal history of liability issues is indeed thoroughgoing and brings to the fore the extent of human suffering caused by both the disasters and the responses to them on the part of callous and profit-driven enterprises like the Great Northern Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The final chapter expands Di Stefano's risk-and-responsibility theme with a consideration of how avalanches, as well as disasters like floods and earthquakes, complicate imperfect human efforts to control nature or separate it from culture (by means of snowsheds, rerouting of rails, and the like later in the period on which she focuses). Those disasters, as she stresses in her peroration, have a present-day relevance in that they "offer a chance to rethink the human-nature relationship in other ways"—particularly "because of rising populations in environmentally sensitive areas" (p. 124).

A plentitude of historical studies have dealt with the hazards and tribulations of living and working in the Mountain West in the time frame of Di Stefano's book,

but none, to my knowledge, have treated her central subject—and its relation to matters of community—so completely. *Encounters in Avalanche Country* is a well-documented exploration effectively shaped by the originality of its approach. It should be of specific interest to historians investigating litigation anent liability, but it surely would engage anyone wanting to know more about the asperities endured by our western ancestors. The text is burdened at times by repetition, but that fault may be more than offset by a signature of aptly selected photographs that serve as ocular proof of, among other things, the role of deforestation in lubricating avalanches and the crushing power of the white behemoth that killed six of the eight children of Marcella Doyle, a widow who ran a boardinghouse, in Woodstock, Colorado, in 1884—a sorrowful event that set the stage for much legal drama to follow.

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JOSHUA D. WOLFF. *Western Union and the Creation of the American Corporate Order, 1845–1893*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 305. $90.00.

When historians study late-nineteenth-century industrial expansion and corporate abuse, their gaze usually falls upon railroads' spidery expansion westward and their economies of scale. In *Western Union and the Creation of the American Corporate Order, 1845–1893*, Joshua D. Wolff turns instead to telegraphy. The progress of Western Union, notes Wolff—from capitalizing on Samuel Morse's invention, to devouring competitors, to establishing an effective postbellum monopoly—symbolized "the triumph of economic liberalism *over* republicanism" (p. 289).

Telegraphy represented the great communications revolution of the nineteenth century. Grasping the import of Morse's technology, Western Union incorporated in the 1850s and benefited from the Republican Party's 1860 victory to capture the market. Republicans embraced a corporatist ethic, reminiscent of earlier mercantilism, and willingly committed public resources to promote industrial growth, be that railroad land grants, subsidies for a transcontinental railroad, or protective tariffs. During the Civil War, telegraph companies managed to engineer profitable control not only of the northern military telegraph, by coaxing Lincoln's War Department, but also of southern telegraphy, by assuring the Confederacy of their impartiality. These sharp business practices enabled them to earn high profits and swallow up the competition. Western Union bragged of having a larger capitalization than the New York Central Railroad by the late 1860s, making it arguably one of America's largest and most powerful corporations.

Western Union's rapid capturing of market share concerned many in government, leading to the 1866 Telegraph Act, which allowed for rate-setting on government messages and the potential for future nationalization of telegraph lines. Western Union fought regulation; and that battle, combined with anti-union practices, pooling arrangements to control costs, and Jay Gould's speculative exploits, helped paint the company as predatory and interested primarily in its stockholders and financiers rather than the public good. Wolff echoes Richard White's *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (2011) by describing nineteenth-century telegraph expansion as one not of bold entrepreneurs and innovative corporate strategies, but of piratical tactics and speculative greed. While Wolff laments the binary nature of earlier "robber baron" interpretations, he steers the portrait of postbellum corporations away from recent positive portrayals of Gilded Age businessmen—for example, Jean Strouse's *Morgan: American Financier* (1999) and Ron Chenow's *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* (1998) and *House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (1990)—to criticisms reminiscent of early-twentieth-century Progressive historians.

Rather than economic liberalism, Western Union's tactics reflected a type of Gilded Age crony capitalism ambivalent over laissez-faire. The company welcomed government patronage but resented oversight. In one breath, they denied holding a monopoly, despite controlling 90 percent of business, or requiring any regulation of trade; in the next, they claimed that they *should* be a monopoly because of competition's destructive potential, mimicking an appeal for vested rights denied by the Taney Court in the 1837 *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge* case. In addition, Western Union happily enjoyed government aid, be that War Department largesse or the use of railroads' right-of-way and rent-free occupation of depots, themselves the product of government support via land grants, subsidies, and government stock purchases. In a sense, the telegraph monopoly reflected Joseph Schumpeter's observations on entrepreneurial "creative destruction." Industries achieving profitability and market dominance interrupted patterns of destructive innovation by seeking public allies to entrench their monopoly and weather "the perennial gale" of competition. This favored stockholders over aspiring risk-taking innovators who threatened to disrupt the economic status quo. In the end, as with Western Union, you were left, as Schumpeter wrote, with "nobody within and nobody without the precincts of the big concerns" (*Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* [1942], pp. 88, 142).

Wolff's book exhibits excellent prose and manuscript research of the highest order. Historians wishing a better understanding of the nineteenth-century communications revolution, particularly its business history, must grapple with his book.

MICHAEL J. CONNOLLY
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JINX COLEMAN BROUSSARD. *African American Foreign Correspondents: A History*. (Media and Public Affairs.)

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 268. Cloth $45.00, e-book $35.00.

Journalism history has long been centered on single national narratives, largely because of the inextricable link between sociopolitical and communication developments. Recently, calls have abounded for internationalizing media history, with most attention focused on American foreign correspondents. Jinx Coleman Broussard's wide-ranging book brings into this growing historical record, often for the first time, the stories of, and the stories covered by, African American correspondents writing about the world from the mid-1840s to the late 1990s.

Based on extensive research in personal and media archives, the book spotlights the figure of the foreign correspondent, which is largely missing from canonical histories of the African American press such as Patrick Washburn's *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom* (2006), and the figure of the African American journalist, which was far from central in John Maxwell Hamilton's masterful *Journalism's Roving Eye: A History of American Foreign Reporting* (2009). But Broussard goes well beyond this already valuable addition, revealing how African American journalists approached foreign correspondence through a unique perspective that challenged dominant narratives of both newsgathering principles and national identity. Virtually all correspondents detailed in the book asked themselves, "Are you black first, or a journalist first?" in the words of 1990s *Washington Post* Africa bureau chief Keith B. Richburg, though they found different answers in their struggles "with the dilemma of whether to report accurately or to push some kind of black agenda" (p. 200).

Regardless of the politics or the journalistic practices of each era, nearly all African American journalists consistently chose advocacy as their dominant goal, using foreign correspondence as another tool to promote "a civil rights agenda, grounded in advocacy, protest, and pride" (p. 207). Broussard shows that they did so by looking at the world to reflect on the United States and race—either praising other countries for being far better than the U.S. in their treatment of black citizens or condemning white-majority countries for oppressing other races worldwide.

Furthermore, from the very beginning of the black press in the United States in the 1820s, African American journalists articulated their goals as not only advocating for their rights but also reporting on their communities in ways that combated stereotypes and spotlighted what the mainstream media neglected. This adversarial role toward both U.S. government policies and mainstream media transferred to foreign news: "Our daily papers, giant weekly news magazines, radio and television networks will not and psychologically cannot report the hard facts and bitter truth from Latin America, Asia, and Africa. They can't. They have too much of a stake in the status quo—emotionally, financially, and socially . . . The colored press must assume this responsibility," according to William Worthy, Jr., who reported overseas for *The Afro-American* from the 1950s to the 1990s (p. 168).

Another strength of this book is its succinct but engaging illustration of the full chronological trajectory of this different genre of foreign correspondence, "intent on getting the black side of the story" (p. 6). Until the late twentieth century, these writers employed different practices from those used by the mainstream media because they tended to travel abroad occasionally, to eschew traditional sources such as governments and diplomats, and to focus on news related to American racial struggles more than on the foreign countries themselves. "Foreign correspondent" is thus defined broadly—the narrative begins with abolitionist Frederick Douglass's travels in Great Britain in 1845 and his letters on how people of African descent were treated there. Similarly, many correspondents throughout this history glossed over blatant racism and egregiously oppressive regimes, such as those of Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin, as well as many in postcolonial Africa and South America, "because to write about [them] would have debunked [their] premise that the United States compared unfavorably" to the rest of world in race relations (p. 67).

In the twentieth century's major wars, which the book discusses in great detail, the focus on race led to moving and consequential reporting on the achievements of African American soldiers—the "tan yanks" (p. 121)—as well as on the perspectives of oppressed African populations, such as Ethiopians in the 1930s war with Italy. In the latter part of the century, most black correspondents started working for mainstream media, often covering Africa and, while increasingly espousing objective journalism, remaining critical of the U.S. role in the continent.

Most of the characters the book brings to life "wrote to reposition the race" (p. 208)—and Broussard also repositions a long-lost history that speaks not only to students of foreign news but to all those interested in the enduring debates on race relations and the purposes of journalism.

Giovanna Dell'Orto
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Malcolm J. Rohrbough. *Rush to Gold: The French and the California Gold Rush, 1848–1854*. (The Lamar Series in Western History.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 342. $40.00.

The ironic benefit of world travel is that after seeing foreign places, the traveler returns home with a better understanding of his own nation. By viewing the California gold rush from the French perspective, Malcolm J. Rohrbough effectively takes the reader to France, painting the participants' experience in such detail that one not only sees the rush from a new perspective, but also comes away with new insights into Americans' experiences of it.

Rohrbough's subject is exclusively the French story,

and he handles it masterfully. The research is comprehensive, and his list of sources is quite impressive. His approach to analyzing the gold rush provides a model for future scholarly approaches to international participation in this event.

Rohrbough begins by noting that the French first learned of the discovery of gold in California following the political and social turmoil of the 1848 French Revolution. The gold rush was initially a potent political symbol as well as an attractive economic opportunity. Reaction to the news spurred many to seek their fortunes in California, but inspired many more to seek wealth through commercial enterprises. California joint-stock companies were formed to send goods to the region for sale, and also to send miners who were contracted to share their gold harvests with company shareholders. Other would-be miners, traveling without company support, utilized the traditionally strong family ties of rural France to create complicated and extended lending ties, as well as expectations within French families. And many others participated in the gold rush by buying cheap shares in a California company.

Rohrbough divides his attention equally between France and California. For those who traveled abroad, the experience was similar to that of other gold seekers—a long sea voyage, and in some cases a trek across Panama in hopes of cutting down travel time, followed by the physically demanding work of mining. But even during the journey, the French began to experience and comment on Americans' arrogance and sense of entitlement, attitudes that were enhanced by an obsession with Manifest Destiny, the recent victory over Mexico, and a growing sense of competition with the many other fortune hunters who were elbowing their way toward a gold-filled future. In California, the French soon discovered that they were considered foreign miners, and would be taxed as such. Rohrbough shows the discrimination the French experienced, but also French gold seekers' demands for equal treatment as historic allies.

Meanwhile, back in France, as Louis Napoléon Bonaparte was attempting to establish a sense of national spirit in a nation racked by years of revolution and divided into small regional identities, the rush provided a kind of real-world alternate reality. Company newspapers and serious writers alike examined the gold rush through serious political commentary as well as humorous satire. Rohrbough also captures the public excitement of investing in a California company, or buying a ticket in the national lottery designed to raise money to send five thousand miners to California.

The rush also prompted the French to consider their role in world affairs. French interests in Pacific Rim colonization now had to account for a powerful new competitor in California. In the early days of the rush, several French officials suspected that it was a politically motivated stunt by the Polk administration, designed to rapidly populate California as a base for further U.S. expansion toward China.

Yet even as California fever was reaching its peak, the experience inevitably turned sour. The California companies promised far more than they could deliver, stranding some miners in California without the promised support, and failing to create the high returns on investments that stockholders expected. Miners discovered some gold, but also back-breaking work, ruinous prices for needed supplies, and state taxes that ate up much of the gold they had painfully acquired. To many in the French business community, the gold rush had always been a wasteful diversion of potential investment funds from home industries. By 1854, the whole experience could be summed up by the complicated legal cases filed against the companies, the scandals associated with the national lottery, and the several thousand French miners who lacked the funds to return home.

In the end, this book is larger than the sum of its many fine parts. Rohrbough's view of the French in the California rush is at once familiar yet fresh. As the French try to understand the Americans, we glimpse an outsiders' perspective on the attitudes and culture of Americans obsessed with their Manifest Destiny. Looking at the effect of the gold rush on French politics, imperial dreams, and national culture implicitly invites comparison to its impact on American attitudes and goals. This study will be essential reading for anyone interested in the California gold rush, from either an international or an American perspective.

Mark A. Eifler
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T. R. C. Hutton. *Bloody Breathitt: Politics and Violence in the Appalachian South*. (New Directions in Southern History.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2013. Pp. xii, 430. $50.00.

Sensationalistic press coverage of Kentucky mountain "feuds" contributed profoundly to the images and assumptions that went into the discursive construction of Appalachia in the late nineteenth century as a distinct place—an "other" in the heartland of America—where, it was commonly claimed, time stood still. A standardized narrative depicting Appalachian feuds as irrational and bloody conflicts between impoverished and culturally isolated families, persisting for generations in response to petty but long-forgotten wrongs, was further perpetuated in nationally popular local color fiction, and later in hundreds of silent movies. Appalachia, journalists proclaimed, was a benighted land where the sun set crimson and the moon rose red with blood. The feud narrative was used not only to define Appalachia in the popular imaginary (even though its manifestations were largely limited to the Kentucky mountains), but also to justify either the educational uplift efforts of missionaries and educators or the promised civilizing effects of absentee-driven economic development. In either case, as T. R. C. Hutton aptly puts it, "inherency trumped contingency" (p. 5) in explanations of the very real violence that occurred in postbellum Appalachian Kentucky.

Scholars of Appalachia have begun to deconstruct

these tired narratives and replace them with systematic social histories that reveal the actual complexity—and, ironically, the ordinariness—of Appalachia's late-nineteenth-century violence. Altina Waller initiated this approach with her pioneering study of the Hatfields' and McCoys' "feud." Kathleen Blee and I followed up with an analysis of the "wars" between the Whites and Garrards (later the Bakers and Howards) in Clay County, Kentucky, part of a larger study of the role of political and economic inequality in what we have called Appalachia's road to poverty. Waller discounted the overriding importance of kinship in the local conflicts she studied and stressed the importance of economic competition, status envy, and eventually a local elite's violent suppression of violence to demonstrate to the world that the Kentucky mountains were open for business. Blee and I stressed the centrality of wealthy but divided local elites and their violent efforts to control economic opportunities and the local state. In neither case could these conflicts be explained by barefooted hillbillies shooting each other over the fence for reasons they could no longer remember. Hutton's engaging and brilliant analysis of "Bloody Breathitt" makes a truly significant contribution to this emerging literature and pushes it in new directions.

Hutton deconstructs the popular narratives surrounding the Strong-Amis feud in the late 1860s and early 1870s and the so-called Hargis-Cockrell feud at the turn of the century, as well as the many killings, ambushes, lynchings, and assassinations that occurred in between. In their place he offers a convincing and well-documented account of Breathitt County's notorious and decades-long violence as the manifestation of ongoing and often highly racialized political struggles. Carved out of a virtual wilderness that was only lightly populated by small claimants and squatters, Breathitt County was established in 1839 by a small number of wealthy slave owners from the Kentucky Bluegrass region who were speculating on future profits from coal and timber. Though these profits would take decades to be realized, this elite achieved political hegemony over what would eventually prove to be a pro-Confederate and later Democratic island surrounded by strongly pro-Union and Republican counties.

One of Breathitt County's most notorious "feudists" was William B. Strong, a Union captain who returned home during the Civil War to free and arm his slaves and lead a Home Guard in quasi-military attacks against his Confederate neighbors. After the war, when former Unionists were divided by their attitudes toward racial freedom and some became Democrats, Strong led a ragtag multiracial force of freedmen, squatters, and small farmers in violent guerrilla actions against local anti-black Democratic rule. Hutton deftly points away from the feud narratives that suppressed these particulars and shows the connection of local violence to the political and white racial violence of the wider South by discussing why Strong and his allies took the name "Red Strings" in their opposition to "Ku Kluxers," terms that would reappear in the even more violent 1890s but that were omitted from feud accounts. In that tumultuous era, which included strife and disorder resulting from economic development, Hutton expertly links the deadly violence among locally elected officials from both parties (including the Hargis-Cockrell feud and the assassination of a Republican judge) to statewide political conflicts among Democrats, Republicans, and fusionists, including the brief capture of state power by Republicans, the subsequent assassination of Democratic governor William Goebel, and even the passage of Jim Crow legislation (some of it led by a Democratic legislator from Breathitt County who authored the bill that forced the segregation of private educational institutions, most notably interracial Berea College).

Finally, in addition to making sense of such complex and convoluted events, Hutton makes a major contribution to the deconstruction of feud narratives by demonstrating how they functioned to camouflage the actual political and racially motivated events taking place in eastern Kentucky. Previous Appalachian scholars have interpreted feud narratives as the erroneous projections of outsiders, but Hutton goes further to show how they were used locally by politicians from both parties, newspaper editors (especially Henry Watterson and the Louisville *Courier-Journal*), and even some "feudists" themselves to depoliticize Kentucky's violence in the era of North-South rapprochement. In linking local events to the politics of the wider South—to which they were previously imagined to be immune—Hutton makes major contributions to both Appalachian and Southern history.

Dwight B. Billings
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Christopher Childers. *The Failure of Popular Sovereignty: Slavery, Manifest Destiny, and the Radicalization of Southern Politics*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2012. Pp. xii, 334. $39.95.

"Popular sovereignty" appears in most accounts of the political road to disunion. Christopher Childers maintains, however, that the idea itself, the ways it changed over time, and the role it played in the course to secession and war have not received adequate scholarly attention. Childers's *The Failure of Popular Sovereignty*, although not without flaws, provides a thoughtful, judicious, and thorough account of the evolution of popular sovereignty from the 1780s to 1861.

Arguing that the idea of popular sovereignty long preceded the appearance of the actual term in the 1840s, Childers begins with a discussion of congressional debates in the 1780s and 1790s over slavery in the territories. Southerners in 1787 accepted the Northwest Ordinance's prohibition of slavery in the Northwest Territory, and with it the apparent principle that Congress, not the people of the territory, could determine slavery's status. By the late 1790s, however, some southerners regretted that acceptance and began the process

of radicalizing southern popular sovereignty. Now southerners asserted "that only the residents of a territory could make the final decision on whether to permit or prohibit slavery south of the Ohio River" (p. 23). But Childers rightly insists that this position remained ambiguous regarding the principles of popular sovereignty. Although committed to preserving local control over the slavery question in southern territories, southerners "had not yet articulated the theory that Congress could not legislate against slavery in the territories" per se (p. 23). Pragmatism and compromise, Childers maintains, characterized southern territorial thinking in the early republic. For him, the process by which southerners moved steadily toward popular sovereignty in subsequent decades resulted in the gradual but nearly complete disappearance of that pragmatic, compromising attitude.

Like many other historians, Childers sees the Missouri Compromise as a watershed moment in the process of "the radicalization of southern politics." Yet even these debates, he argues, revealed the lack of a clear southern consensus about popular sovereignty. Although southerners, "with impressive but alarming unanimity," invoked "a states' rights doctrine to deny congressional authority over the statehood process" in Missouri (p. 42), they had not yet reached such unanimity regarding congressional authority over slavery in the territories, as opposed to incoming states. That some southerners, including John C. Calhoun, accepted the Compromise's ban on slavery in territories north of 36' 30" demonstrates that the "radicalization" was not yet complete. But Childers notes that a "small but growing number of southerners at this time did not believe that Congress could legislate on slavery at any stage in the territorial existence" (p. 66). More important, within a few years, even many of those who had supported congressional authority, like Calhoun, "would come to regret their decision and insist that the maintenance of states' rights and the institution of slavery also required an end to congressional interference with slavery in the territories" (p. 69).

Although primarily interested in southern attitudes toward and actions related to popular sovereignty, Childers recognizes that these ideas and behaviors developed within a national conversation. What characterized much of that conversation was ambiguity, especially concerning the critical question of what, exactly, popular sovereignty meant. If the people of a territory rather than Congress were to determine the status of slavery, at what point could they exercise that authority? Childers argues that at least some of this ambiguity was by design. As sectional tensions rose in the 1840s, moderate northern Democrats "believed they could construct a formula for territorial sovereignty that would satisfy northerners and southerners by virtue of its ambiguity" (p. 122). For a time, such studied ambiguity kept popular sovereignty attractive in both sections, but Childers reminds his readers that both sides could hold on to their irreconcilable understandings only while popular sovereignty remained an abstraction. When, in the 1850s, the idea moved from ambiguous formula to actual practice, its bi-sectional appeal evaporated and sectional animosities intensified.

Childers deserves praise for tracking an elusive concept over a broad expanse of American history and for showing how the fate of that concept reflected the larger breakdown of American politics in the decades leading up to the Civil War. His book nonetheless has some weaknesses. His subtitle is misleading: "Manifest Destiny" plays no role in his story; it does not even appear in the index. This is straight and narrow political history; ideologies, nationalism—either "American" or "southern"—and providentialism have no place here. Second, and more significant, Childers acknowledges but fails to emphasize adequately the ways in which "the radicalization of southern politics" represented a process often initiated by what might be called "the radicalization of northern politics." He notes, for example, that the Missouri debates revealed to southerners "the possibility that antislavery Americans could use the politics of territory making and statehood formation as a means of confining the boundaries of slavery—or eventually eliminating it" (p. 41). By the 1840s, northern "antislavery forces became emboldened by a slow, measured, but unmistakable change in public opinion over the morality of slavery. In turn, the South rose in defense of its peculiar institution, accusing the antislavery vanguard of depriving southerners of their equal status within the nation even after they had conceded to the terms of the Missouri Compromise" (p. 75). In passages such as this, Childers rightly notes how the changing moral sentiment of the North expressed itself politically in ever more radical forms. Yet he never discusses how southern moral sentiment informed southern politics, and he fails to place the political conflict he so ably depicts within the larger context of the fundamental clash between northern and southern moralities and the ideologies of which they were a part. Only by doing so can we appreciate how "the failure of popular sovereignty" resulted from a "radicalization" that was national, not merely sectional, and moral, not merely political.

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John W. Quist and Michael J. Birkner, editors. *James Buchanan and the Coming of the Civil War.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2013. Pp. x, 289. $69.95.

President James Buchanan has a poor reputation, to put it mildly. The editors of this volume, John W. Quist and Michael J. Birkner, repeatedly acknowledge that Buchanan is regularly ranked as one of the worst presidents in U.S. history, alongside the likes of Andrew Johnson and George W. Bush. Johnson and Bush, however, at least get credit for taking the initiative to create many of their own presidential disasters. Poor Buchanan is generally portrayed as passive and hapless. The standard interpretation is that he was nominated because he had been out of the country during passage

of the controversial Kansas-Nebraska Act, meekly allowed sectional tensions to increase during his administration, and then did nothing in his last months as president while southern states started to secede from the Union and propel the nation toward civil war. Quist and Birkner explain that "[t]his volume does not aim to transform him into an underappreciated hero" (p. 2), but they add nuance and complexity to our understanding of his presidency and the role he played in the coming of the Civil War. The impressive set of contributors to the volume, which emerged from a 2008 conference on the fifteenth president, explore diverse aspects of Buchanan's presidency and offer different judgments of his performance. The overarching theme, however, is that historians have misjudged Buchanan. He may have been a poor president, as most of the contributors acknowledge, but in many ways he was an activist president.

The volume succeeds in showing Buchanan as a more decisive president by focusing exclusively on him as a public figure during his presidency. Besides a few brief biographical remarks scattered through the essays, there is little about Buchanan as anything other than president until Michael Birkner's short but compelling epilogue on Buchanan's life after leaving the White House. The essays start with the controversy surrounding Buchanan's inauguration and move through his four years as president, until he left office amidst the secession crisis. Despite the chronological concentration, the editors rightly warn that "readers seeking a definitive take on Buchanan's role in the crisis . . . will get no satisfaction in this volume" (p. 6). Readers will, though, get innovative perspectives on both traditional and relatively unstudied issues in Buchanan's presidency and the coming of the Civil War.

Paul Finkelman shows how to gain a fresh angle on a well-studied topic with the first essay on Buchanan's meddling with the *Dred Scott* case. Historians have long known that Buchanan pressured a northern Supreme Court justice to side with the southern justices to make an expansive pro-slavery ruling, which Finkelman expertly details. Finkelman argues that Buchanan, who knew the court's decision ahead of time, disguised his activism by declaring in his inaugural address—just days before the ruling became public—that whether the national legislature could regulate slavery in the territories was a question for the judicial branch. This position, Finkelman demonstrates, ran counter to the entire political history of the United States.

William P. MacKinnon and John M. Belohlavek provide the most original reinterpretations of Buchanan in essays that explore his conduct during the Utah War and in foreign policy. Mining newly available Mormon sources, MacKinnon describes how Buchanan leapt to action against the Mormons in his first few months as president, which led to disastrous results. Not only does this show an activist Buchanan, argues MacKinnon, but it also intriguingly raises the possibility that the experience made him more cautious during the later secession crisis. Belohlavek, meanwhile, contends that Buchanan was active and often successful in matters of foreign policy. The biggest problem, according to Belohlavek, was that Buchanan clung to an older Jacksonian Era vision of perpetual expansion that would not be popular again until the late nineteenth century.

Other essays focus on the different ways in which Buchanan misinterpreted the political situation during his presidency. Nicole Etcheson argues that, far from being passive, as a product of the Jacksonian Era Buchanan attempted to be an activist president like Andrew Jackson, but he "misjudged both the extent of presidential power and his own ability to wield it as effectively as Old Hickory once had" (p. 106). Michael A. Morrison cleverly argues that while Buchanan's time out of the country during the 1850s may have made him a better presidential candidate by distancing him from some of the most intense controversies regarding slavery, it also prevented him from understanding how much more divided both the country and the Democratic Party had become. Jean H. Baker also thinks that Buchanan misinterpreted the political situation, but instead of lingering on his Jacksonian beliefs, she blames his pro-southern ideology for blinding him to the strength and nuances of northern anti-slavery positions. Mincing no words, Baker declares that "Buchanan was an activist president but activist in the interests of what became the Confederate States of America" (p. 180).

Unlike most of the essays in the volume, the last two attempt to portray Buchanan in a relatively positive light, with varying degrees of success. Daniel W. Crofts compares Buchanan's course of action during the secession crisis to that of the well-regarded Joseph Holt to show the difficulty of trying to preserve both the peace and the Union in 1861. Though Lincolnites may disagree, Crofts makes a nice argument that, "on the whole, Buchanan made as capable an effort to accomplish the impossible as did Lincoln" (p. 230). William G. Shade likewise contends that Buchanan found himself in an impossible situation that even Lincoln could not handle. In the one weak essay in this collection, however, Shade mixes up some important quotes and makes some questionable assertions. For instance, he uses the famous correspondence about emancipation between Horace Greeley and Lincoln in the *New York Tribune* in August 1862 as evidence that in the spring of 1861, the North's "initial response to Fort Sumter was not about slaves but about preserving the Union" (p. 202), and that Lincoln and Buchanan held fairly similar views during the secession crisis. Shade also states that in this letter to Lincoln, Greeley urged the federal government to let the Confederates "go in peace," a policy he had promoted in early 1861 but had long since abandoned by 1862. Now he was actually calling for the federal government to crush the Confederacy.

The last item in this collection is an edited transcript of a conversation John Quist moderated at the 2008 conference between two of the deans of Civil War–era political history, Michael F. Holt and William W. Freehling. Both scholars humorously and incisively discuss many of the themes developed in the essays about

Buchanan, the politics of the 1850s, and the coming of the Civil War. Holt deftly frames an even larger issue for historians: "The sad thing is," he explains, "the generations of historians who came after us not only did not opt to do political history, but they were highly scornful of political history. There is going to be a lacuna, I think, of new blood coming out with people studying the politics of the 1850s. That is the real political crisis" (p. 241). Ironically, political history may have just as poor a reputation as Buchanan. This fine anthology adds new perspectives to understanding Buchanan and the coming of the Civil War, but even more significantly, it makes a compelling case for the importance of political history.

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Margaret Humphreys. *Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 385. $34.95.

Marrow of Tragedy brings together an enormous body of research to consider the million-plus bodies that did not survive the Civil War. Margaret Humphreys's scholarly synthesis of the people, pathogens, and politics that wreaked havoc on soldiers beholds the terrible physical and psychological consequences of loss prior to wide acceptance of the germ theory. In a well-balanced eleven-chapter narrative that traces the history of war-related diseases, surgical advances, and the inequitable ground of medical resources, Humphreys moves far beyond the conventional imagery that readers have associated with war carnage. Through a lens that depicts the waste of war as a "foolish, overwhelming cataclysm" (p. 19), she sees medical progress nonetheless in institutional alignments, collaborative relationships, and the effects of hard-won medical knowledge on postwar public health.

If modern renderings of Civil War medicine have led us to believe that convalescents wished to avoid hospitals, Humphreys provides evidence to the contrary. Even rebel soldiers chose to recuperate in hospitals over their regiments—at least until 1864, when the Confederate government, out of pocket, stopped financing military health care. If we have too readily envisioned saw-wielding surgeons, Humphreys bids us to remember that, despite the alacrity with which they performed amputations, they improved upon the mortality statistics of previous wars: two soldiers succumbed to disease for each one who died of his Civil War wounds; in the Crimean and Mexican wars, the ratios were seven to one and four to one. The growing use of disinfectants among amputees, whose gangrenous tissue could be debrided, showed promising results for the science of antisepsis.

Humphreys challenges other forms of conventional wisdom in her keen analysis of the drive by the U.S. Sanitary Commission (USSC) to establish a national benevolent network, even as its leaders tussled with military-medical brass. At the urging of physician-consultants, the USSC leafleted encampments, advising men about diet, hygiene, and the proper use of sanitary sinks—instructions that the Army Medical Department (AMD) read as a petticoat lecture that lambasted its distribution deficiencies. Army surgeons registered their displeasure by balking at the USSC's choice of William Hammond as surgeon general. A champion of newer, gentler therapeutics that the traditionally trained found unsettling, Hammond never won his peers' confidence, especially after he removed calomel and tartar emetic from supply tables in a dispute about overdosing. By the time Hammond was ousted from office on trumped-up charges, the USSC and AMD were sparring over rights to compile the *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*. It is worth noting that nowhere in the AMD's behemoth account, published between 1870 and 1885, is the USSC mentioned, which is no worse, perhaps, than the USSC's exclusion of conditions at northern prison camps in its 1864 *Narrative of Privations and Sufferings of United States Officers and Soldiers While Prisoners of War in the Hands of the Rebel Authorities*.

"The USSC did a world of good," Humphreys suggests, but it also "generated clouds of annoyance" (p. 131). We see evidence of regimental surgeons who preferred to requisition supplies from the USSC because AMD requests too often sank in a quagmire of red tape. USSC leaders worried, however, that handouts to warriors might be misconstrued as charity, and chief executive Henry Bellows warned home producers to address packages not to individuals but to the organization, lest comestible and sartorial treasures fall into the hands of undeserving recipients. As squeaky-clean an image as the commission presented, it was not immune to scandal. An 1861 editorial conflict beset the *New York World*, which endorsed the USSC's philanthropic objectives, and the *New York Times*, which questioned the USSC's unflagging self-promotion. When *Times* editor Henry Raymond published an anonymous series of letters critical of the USSC's interference in military affairs, the *World* outed him as the letter writer's extramarital lover, and the commission, its supporters, and detractors became fodder for prurient readers.

The Confederacy lost the medical battle, in Humphreys's reckoning, for many of the same reasons it lost the war. Diminishing Confederate rations, due as much to inflation as to the agricultural crisis in the South by 1863, created truancy and vigilantism in the hospital as well as the camp—a foreshadowing of military demise. Even horses starved. Surgeon General Samuel Moore's emphasis on medical research and education was manifest in his sponsorship of a Confederate medical journal, but he was thwarted in both objectives by political mandates to return convalescents to their regiments and by the localized idiom of decentralization under which hospitals operated. Half as many surgeons served Confederate patients as Yankees, a shortage lethally mirrored in the Confederate States of America's withdrawal of hospital support by 1864. In the summer months alone, 120,000 men sought admission to Vir-

ginia hospitals that were woefully unprepared to accommodate them. Without adequate personnel or medical matériel, Richmond's underfunded Chimborazo Hospital was no match for Philadelphia's Satterlee, with its patient-run newspaper, theatrical troupe, medical cadets, and cadre of nun-nurses who kept the mortality rate under 2 percent even during the most fatal period of the war.

The crowning achievement of *Marrow of Tragedy* is Humphreys's saturation of the text with the evolving history of medical understanding. Epidemics of yellow fever and cholera, which had decimated prewar populations, took a back seat to the war's rallying of dysentery, smallpox, typhoid, measles, and malaria. Here again, Yankees had the advantage: many had been properly vaccinated and dosed with quinine, whereas the blockade of Confederate ports left few drops of this prophylaxis to the rebels. Humphreys explains how notions of disease causation foundered on the rocks of miasmal impurity and putrefied water—before microscopy convinced physicians in the 1880s that microorganisms passing between individuals were their fiercest enemy, not the erysipelas and gangrene that ravaged sites of incision and amputation.

Despite the (mis)understandings of wartime medicine, Humphreys finds that terrible circumstances placed a multitude of diagnostic possibilities before embattled surgeons: "Physicians saw diseases they had never seen before, or they saw diseases in clusters whereas before they might have seen only the isolated case . . . They could debate causation and therapy, and given the circumstances of military life, they could perform autopsies. Ideas such as contagion were debated, rejected, reconsidered, and reformulated. Medical knowledge was in a dynamic state that allowed the emergence of novelty and the new configuration of old debates" (p. 97). This dynamism laid the groundwork for medicine's postwar paradigm shift to microbial diagnosis and subsequent improvements in public health, though sadly not in time to spare America's blue and gray youth.

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Glenn Feldman. *The Irony of the Solid South: Democrats, Republicans, and Race, 1865–1944.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2013. Pp. xix, 459. $49.95.

In this no-holds-barred book, Glenn Feldman, using Alabama as his base of operations, traces the durability of the values to which white southerners clung following defeat in the Civil War. These values, namely white supremacy, a strident defense of unregulated capitalism, Christian fundamentalism, and unrelenting fear of the central government, enabled the Democratic Party to reign over a Solid South until the 1930s. During that decade, however, in one of the many ironies Feldman sees, adherence to those values in a time of changing national views on the role of the federal government and on racial justice compelled white southerners to begin their long migration to their present home in the Republican Party. Whereas some scholars might therefore be tempted to describe the wholesale shift in party allegiance as change, the "South," Feldman argues (by which he means the white South), "did not change in an elemental sense" (p. xi). To be certain, Feldman is careful to point out that dissenting voices did surface from time to time. But these eventually were drowned out, manipulated, or given short-term succor, and ultimately those voicing the dissent fell back in line. Adding a corrective to the southern scholarship that seeks class solidarity among black and white southerners, Feldman demonstrates vigorously how time and again class alliances could not withstand the thundering appeals to white solidarity, economic threats, and moral shaming. For any reader with the slightest of progressive sensibilities, Feldman paints a grim picture of the white South.

The implications of Feldman's argument reach beyond the South and into our present time. He makes a strong case that white southerners' adherence to these core principles helps explain why their place in the "New Deal coalition" proved to be short-lived. Invocation of these values later hastened the decline of the New Deal state with the wholesale movement of conservative white southerners into the GOP. Feldman furthermore sheds light on contemporary political dynamics such as the Tea Party movement and the steady undertone of racism against the nation's first African American president, Barack Obama. To pick one of his examples, one that sits halfway chronologically between the Civil War and today, Feldman demonstrates how Alabama governor Frank Dixon's rejection of a proposed federal contract during World War II won him great praise locally. Dixon's rejection, citing his opposition to the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) mandate for wage equality among black and white workers, prompted sharp rebukes from northerners and from some black southerners. But Dixon's decision and the criticism from "outsiders" strengthened him politically among white Alabamians. Feldman describes this reaction as an "Orwellian" dynamic in white southern politics wherein one is rewarded for making a decision that materially hurts the state. It is, in this reviewer's reading, not unlike our state of affairs today, when most right-wing constituents expect their elected Republican governors to reject or obstruct the federal government's assistance in implementing the Affordable Care Act. Feldman traces this kind of reactionary politics back to the white South's "Reconstruction trauma." It constitutes a central factor of "a lasting southern conception of the central government as something strange, powerful, menacing, and foreign, a voraciously tax-hungry alien force prone to meddlesomeness, never to be trusted, and only rarely to be complied with" (p. 180).

One of the challenges the book presents is that despite the title, Feldman offers a number of different, interrelated ironies that function at times to the point of distraction for the reader. Also, his reliance on the

trope of "meldings" in southern history tangles up the presentation of his argument perhaps more than it clarifies. Still, his excellent use of the ample, rich primary sources at his disposal and his sharp writing more than carry the day.

Feldman provides a real service, especially to readers outside of the academy, with his unsparing approach to the ugliness and violence that steadily supported white southerners' politics and peer pressure. Too often this side of southern history is still seen as unfortunate or, worse, misunderstood, and too often it remains conveniently frozen in black-and-white pictures of law officials using water hoses and police dogs against civil rights activists. As Feldman demonstrates repeatedly, the social and economic pressure, as well as the violence, was relentless, largely unapologetic, and, for a long time, successful in its aims.

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Carole Haber. *The Trials of Laura Fair: Sex, Murder, and Insanity in the Victorian West*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 310. $39.95.

In this well-written narrative, Carole Haber goes beyond the trial transcripts and tabloid newspaper coverage of the infamous late-nineteenth-century Laura Fair murder trials to explain the significance of reinvention and reputation for those migrating to the American West. By the time she was thirty-three years old, Mississippi native Laura Fair was twice divorced and twice widowed, and had briefly appeared on the stage. According to the social mores of the day, this damning résumé meant that she was no "lady"—specifically, she was neither pure, pious, domestic, nor submissive. However, like thousands of others who traveled west following California's gold rush, Fair reinvented her backstory, successfully concealing the unsavory elements of her reputation until 1870. In that ill-fated year, she shot and mortally wounded her lover of seven years, A. P. Crittenden, because, in spite of his repeated promises to divorce his wife and marry Fair, he had no intention of making her his wife, thereby ruining her reputation. Fair stood trial and was convicted of murder and sentenced to hanging, a first for a woman in California. However, her attorneys appealed the conviction, and upon retrial, the jury found her not guilty. Nevertheless, despite the acquittal and her best efforts, Haber argues, Laura Fair lost control over her reputation, never again to successfully regain her status as a "lady."

Fair's trials garnered a great deal of attention—from the pub to the pulpit, the public was absolutely riveted by this salacious story of a beautiful young seductress of ill repute. Haber aptly points out that most newspapers and commentators painted Fair as a wanton woman who ensnared Crittenden, a married father of eight who, despite his initial inability to withstand her feminine wiles, ultimately recognized the error of his ways and made the honorable decision to return to his home and hearth. Haber's solid speculation about the underlying reasons for Crittenden's "decision" is a fascinating argument that sets her work apart from other volumes on Fair's trials.

As revealed at her first trial, Fair, in utter frustration, confronted Crittenden in 1869 at his home in full view of his wife and children, demanding that he make a decision about divorcing his wife and marrying her. What drove her to such an unprecedented, demeaning act? Haber produces convincing evidence that Fair was pregnant, and when it was obvious that Crittenden would not marry her, she resorted to an abortion. Following the intrusion at Crittenden's home, Haber also reveals that Fair was increasingly dependent on the drug chloral hydrate, to the point that she demanded ever-increasing dosages. Yet, as Haber notes, this fact was never introduced as evidence at trial as an explanation of Fair's bizarre, irrational behavior following the murder. Instead, the first trial focused on her presumed guilt, as "its outcome would determine the role of family, honor, and morality in nineteenth-century America" (p. 2). Fair's cogent answers in her own defense confirmed that she was not a true woman in need of male protection; nor was she insane. Instead, her performance convinced the jury and the public at large that she deserved to be hanged.

At her second trial, Fair's new attorney did not permit her to speak in her own defense, and this time her defense team successfully argued that Fair was an insane "'dependent child' who needed to be pitied and protected rather than prosecuted" (p. 153). If Fair had been committed to an insane asylum after her acquittal, her story might have ended there. Instead, no longer silenced by counsel, she attempted to once again resurrect her reputation as a true lady. Met with the threat of violence at her first scheduled public appearance, she was forced to withdraw. In Fair's subsequent efforts she could not resist deriding those who had contested her version of her story. Unsurprisingly, her strategy backfired. As Haber notes, despite numerous attempts to regain control of her story, Fair would never be mistaken for a true woman again. Instead, "she had become an easy target of abuse and derision" (p. 187).

Using Laura Fair as an extreme example, Carole Haber's deeply researched monograph details how the culture of anonymity in the nineteenth-century American West came into conflict with the prevailing precepts of Victorian society. Crittenden's murder at the hands of his long-time lover threatened the assumptions of a woman's sacrosanct role as wife, mother, and culture-bearer. Persistent, uncomfortable questions ensued regarding the place of women in an American legal system in which they had no voice, discussions about the legal double standard for those accused of protecting the sanctity of home as the bulwark of civilization, and a woman's place, if there was any, outside the home.

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Penny A. Petersen. *Minneapolis Madams: The Lost History of Prostitution on the Riverfront*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 228. Cloth $75.00, paper $24.95.

In this short and readable book, Penny A. Petersen uncovers a world of illicit sex, political corruption, and some unlikely sources of power along the Minneapolis riverfront from the 1870s through the 1910s. Though ignored by history, the riverfront madams at the center of Petersen's study were "an important component of the complex sexual ecology of nineteenth-century Minneapolis." More than this, they were "crucial components of a larger system of social control and regulation" (p. x). Petersen's investigation into the domain of powerful madams and their influence on Minneapolis's urban landscape has paid off. *Minneapolis Madams* is a lively account that sheds light on the history of sexuality, gender, work, reform, politics, and, of course, prostitution in Minneapolis during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The book proceeds chronologically and thematically, each chapter following the narrative of prostitution, municipal corruption and complicity, and reform efforts over time, until the recognized red-light districts that had emerged and proliferated under various regimes of toleration over the years were officially and permanently closed down in 1910. Petersen indicates that prostitution did not end as a result of these actions, but that the era of tolerated and quasi-regulated prostitution had come to a close.

The introduction provides a quick history of Minneapolis's development after the Civil War into a center for three major industries: "sawmilling, flour milling, and warehousing." As these businesses "were established [along the Mississippi River], another industry, prostitution, gained a foothold at the riverfront" (p. 5), Petersen writes. "Although operated and controlled by the scorned class of madams and ordinary prostitutes, the sex industry exerted a surprising influence on the civic life of Minneapolis" (p. 5). In 1868, the municipality initiated a policy of monthly court appearances and fines for prostitutes and madams, creating a system for regulating prostitution without legalizing it. Thus Minneapolis, like most American cities at this time, both allowed and disavowed prostitution. Petersen's purpose is to reveal this history, to make it visible, and thereby recognize a "group of enterprising women" who "both acknowledged and challenged traditional notions of gender in the nineteenth century and our own" (p. 13). Without condoning the sex trade, Petersen seeks to show that "disreputable" women held the power to shape the contours of a growing Minneapolis, and that they exerted it, earning money in the process for themselves and for a city that alternately condoned and condemned them. Petersen's surprise at the power these women wielded translates into a kind of celebration of the madams as challenging the patriarchal order by operating beyond the bounds of women's traditional sphere. This is problematic when one remembers the business they were in. And yet her argument is compelling, forcing us to consider the cultural construction of gendered spheres at different times and in different locales, and how these spheres accorded with social class and racial ideologies. The madams' substantial property in Minneapolis did not translate into propriety for them; they remained "disreputable." This in turn raises larger questions about the social aspirations of the burgeoning commercial classes who became wealthy and achieved respectability through the same processes that led some women into prostitution.

Petersen is at her best when she delves into the lives of individual madams, politicians, and reformers and their shifting relationships with one another over time; her archival research is impressive. She uses property, census, probate, and court records, as well as city directories, fire insurance maps, newspaper articles, and more to tell the stories of the madams and their role in the civic life of Minneapolis. The most compelling profile features Ida Dorsey, an African American woman from Kentucky who ran a bordello of women of color for a whites-only clientele. Moreover, Dorsey had what appears to have been a common-law marriage to a man from one of the most prominent families in Minneapolis, Carleton Pillsbury. Interracial sex and other taboo practices were rife in vice districts (and elsewhere) throughout the country, North and South, during this era of scientific racism, immigration restriction, legalized segregation, and lynching. Minneapolis was no exception. Still, a bit more historical context and analysis would have been welcome, here and elsewhere.

Petersen's book is generally light on the historical scholarship on prostitution and progressive reform, of which there is a lot. This was, after all, the era of red-light districts across America, and also of the greatest purity crusade in U.S. history. Yet Petersen's story remains, for the most part, a local one. Nonetheless, this short study is both an excellent introduction to its subject and an invitation to further exploration. It is well-suited to undergraduate courses; students would learn from Petersen's impeccable research, and work to fill in historiographical gaps and historical context, all while discovering the hidden history of sex, politics, and property on Minneapolis's riverfront.

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John H. M. Laslett. *Sunshine Was Never Enough: Los Angeles Workers, 1880–2010*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 442. $39.95.

John H. M. Laslett has written a valuable and comprehensive history of Los Angeles's working class. It covers 130 years, with particular attention to how the city became known for being notoriously open-shop, a magnet for business interests and conservatives. Despite that reputation, Laslett uncovers a rich history of labor organizing in Los Angeles. Although the city was never as

pro-union as Detroit, Chicago, or Pittsburgh, organizing nevertheless provided the foundation for a major labor upsurge there in the 1990s.

Laslett argues that the open shop dominated most of the city's history, with a few significant exceptions: the 1930s, World War II, and the 1990s. To help us understand why, he conceptualizes Los Angeles as three concentric circles covering a sixty-mile radius: downtown and Hollywood, the "industrial suburbs" including the Alameda corridor and the San Fernando Valley, and the rural hinterlands. People in each area experienced unique challenges based upon the kind of work they did, the ethnic and racial makeup of the workforce, their proximity to their workplaces, the extent to which they could draw upon a radical history, and the relative strength of the business community in a given time period.

Between the 1880s and the 1920s, small shops and warehouses dotted downtown. The area's racially and ethnically mixed population worked in tortilla bakeries, small metal factories, brickyards, and the garment and furniture industries. It was here that the city's reputation for being business-friendly grew. The *Los Angeles Times*, with General Harrison Gray Otis at the helm, and the city's boosters worked together to promote a particular image of the city. Los Angeles offered, they touted, not only sunshine but wages high enough to enable residents to purchase their own homes, industrial "harmony," and an all-white and native-born population. In reality, Laslett finds, conditions in Los Angeles were not too dissimilar from those in Chicago and Detroit. Not only was the city heavily populated by immigrants, but Laslett offers several examples of intense labor conflict, including a violent printers' strike at the *LA Times* that was put down by the notoriously anti-labor Los Angeles Police Department. The problem was that laborers worked in difficult-to-organize small shops and were ethnically mixed.

In the 1920s, the "industrial suburbs" surrounding downtown became the city's manufacturing hub. With the predominance of "smokestack" industries (oil, steel, auto, machine, and dock work), it was here that significant unionization took root. Following the lead of industrial unions in other cities and with the help of the 1935 Wagner Act, Mexican, black, and white workers, men and women, found in the Congress of Industrial Organizations model the right framework within which to organize. Labor unions grew here, were institutionalized during World War II, and provided the backdrop for tremendous prosperity into the postwar period. Likewise, the pro-labor environment of the 1930s enabled agricultural workers in the city's hinterlands to organize. Mexican immigrants would build on this base to make significant inroads with the United Farm Workers (UFW) in the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1980s, a hodgepodge of small electronics warehouses replaced the citrus groves. The problems that had plagued the downtown area one hundred years earlier returned. Small shops with a diverse immigrant worker base, along with the anti-labor environment of the Reagan era, provided workers in the electronics warehouses with little support. At the same time, the "smokestack" manufacturers began moving out of the country, leaving Los Angeles largely open-shop once again.

In effect, Laslett argues that, at least until the 1990s, successful union organizing took place in Los Angeles because forces at work in the country as a whole enabled workers to take advantage of a pro-labor environment forged elsewhere. By the 1990s, however, Los Angeles took the lead. As had happened in Detroit and Chicago, a radicalized, largely immigrant population drew upon the examples set by earlier generations to engage in strikes, boycotts, and street theater. This time, however, they were not organizing in the service sector. With the support of the public and clergy, unions won better contracts for janitors, drywall workers, chambermaids, homecare and nursing home workers, municipal workers, social workers, librarians, and leisure industry employees, among many others. They wielded enormous political influence, culminating in the election of Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, and pushed "the entire center of political gravity of California to the left" (p. 313).

This review cannot do justice to the amount of detail Laslett provides in twelve rich chapters with numerous examples of the struggles that Los Angeles's workers waged against an extremely entrenched business community. Sunshine was never enough for the people who fought for better conditions throughout the city's history, succeeding when they had the support of national pro-labor pressure or when the city's immigrant base was large enough and radicalized enough to create a sustained movement. Laslett's arguments would have been strengthened by bringing New York into the picture. Drawing stronger comparisons between the two cities would have helped him better explain the reasons behind the success of 1990s service-sector organizing. That said, the book makes major contributions to our understanding of labor, urban, ethnic, African American, and gender history and is suitable for both general and scholarly audiences.

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Gretchen Soderlund. *Sex Trafficking, Scandal, and the Transformation of Journalism, 1885–1917.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. xviii, 206. Cloth $85.00, paper $27.50.

Sensationalism was a significant feature of American modernity, but its precise mechanisms and impact remain somewhat mysterious. The phenomenon both fueled and inhibited the Progressive agenda; it transcended party and ideology, a fact that makes understanding its political impact vital—and elusive.

In *Sex Trafficking, Scandal, and the Transformation of Journalism, 1885–1917*, Gretchen Soderlund explores sex-trafficking scandals in the mid-1880s and early 1900s, viewing them as episodes of sensational journalism that "helped to precipitate and reinforce develop-

ing journalistic strategies for attaining knowledge and the evolution of professional ideologies" (p. xvi). She traces newspaper responses to trafficking exposés over a quarter-century, from William T. Stead's "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" in London's *Pall Mall Gazette* (1885), with its spillover effect on American journalism, to two separate exposure articles on "white slavery" by George Kibbe Turner in *McClure's Magazine*, focusing on Chicago and New York City in 1907 and 1909, respectively. Newspapers responded to the scandals, Soderlund argues, by reconceptualizing the role of the press, the nature of journalistic truths, and standards of proof.

Stead was not the first reformer to indict "social evil," or to create a spillover sensation in mainstream newspapers (Victoria Woodhull comes to mind as an earlier U.S. example). But Soderlund characterizes Stead's exposé as "strategic" sensationalism, because it had an explicit goal: the passage of reform legislation by the British Parliament, the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1885), which cracked down on sex trafficking and other behaviors deemed immoral. Soderlund demonstrates that Stead's exposure inspired a new generation of American reformers, notably those in the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), to conduct similar investigations, including a campaign against sex slavery in Michigan lumber camps in the late 1880s. Because the WCTU's exposé failed to transcend reform and local newspapers, however, it did not rise to what Soderlund characterizes as strategic sensationalism.

The book's second half focuses on two exposure articles by Protestant reformer George Kibbe Turner, published in the muckraking monthly *McClure's Magazine*. In the first, and more successful, of these exposés, "The City of Chicago: A Study of the Great Immoralities" (1907), Turner purported to reveal an underground economy of organized sex trafficking known as "white slavery." The magazine's credibility as a middle-class reform publication and its broad national audience allowed Turner's article to inculcate "a sense of large scale, collective vulnerability" (p. 100). This perception dovetailed nicely with Chicago's activist political climate in 1907, and inspired local efforts to press for the nation's first anti-trafficking law, the White-Slave Traffic Act, known formally as the Mann Act (1910).

By contrast, Turner's 1909 New York City exposé, "The Daughters of the Poor: A Plain Story of the Development of New York City as a Leading Center of the White Slave Trade of the World, under Tammany Hall," marked the zenith and subsequent downfall of the sex-trafficking-as-muckraking genre. Soderlund traces the article's impact on journalistic standards through its resonance in the *New York Times*, which at first accepted Turner's claims, but gradually grew skeptical and finally rejected them. The questionable methods undergirding Turner's "strategic exposure" created strange bedfellows: *Times* readers, typically wealthy elites with little appreciation for muckraking's subversive power, found common cause with Tammany politicians in discrediting exposure journalism. When a grand jury led by oil baron heir John D. Rockefeller—whose own father had experienced the sting of the muckraker—concluded that sex trafficking functioned through informal networks rather than organized conspiracies, the discourse shifted as well. The *Times'* emerging standards of objectivity prevailed, concluding what Soderlund calls a "struggle . . . over definitions of which forms of knowledge and journalism would reign as dominant in the twentieth century and which forms of truth-gathering and evidence would come to be seen as authoritative" (p. 135). Soderlund contends that the new standards privileged professional over street authority, diminishing the revelations of muckrakers and grassroots organizations in the process (p. 165).

Soderlund's detailed analysis illuminates how three major episodes of sensationalism influenced modern culture. The book also brings to light some ambiguity within the scholarship in defining "sensationalism" itself. Following the lead of other scholars, Soderlund uses the term to mean something akin to tabloidization, or simple exposure, or scandal, or even gossip, a lack of precision that casts a wide net, but risks glossing real differences between what she calls the "positive sensationalism" of the muckraker and the reactionary sensationalism of, say, the lynch mob. Turner's own "positive" sensationalism, for example, was steeped in xenophobia; the Mann Act, prompted by his 1907 piece, disproportionately targeted African Americans and recent immigrants for prosecution. In the 1920s, racialized white slavery narratives inspired by his writing may have disappeared from mainstream journalism, but they infused popular justifications for anti-immigration lobbying and the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. The concept of strategic sensationalism, and its celebration of "street knowledge," in other words, does not establish that it is necessarily, or even primarily, a progressive form. Soderlund's case studies pave the way for further cultural inquiry into sensationalism's history, as a complex phenomenon with contradictory results.

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Melissa R. Klapper. *Ballots, Babies, and Banners of Peace: American Jewish Women's Activism, 1890–1940.* New York: New York University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 290. $39.00.

In *Ballots, Babies, and Banners of Peace*, Melissa R. Klapper investigates the intersection of three historiographical debates: the development of social protest movements from the late nineteenth century until the eve of the United States' entrance into World War II, the role of women in the political sphere, and the influence of American Jewish identity on the development of that sphere. Employing biographical vignettes and exploring the dynamics between gender, religion, and ethnicity, Klapper paints a vivid picture of the activists involved in several social reform movements. Hers is a well-researched, finely textured, and signifi-

cant contribution to our understanding of how the categories of "Jewish" and "woman" animated American social activism.

Klapper focuses her attention on three different social reform movements: suffrage, birth control, and peace activism in the years around World War I and World War II. In the first of five chapters, she explores the role of American Jewish women in the suffrage movement, focusing on their efforts to secure passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Chapter two takes stock of the early years of the birth control movement, while chapter three delves into the ways in which the acculturation process of American Jewish women influenced their work on behalf of the peace movement. Focusing attention on developments in the 1920s, the fourth chapter advances the storyline of chapter two in its exploration of the mainstreaming of birth control. The last chapter connects the particular interests of Jewish women with the dynamics of the peace movement during the 1930s and through the years of World War II.

Klapper chose to focus on women's involvement in these three social protest movements because it has been largely ignored in the historiography. In most of the work in the field, scholars have explored the particularist interests of Jewish women, either by focusing on specifically Jewish movements such as Zionism or by writing about topics that featured a disproportionate number of Jews, such as labor union organizing. The suffrage, birth control, and peace movements offer a welcome middle ground in political activism. By focusing on more secular protest movements, Klapper illuminates the role of Jewish women in important though neglected arenas. Focusing her lens in two complementary directions, she concludes that "no history of either birth control or peace in the United States, which is to say, virtually no previous history of those movements, is complete without analyzing the impact of Jewish women's presence" (p. 6). At the same time, she believes, "the history of American Jews is incomplete without considering the importance of women's activism in shaping the American community during the period of its greatest consolidation" (p. 6).

Of particular historiographic interest, Klapper locates her study on the leading edge of whiteness studies. Reflecting on the relative absence of Jewish women in pre–World War II academic studies, she assigns at least partial responsibility to the fact that scholars have failed to conduct a more complex examination of the racial, ethnic, and religious categories that defined American Jewish women. Those writing within the religious frame have tended to "discount both Jewish women's spiritual lives and the power of politics in American Jewish history," while those with a gendered approach "rarely acknowledge the presence of Jewish women in social movements they assume to have been either Christian or secular in nature" (pp. 12–13). Instead, Klapper integrates her study with the disciplines of religious studies and women's studies by examining the important and complex dynamics at play between these varying approaches, exploring the category of "Jewishness" itself in order to better understand the ways in which the acculturation process influenced American Jewish women and the social movements they served.

Ballots, Babies, and Banners of Peace is most impressive in the manner in which it weaves together three overlapping social justice movements in a chronology that begins in the era of massive Eastern European Jewish immigration, is interrupted by World War I, and concludes with the complex dynamics around the U.S. entry in the war against Hitler. Klapper's decision to focus attention on the lives of individual women activists anchors each chapter well. These personal and particular stories help guide the reader to the book's larger thesis while maintaining a focus on the import of human agency in bringing about social change. This monograph is also part of an important effort to open up the writing of American Jewish history by offering a more expansive definition of who should be the object of study. Klapper keenly seeks the voices of subjects who are not part of organized Jewish life or even of movements typically viewed as Jewish. By organizing her book as she has, Klapper sets an outstanding model for other studies that seek a better understanding of what it means to be Jewish in America and what influence Jews have had on the social development of the United States.

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Kenneth D. Rose. *Unspeakable Awfulness: America through the Eyes of European Travelers, 1865–1900*. New York: Routledge. 2014. Pp. xiii, 288. Cloth $135.00, paper $34.95.

Americans, wrote Rudyard Kipling in *From Sea to Sea* (1899), were "bleeding-raw at the edges, almost more conceited than the English, [and] vulgar with a massive vulgarity . . . but I love them." In *Unspeakable Awfulness*, Kenneth D. Rose offers a portrait of America in the second half of the nineteenth century compiled from the accounts of around one hundred European travelers, arranged in chapters that focus around various themes: the American character, foodways, culture, race, religion, and war. This thematic structure offers both popular and scholarly audiences a way to use the book for their own purposes. For the casual reader, the chapters are lively and informative surveys of at least one set of perceptions of nineteenth-century American culture. For the academic reader, the book constitutes a solid reference for a particular stratum of travel writing: that of well-moneyed, published travelers.

In researching this subject, Rose has clearly plumbed the depths of the extant published travel literature from this era. He demonstrates a nearly encyclopedic understanding of this material, and he includes a wide selection of amusing and well-chosen quotes from it. Rose's use of a thematic structure, which might have led

to a fatal loss of chronological footing, is skillful. He has a solid grasp of the secondary literature of travel and tourism of this particular era (although his reading of the literature outside that period might be somewhat thinner), and his good knowledge of the other secondary literature helped him set these accounts into a firm social history framework. The well-documented and annotated bibliography is a welcome asset.

However, there are some limitations to this work stemming from Rose's methodology: his sources are solely the published accounts of generally wealthy, generally high-status Europeans, most of them Britons, nearly all of whom wrote and published in English. There are no archival sources here, and so while the accounts offer a number of candid or unguarded insights, one wonders what else could have been gleaned from possibly more candid or unguarded or even mundane letters or diaries. And although the subtitle promises works by "European" writers, a large majority of those writers come from Great Britain, with only a few Germans, Poles, and French, plus a single Cuban (José Martí) to add to the mix. Further, the fact that all these works come from published sources creates yet another layer of exclusivity: there are no impoverished writers here, save, perhaps, Martí. And although Rose is well grounded in the cultural and tourist history of the period covered by this book, in places he misses the broadening scholarship on tourism and travel during the previous era. This leads him to generalize about the adventures of his travelers in a way that implies that their experiences were unique for their time, when in some cases much of what they found in the United States had been in place there for decades. This is understandable, given that much of that literature has only been available for about ten years.

The true value of *Unspeakable Awfulness* lies in its status as one of the very few books that effectively compile travel writings by Europeans about America in the late nineteenth century. There are dozens that group together English travel writers (including the classics, Jane Louise Mesick's *The English Traveller in America, 1785–1835* [1922] and Max Berger's *The British Traveller in America, 1836–1860* [1943]), and smaller numbers that collect the writings of other Europeans, but Rose's book essentially stands alone in its ambition, scope, and effectiveness. Consequently, it should have several ready readerships. It is lively enough to gain a general audience interested in an effective survey of American mores, customs, folkways, hotels, tourism, and dozens of other subjects focused on this part of the nineteenth century. It would be useful for scholars of travel literature, with its wide-ranging survey of published works in this genre. Finally, this study could also be useful for historians of general American culture, in particular those looking for both descriptions of and resources for the culture of travel and tourism in the United States in this era. Overall, Rose's book is a welcome and necessary addition, an impressive, broadly sourced, well-written work.

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Aaron Shapiro. *The Lure of the North Woods: Cultivating Tourism in the Upper Midwest*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2013. Pp. xix, 296. Cloth $75.00, paper $24.95.

In the second half of the nineteenth century and running up into the twentieth, iron mines, copper mines, and loggers worked their will on the abundant natural resources found in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, as well as the northernmost reaches of Wisconsin and Minnesota. Settlers and companies were lured to these places by promises of work, opportunity, and riches. Decade after decade, in an area that Aaron Shapiro describes as essentially a single region or landscape, industry obliterated the wilderness by clear-cutting forests and sinking mines into the ground. But beginning around 1900, the pace of environmental transformation at the hands of industry slowed. As commercial interests, especially logging, receded, the economic question in the first decades of the twentieth century became, what's next?

The region needed to reinvent itself, and this act of reinvention is the subject of Shapiro's *The Lure of the North Woods: Cultivating Tourism in the Upper Midwest*. Initially, considerable thought was given to rejuvenating the economy by planting crops where forests had once stood, and by attracting permanent settlers and agricultural pursuits. But that plan had limited success, and Shapiro documents the shift to a new strategy. Instead of being defined as a place of labor, the region would be redefined as a place of leisure and recreation. Instead of luring in permanent settlers, the area could draw in transient vacationers. The author strongly makes the case that the transformation of cut-over land into an important American playground happened because a wide range of actors redefined the North Woods, added new assets or attractions to it, and vigorously promoted it.

Regional associations, such as the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau and the Minnesota Arrowhead Association, promoted their parts of the North Woods. Potential tourists learned from postcards, pamphlets, guidebooks, advertising flyers, and maps that the restorative North Woods offered many active pursuits and a refuge from city life and work. Individuals and small businesses did their part to boost tourism by building the requisite amenities and services, such as gas stations, restaurants, and numerous forms of lodging—resorts, cabins, camps, and motels. The federal government, along with various state governments, allocated funds to enhance tourism. They promoted reforestation, built and paved roads, created parks, designated forests for public use and enjoyment, erected campgrounds, built roadside rest areas, and promul-

gated conservation measures to maintain hunting and fishing resources.

Shapiro notes that vacation opportunities were abundant, and they varied over time as technologies and American society changed. Across all the decades, visitors could quietly hike, bike, ski, or canoe. But sooner or later, they found themselves sharing time and space with four-wheelers, snowmobiles, and motorboats. Diverse vacationers might not have agreed on what was the proper or best use of the North Woods' natural environment, yet each possibility, the quietest and the noisiest, had its champions among the area's boosters, who invited tourists north for a visit and built or maintained recreational venues for their use. Hence, in northern Wisconsin, Eagle River boasts that it is "The Snowmobile Capital of the World" and host of the "World Championship Snowmobile Derby." Not too far away, Cable and Hayward are the termini of a long cross-country ski trail that hosts the American Birkebeiner, "the largest cross country ski marathon in North America." Competition in the tourist industry has sometimes created conflicts in the North Woods, raising questions such as "How much development is too much?" and "Can this really be a wilderness lake if planes are allowed to land on it?" But, for the most part, with tourism spread over a full twelve months and a vast acreage, the notion that an area should have different strokes for different folks is generally deemed a good one.

Before launching into the history of the reinvention of the North Woods' economy, Shapiro should have spent more time examining the slowing down of the logging and mining industries. In particular, he should have painted a fuller view of the landscape they left behind. Just how did large cut-over tracts of land evolve into a forested landscape that drew tourists? Shapiro could have better described the many, many landscapes found in the northern regions of the three states he examines, instead of oversimplifying things a bit too much and treating it all as one region. Differences found in the North Woods are at least as important as similarities. Still, this well-researched book does a fine job of showing that the North Woods was not just a real place, but a constructed idea or ideal, the product of promoters, developers, and governments who have defined, redefined, and sold the region for a century.

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Mabel O. Wilson. *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums*. (A George Gund Foundation Book in African American Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 442. $39.95.

In *Negro Building*, architectural scholar Mabel O. Wilson looks at African American participation in various public history forums in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Supported by extensive archival research, Wilson's analysis focuses particularly on world's fairs, Emancipation expositions, and early grassroots efforts to establish black history museums in cities like Detroit and Chicago as vital extensions of a black "counterpublic sphere," spaces in which African American leaders could represent black history and identity on their own terms, promote black achievements around the world, and define a path forward for themselves, the nation, and the international community. Beginning with the Atlanta Exposition of 1895, Wilson examines the shifting political, economic, and cultural contexts in which African Americans sought both to dispute longstanding racist stereotypes and to assert their own understandings of black heritage and accomplishments. While providing a trenchant analysis of the institutionalized racism African American organizers faced at every turn, Wilson is also attentive to political differences and disagreements among black leaders, who took positions reflecting varying degrees of accommodation and dissent as they debated how best to define and assert black interests.

After surveying the hundreds of museums, historic sites, memorials, and interpretive centers currently devoted to black history and culture throughout the United States, Wilson asks, "what does it mean for black Americans to claim a physical space in the nation's symbolic cultural landscape and a symbolic space in the nation's historical consciousness, two spheres in which their presence and contributions have been calculatingly rendered invisible and abject for over two centuries?" (p. 3). She begins her examination in the late nineteenth century, when world's fairs enjoyed immense popularity and drew enormous crowds. The U.S. world's fairs, as historian Robert Rydell has made clear, were highly charged ideological and symbolic spaces in which industrial and governmental leaders exalted the promise of American industry and paid homage to particular visions of (white) American history, "civilization," and culture. As presented by white organizers, black men and women appeared primarily as "savages" in deeply racist displays that purported to represent African village life or as naturally subordinate and contented laborers in the endlessly popular stereotypical exhibits of "old plantation" life.

Given the ideological and symbolic significance of the world's fairs at this time, black leaders understood that it was critical to claim a space where they could assert a contrasting vision of African American history and identity and insert black achievement into broader narratives of American progress, even as many protested the relegation of black participants to separate facilities at fairs held in cities from Charleston, to Buffalo, to Paris, France. In segregated spaces such as the first "Negro Building," erected at the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition in 1895, leading black business, educational, religious, and journalistic leaders organized exhibits highlighting African American accomplishments since Emancipation, though they were often hampered by a shortage of funds and strict parameters set by whites. Wilson stresses that the

themes of self-help, agriculture, and industrial education were particularly prominent in such displays, reflecting the dominance of Booker T. Washington's prescription for African American advancement during the years marked by the onset of Jim Crow. In contrast, at Emancipation expositions organized in northern cities in the 1910s and 1920s, W. E. B. DuBois and other black spokesmen foregrounded more varied forms of cultural production, industry, labor, and intellectual life, significantly broadening and redefining African American history and accomplishment. Fairs in Detroit and Chicago in 1940 reflected the significant developments in African American political, economic, and cultural realms, including the advent of the cultural wing of the Left's Popular Front and the rise of sports and entertainment celebrities such as Joe Lewis and Bill "Bojangles" Robinson. Finally, during the 1960s, civil rights activists and museum advocates sought to build independent black grassroots institutions that would play a key role in empowering black communities and battling for equality and freedom for persons of African descent in the United States and the world.

This is a fascinating, sharply analyzed, and well-written account of the evolution of black leaders' efforts to use public forums to define and disseminate African American history and identity on their own terms, as well as to insert African Americans into broader narratives and ideologies of American and/or pan-African history. Of particular note is the value of Wilson's interdisciplinary approach, which brings together methods and insights from fields ranging from art history to architecture, visual culture, and urban studies. By conceptualizing these social spaces as an extension of a black counterpublic sphere, where African Americans could formulate, debate, and articulate ideologies of race and nation that ran counter to white discourse, Wilson helps to place these venues within the broader political context of their time. One aspect of the story that is noted but not fully explored here is the dominance of men among the black leaders who organized these fairs, expositions, and museums. Wilson discusses a few notable exceptions, particularly the Chicago artist and cultural activist Margaret Burroughs, who played a vital role in organizing Chicago's American Negro Exposition of 1940 and was active in the later movement to establish a museum of black history in the city. To bring the gendered aspects of the "world of fairs and museums" more sharply into focus, Wilson might have broadened her perspective to include the considerable cultural labor of black women, who led many of the efforts to institutionalize black history in schools and memorials. Such a gendered analysis, however, would only further enrich what is already a profound contribution to our understanding of how and why cultural representations of history, race, and nation have evolved—and been so hotly contested—from the Jim Crow era to the present day.

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Matthew Lavine. *The First Atomic Age: Scientists, Radiations, and the American Public, 1895–1945*. (Palgrave Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. x, 247. $85.00.

Many scholars date the origins of the atomic age to the 1940s, but Matthew Lavine challenges that periodization in his well-crafted study of the American public's reaction to radiation and radioactivity from 1895 to 1945. He dubs this period the first atomic age and dates its inception to William Conrad Roentgen's discovery of x-rays in 1895 and Henri Becquerel's detection of radioactivity in uranium in 1896. In his study, Lavine traces the development of public attitudes toward the new energies through three distinct phases: first a period of "radiomania," then commodification, and finally fear and disdain.

Lavine argues that x-rays and radium dominated the first atomic age and elicited the most interest from the press and public. Radium seemed to topple old scientific verities, such as the conservation of energy and the immutability of elements, while x-rays suggested that nothing could shield humanity from science's all-seeing eyes. The new energies also closed the gap between the populace and the experts. The public was able to see behind the veil of science and to carefully track the latest experiments and new applications of the "naughty" rays as well as experimental dead ends and failures. X-rays especially leveled the playing field because the means to create a crude x-ray machine were within reach for many electronic hobbyists. The paucity of practical applications during this early phase of the atomic age, however, led radiomania to ebb for a time before a wave of commodification revived popular interest in the field.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, the public had more opportunities to have personal encounters with the new energies. X-ray machines became more reliable and widespread, appearing in doctors' offices and shoe stores, where fluoroscopy devices allowed clerks to fit a customer's shoes scientifically. Radium was valued for its potential medical applications, although it continued to be scarce. Yet rarity increased its mystique and allowed various business enterprises and medical hucksters to promise amazing effects from products that contained scant traces of radium, if they contained any at all. The increased visibility of these technologies inspired nonfiction writings and literary works that rhapsodized about x-rays and radium. But concerns about potential dangers also emerged during this period. The most famous literary work highlighting radioactivity, H. G. Wells's *The World Set Free* (1914), marked the first discussion of nuclear warfare and "atomic bombs."

Worries about radioactivity intensified during the next decades. In 1925, the plight of the "radium girls" who worked with luminescent paint captured the attention of the public and the press. As these female workers slowly wasted away from ingesting trace amounts of radium, other irradiation fatalities emerged. Steel mag-

nate Eben Byers died after consuming copious quantities of Radithor, a radium-infused patent medicine, while Marie Curie, the discoverer of radium, endured a gruesome decline and death. In the public mind, x-rays and radium soon became things to be avoided, not sought. The public disillusionment with radiation prompted a muted reaction when scientists finally produced artificial fission in uranium.

The fissionability of uranium marked the transition from the first to the second atomic age. One of Lavine's key goals is to demonstrate that the public entered this new period better informed about the dangers and promise of nuclear science than previous scholars have acknowledged. For instance, in his book *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (1985), Paul Boyer focuses on the almost immediate public enthusiasm after World War II for energy too cheap to meter and nuclear-powered cars and airplanes, but Lavine argues that such speculations merely built on the radiation-fueled fantasies of the first atomic age. The two most significant differences between the two eras, in Lavine's view, were the central role of the government, which had a played a minimal role in the first atomic age, and the much more pronounced dread regarding the potential for nuclear disaster that surfaced during the second era.

Lavine provides a credible case for the widespread interest in radiation and radioactivity from 1895 to 1945. He successfully moves beyond studies such as Spencer R. Weart's *Nuclear Fear: A History of Images* (1988), which focused on people's nuclear worries from 1895 onward, to account for public optimism regarding nuclear science. The only question not fully addressed in this study is whether the period from 1895 to 1945 truly constitutes a distinct age. Nuclear weapons and nuclear technology cast a heavy shadow over the period after 1945. But despite the great public interest in radium and x-rays in the earlier era, was the public infatuation with atomic energy sufficient to cast it as a defining characteristic of the time? Despite this quibble, this book provides a clear-eyed overview of its subject, and it stands as the most complete study of public attitudes toward radiation and radioactivity prior to World War II.

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Aaron Lecklider. *Inventing the Egghead: The Battle over Brainpower in American Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp. 285. $45.00.

In *Inventing the Egghead*, Aaron Lecklider seeks to explore "representations of intelligence in twentieth-century American culture" (p. 4). But in reality he endeavors to uncover a much more precise history, the discourse on the intelligence of Americans who were not part of the intellectual class, who "pursued a new and exciting set of opportunities and venues to imagine themselves as thinkers" (p. 222). The advent of mass culture, to Lecklider, offered these new venues, and he marshals an impressive array of sources (popular songs, magazines, plays, novels, and Works Progress Administration posters) to demonstrate how ordinary Americans "negotiated the complicated politics of intelligence within an accelerating mass culture" (p. 4)—how they used (and were encouraged to use) their native "brainpower," as he terms it, "to seize cultural capital from an intellectual elite by positioning themselves as intelligent and by deflating the intellectual pretensions of others" (p. 4). Ultimately Lecklider uncovers what he defines as an organic intellectual tradition (adapted from Antonio Gramsci) that arose alongside mass culture in the early decades of the twentieth century, a tradition that "involved buttressing working-class intelligence" (pp. 222–223), propelling challenges to established political, racial, and gender ideals until a backlash occurred in the McCarthy Era. An ambitious undertaking, the book offers an impressive new approach to thinking about popular culture, intelligence, and the politicization of ordinary Americans. Ultimately, though, it proves both delightfully insightful and maddeningly frustrating in its coverage.

Through seven chapters spanning the years 1900 through 1960, Lecklider covers some well-trodden subjects—Coney Island, the Harlem Renaissance, and radical literature in the Depression—but to his credit he looks at these episodes through a different prism. His first chapter, for instance, reexamines (among other topics) Chautauquas, Tin Pan Alley songs about college, popular science magazines, and radical magazines like *The Masses*, highlighting how these mass culture arenas promoted and celebrated the natural "brainpower" of the average American. Songs about college disdained the pretentiousness of the college-bred. The Chautauquas and science magazines posited Americans as already intelligent enough to indulge in complex subjects. And the radical media asserted the native intelligence of the working class in opposition to notions of educational uplift. Similarly, Lecklider's dissection of African American periodicals surveying the literature of the Harlem Renaissance emphasizes the identification of a unique intelligence in the "New Negro," based on the lived experience of African Americans regardless of their education. The economic crisis of the Depression unleashed both government and media sources to call upon ordinary Americans' brainpower to meet the problems of the day, sanctioning the questioning of cherished ideals and envisioning new opportunities. Lecklider's exploration of WPA iconography reveals the breadth of this official promotion of American brainpower as akin to how World War II posters officially encouraged new identifications for women and African Americans.

Lecklider offers his most original analysis on how the McCarthy Era's emphasis on conformity and suspicion of liberal-minded intelligence, quite tellingly operative in popular culture, scuttled the radical potential of intelligence (which peaked in the Depression) by sowing doubts about the place of the genius in American life. Chapter six surveys the magazine coverage of the secret

atomic city of Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and its super-intelligent citizens, while chapter seven analyzes the invention of the "egghead" in popular culture. In both cases the media reinforced popular associations between "brainpower" and negative stereotypes such as elitism and subversion, connecting such a person unequivocally to radical racial, social, and political ideas, including (for the eggheads) a confused sexual identity. Counter-representations of the atomic geniuses, for example, as normal, all-American suburbanites of a new frontier only served to bolster the message that it was all right to be that smart as long as one conformed. Lecklider mines wonderful sources on the eggheads, drawing potently from political rhetoric, popular songs, and fiction.

While I appreciate how Lecklider wove the narrative pieces together, for every topic he chose to cover, I can think of two more that scream for attention. If the focus was popular cultural representations, then why not cast a wider net to bring in radio, movies, and a more in-depth look at mass magazines? Why avoid popular debates about education? And if the author truly aimed to focus more on this rising working-class organic intelligence, with its potential for political empowerment, then I can imagine many scholars questioning whether the growth of mass culture significantly accelerated (or indeed hindered) this trajectory. Think of the Populists or labor radicals of the previous century. And why not extend commentary beyond the 1950s and into the fertile fields of Ronald Reagan's, Richard Nixon's, and George Wallace's skewering of America's educated elite?

Although his coverage may be questionable, Lecklider exposes fruitful new angles for research. Overall his book proves a thought-provoking read and will appeal to a wide range of scholars not just in intellectual history but also in several subfields that it touches.

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Michael Innis-Jiménez. *Steel Barrio: The Great Mexican Migration to South Chicago, 1915–1940.* (Culture, Labor, History Series.) New York: New York University Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 235. Cloth $79.00, paper $27.00.

In the two decades following World War I, the number of Mexican-born Chicagoans jumped from about 1,000 to more than 16,000, peaking at nearly 20,000 in 1930 before the Great Depression sent many back to Mexico in search of work. The city's newest immigrant group followed Southern and Eastern Europeans into low-wage industrial jobs in Chicago's famous stockyards and steel mills, established neighborhood organizations, and struggled to build communities in the rundown cottages and frame tenements that blanketed the city's south side. But Mexicans were not simply another group thrown into the city's immigrant melting pot. As Michael Innis-Jiménez notes in this important book, Mexican immigrants arrived with a "sojourner attitude" (p. 13), the view that they would return to Mexico either for short visits or to make a permanent home. "Circular migration" (p. 13) meant that the food, language, and beliefs of rural Mexico were regularly arriving in South Chicago. More crucial for Innis-Jiménez's analysis, Mexicans moved to Chicago just as the city's European immigrants and their children were beginning to identify as part of America's white working class. Mexican immigrants would not follow that well-trodden immigrant path—indeed, they faced significant discrimination from white society. Mexican immigrants would, instead, become another "racialized" other, distinguished from African Americans and treated badly by white Americans.

This book provides a crucial and too-long-neglected piece of labor history. Innis-Jiménez focuses on the Mexican community in South Chicago, a neighborhood surrounding the steel mills on the city's far south side. He notes that in the 1920s, Mexicans made up as much as 40 percent of the railroad maintenance-of-way crews on the major U.S. lines (more than 70 percent on the Southwest Transcontinental Railroad in 1928). In Chicago, during the autumn months following the race riot of July 1919 and the steel strike that September, U.S. Steel recruited large groups of Mexican men to serve as replacements for the striking workers. After the race riot, employers in the steel industry believed that Mexican laborers would be less disruptive and more compliant than African American men. This sifting of laborers according to their social identity and relation to urban violence evokes a complex, internally divided, and diverse American working class.

But Innis-Jiménez is more interested in community-building and the process through which Mexicans in South Chicago became a cohesive and "racialized" community. Discrimination plays a large part in this study. Mexicans were forced to live in the worst, most deteriorated housing on the most dangerous blocks, suffering from the environmental hazards of living within walking distance of steel mills. Mexican workers were often rejected by union organizers, while South Chicago was largely neglected by the city's vigorous social reformers. Mexican immigrants responded by forming mutual aid societies to assist struggling families, and to pay for funerals and doctors' bills. They revived and remade home-country rituals, celebrating Mexican culture at street fairs, in parades, and on holidays. And baseball—local teams were organized in the late 1920s and 1930s—forged crucial bonds among neighbors, fostered community pride, and opened the city's parks to Mexican immigrants, who had earlier faced white thugs or negligent park administrators when they tried to use Chicago's public spaces. In Innis-Jiménez's telling, leisure, language, ritual, and shared day-to-day struggles to survive in a bleak industrial neighborhood combined to give shape to a new distinctive immigrant community.

What is largely under-examined here is the process through which Mexican immigrants became a racial rather than immigrant or ethnic group. Innis-Jiménez states again and again, and persuasively, that Mexicans

were racialized. He notes that many of Chicago's European immigrants had an image of Mexicans even before this population landed in the city, seeing them as the bandits and wild-eyed revolutionaries of early-twentieth-century films and newsreels. Mexicans had an "ambiguous racial status" (p. 32) in 1919. And yet, Innis-Jiménez's careful reading of the manuscript census shows Mexican and European immigrants living side by side on south side blocks with little evidence of tension, and certainly not the brutal violence that confronted African Americans who moved into white neighborhoods in the 1920s. Mexicans, moreover, "wanted to be considered white" (p. 97). They often spoke English outside of their community while using Spanish at home and among friends. Most interesting, Mexicans did not see naturalization as a requirement for becoming white, and many rejected American citizenship. So who did the racializing? What was the process through which Mexican immigrants were barred from the privileges of whiteness? Were Mexicans who were forming communities and fashioning their own version of American identity overwhelmingly defined by European immigrants anxious to draw clear lines of separation between themselves and some other social group? This process of racialization—a struggle among multiple groups seeking the advantages of a white American identity—calls out for precise scholarly analysis.

Though at times repetitive, *Steel Barrio* offers a thought-provoking portrait of a growing Mexican neighborhood on Chicago's south side. Innis-Jiménez's research points to some critical questions about the formation and splintering of America's twentieth-century working class, and provides a key contribution to the growing literature on the constitution and politicization of racial identities.

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Robert Spoo. *Without Copyrights: Piracy, Publishing, and the Public Domain*. (Modernist Literature and Culture.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 355. $35.00.

The author of this volume, Robert Spoo, is a professor of intellectual property law and an erstwhile professor of modernist literature. This book concerns both of these subjects. It is also a history. In particular, it is a history of the period—the 1920s and 1930s—when European modernist authors met the peculiarities of U.S. copyright law. It identifies a rich public domain as a by-product of these peculiarities, and it concludes with a plea for the protection of that public domain against the inroads of copyright protection.

As Spoo shows, until well into the twentieth century, foreign authors received only minimal copyright protection for their works in the United States. What protection they did receive derived from an informal system of trade courtesy developed by major U.S. publishers, which survived into the twentieth century, though it was increasingly challenged by so-called pirates, who in turn viewed trade courtesy as an unwarranted monopoly. The passage of the 1891 Chace Act still gave only limited protection to foreign works because of its manufacturing clause and other provisions. The bulk of *Without Copyrights* goes on to argue, in an entertaining and original way, that while this lack of copyright protection was a hindrance for European modernist authors, it forced them to develop strategies for both publishing and profiting from their works that were highly original and had lasting effects, not least in contributing to the idea of author as "celebrity."

To illustrate his point, Spoo concentrates on the fortunes of a group of individuals: the modernist authors Ezra Pound and James Joyce; the "pirate" Samuel Roth, who saw himself as part of the modernist movement even as he profited from his unauthorized (albeit legal) publishing of the modernists; and the publisher Bennett Cerf, who relied on trade courtesy to produce the first authorized printing of Joyce's *Ulysses* in the United States in 1934. Spoo shows that Pound was an important public critic of U.S. copyright laws, even though modernist authors often used liberal helpings of others' works in their own. However, he also emphasizes that when Pound put forward his own proposed copyright law, he not only advocated for the rights of authors but also recognized the need for a healthy public domain.

Spoo charts the fortunes of *Ulysses* as an exemplar of the struggle between modernism, copyright's limitations, and piracy. Joyce's work was seen by many in the U.S. as corrupt and corrupting. It lacked copyright protection. However, through his campaign against the pirate and modernist provocateur Roth, who published bowdlerized portions of *Ulysses*, and with the support of respectable publishers, Joyce was able to present himself as both victim and, Spoo suggests, celebrity. His status as both was further enhanced by his successful legal action against Roth for misappropriation of personality and breach of privacy. However, Spoo also presents Roth in an interestingly complex way. He certainly appropriated the work of others for his own financial benefit, but he was also a staunch defender of the public domain and in his own way a martyr to modernism.

This book is beautifully written. It is authoritative in its coverage of the advent of modernism in the United States, the workings of the publishing trade, and the development of copyright law. In a final chapter, Spoo convincingly argues that the protectionist policy pursued by the U.S. toward foreign works had the perverse effect of creating a formidable public domain. It was inevitable that the U.S. would eventually give equal protection to foreign works (as it did in the 1980s). However, it did not follow that work already in the public domain would be restored to copyright, as in fact occurred. For Spoo, the public domain is no longer in principle inviolable, and this he regrets.

Given the generous scope of this book, it may seem unfair to ask for more. However, a foray into social history would have given Spoo's analysis extra depth.

Thus, his book consistently points to the importance of class and ethnicity to both trade courtesy and piracy, without its being explicitly acknowledged. We might ask whether trade courtesy would have survived without commonalities of background, particularly of class, among the established publishers. True, some of these publishers shared a Jewish ancestry. Nonetheless, presumably it was their class background that both gave them entrée to the literary establishment and also protected them from the sometimes explicit and at other times only thinly veiled antisemitism that was directed at more recent immigrants and interlopers such as Roth. Similarly, individuals like Roth were presumably disqualified by their class and ethnicity from joining the elite circle of publishers who practiced trade courtesy. Still, even without this more detailed social context, Spoo's book presents an exemplary account of an important period for both copyright law and literary modernism.

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Jayne Morris-Crowther. *The Political Activities of Detroit Clubwomen in the 1920s: A Challenge and a Promise*. (Great Lakes Books.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 217. $44.95.

Detroit clubwomen's successes and failures in municipal politics are the focus of Jayne Morris-Crowther's *The Political Activities of Detroit's Clubwomen in the 1920s: A Challenge and a Promise*. Morris-Crowther's narrative explores the pivotal decade of the 1920s in Detroit and the impact of the woman suffrage amendment on key political issues: school reform, community gardens and playgrounds, women as political officeholders, penal reform, crime and public vice, and segregation in public accommodations. This is an important book that helps to place these issues into the story of Detroit's tremendous rise as an industrial metropolis in the 1920s. Morris-Crowther also arrives at a troubling yet intriguing conclusion: Detroit's clubwomen experienced limited success in realizing their political vision despite their commitment to activism and the favorable conditions for reform.

As a political history, *The Political Activities of Detroit Clubwomen* presents a thorough treatment of Detroit's legislative climate. A powerful city council controlled the municipality, and Morris-Crowther chronicles the perceived and actual political reach of the influence carried by middle-class clubwomen. The heart of this book's argument is that middle-class women's clubs redoubled their efforts to enact social reform laws after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. But clubwomen found that votes and activism did not produce as much institutional change as they had envisioned. The prevalent belief that women were unfit for political office added to the widespread sexism in legislature, and ultimately, women's issues were not taken seriously.

Impressively, *The Political Activities of Detroit's Clubwomen* gives equal footing to white women's clubs and African American women's clubs. White clubwomen acknowledged the existence of African American clubwomen, but neither group was comfortable working with the other on a common agenda. Morris-Crowther attributes much of the fault to white clubwomen, who rarely confronted the widespread racial prejudice directed at African American residents and migrants. Indeed, white clubwomen, following the dictates of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, refused to challenge segregation in public accommodations across Detroit. However, Morris-Crowther also shows that middle-class women, both white and African American, pointed to their social status as adequate reason to speak for other groups. Middle-class status certainly added to the political influence of these clubs, but it also hampered their effectiveness. It appears that Detroit's clubwomen worked hard to develop their grassroots organizing, but working-class women did not have much purchase in the clubs' agendas.

Through extensive research at historical societies, newspapers, and local archives, Morris-Crowther has incorporated a remarkable array of perspectives. This is no small feat. Writing a history of early-twentieth-century clubwomen can be daunting, even if the clubs are based in major U.S. cities such as Detroit. Finding their records is time-consuming. Women's clubs proliferated in the 1910s, then subsequently dwindled, disappearing by 1925. Only the major organizations, like the National Association of Colored Women and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, survived the 1920s. The research is fraught with dead-ends, as well. Without an established and continuing recordkeeping system, the minutes, agendas, and rosters of even the best-funded and most widely recognized clubs were thrown out, lost, or misidentified. Yet Morris-Crowther's research reflects considerable depth. She draws heavily on the minutes of the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs, newspapers and journals, and a number of local archives.

The main drawback in Morris-Crowther's exploration is that she provides no corresponding national context to put the history of Detroit's clubwomen into perspective. While there is a brief discussion of 1920s demographic changes and the tremendous growth of the auto industry, the book would have benefited from a longer and more specialized analysis of Detroit's role in the changing national picture—modernism, an incipient women's movement, the Great Migration, flapper culture, the Jazz Age, and the proliferation of juke joints and speakeasies despite Prohibition. One of the things that made clubwomen appear to be so old-fashioned in the 1920s was their reluctance to engage these cultural changes. An examination of white middle-class women grappling with flappers or black middle-class women making sense of the popular black resort town of Idlewild would have added a colorful and important balance.

The Political Activities of Detroit Clubwomen adds nuance to the growing body of literature on clubwomen.

Detroit's clubwomen worked hard for their constituencies, and they tried to ensure the biggest impact for every reform they backed. Middle-class women's reform politics, particularly protective legislation, children's health and welfare, and family planning, formed the primary platform of women's clubs through the 1930s, and it remains an uncovered aspect of twentieth-century American women's history. But sexism in politics had as much to do with the downfall of clubwomen as did outmoded ideas of respectability. Morris-Crowther offers good insight into the ways women negotiated these barriers to the best of their ability.

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Susie J. Pak. *Gentlemen Bankers: The World of J. P. Morgan*. (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 51.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 356. $55.00.

In *Gentlemen Bankers*, historian Susie J. Pak offers an intriguing and generally well-written social history of the partners of storied investment bank J. P. Morgan & Co. and associated companies (the "House of Morgan") and one of its major competitors, Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Based on secondary sources, new interpretations of standard primary sources, and hitherto rarely consulted archival sources, this book can be considered part of an emerging literature that an April 2013 article in the *New York Times* labeled "the history of capitalism." Pak's volume certainly shares many of the strengths and weaknesses common to that new subfield, especially those parts of it that privilege individuals over processes, or in other words that conflate capital*ists* with capital*ism*.

The introduction makes clear that the book is about how the business and social networks of Morganites (J. P. and Jack Morgan and their sixty-five partners) changed over time. Chapter one provides historical context on gentlemen bankers and their code of conduct before the Pujo Money Trust investigations. Chapter two describes Morganites' social spheres, including where they lived and the social clubs they belonged to, on the eve of the Great War. Chapter three explores their antisemitism, which was palpable in both private correspondence and club memberships even though Morganites often cooperated with Jewish bankers on business deals. Chapter four shows how World War I disrupted the business, family, and social networks of the Morganites while simultaneously damaging German bankers, especially German-Jewish ones like the partners of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. Chapter five explores the increasing importance of Harvard University to J. P. Morgan & Co., especially in its partner recruitment efforts. In chapter six, Pak discusses the relationship between J. P. Morgan and imperial Japan, with emphasis on the efforts of female-led pro-China groups to disrupt the flow of money from U.S. investors to Japanese projects in Manchuria/Manchukuo. The dissolution of the House of Morgan is the subject of chapter seven: New Deal regulations forced the company to split into two (known today as JPMorgan Chase and Co. and Morgan Stanley), while changing economic conditions led to abandonment of the partnership form in favor of public ownership.

As its title implies, this book is about bank*ers*, not bank*ing*. Readers not conversant with investment banking practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will learn little from the book, as Pak does not explain technical terms like "participations" or "flotation" or provide an overview of banking practices in the era. Thankfully, she appears to have a firm grasp of the basics herself (and had parts of the manuscript vetted by top-caliber financial historians like Leslie Hannah and Richard Sylla), but non-business historians may find a few parts of the book too jargon-laden to fully appreciate. At the same time, however, Pak ignores key economic theories that undermine the book's major conceit, "trust." According to Pak, "trust is essential to the functioning of financial markets," and "social relations" are the key to trust formation and maintenance (p. 10), so understanding social networks is central to understanding financial markets. Economic historians, including most recently and brilliantly Douglas Allen in *The Institutional Revolution: Measurement and the Economic Emergence of the Modern World* (2012), have found that "trust" was often shorthand for hostage capital and other types of self-enforcing contracts, and not a feeling developed in clubs, at parties, or during other social activities.

As a result, many business, economic, and financial historians will wonder whether an enhanced understanding of the social dimension of investment banking is important. That Morganites were prejudiced against blacks, "Japs" (p. 190), "beast"-like Jews (p. 33), and "wops" (p. 203), for example, has long been known, and the import of additional detail is unclear. In a short conclusion, Pak tackles such criticism, but rather than demonstrating the importance of social contextualization by showing how previous historians missed something important by ignoring the details of Morganite social networks, she offers assertions and palliatives. For example, Pak claims that *Gentlemen Bankers* is important because it demonstrates "that the Morgans' power, their name and reputation, was created not by an individual or a family but by a community, that it was not just economic but social" (p. 224). Few scholars would contest that economies are embedded in wider societies; the question is whether or not economies are better understood when socially contextualized. Pak's word on the subject will not be the last. What scholars of capitalism really need, I believe, is something akin to David Simon's *The Wire* (2002–2008), a narrative that shows how individual incentives, embedded in social institutions nearly impervious to reform, can create outcomes ranging from suboptimal to downright perverse.

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ROBERT L. FLEEGLER. *Ellis Island Nation: Immigration Policy and American Identity in the Twentieth Century.* (Haney Foundation Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp. 270. $49.95.

How did Americans come to see themselves as a "nation of immigrants"? In this wide-ranging study, Robert L. Fleegler explores the emergence of what he terms "contributionism," the belief that immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe strengthened American society. He traces the rise of contributionism between the Immigration Acts of 1924 and 1965, a period that saw dramatic changes in attitudes toward immigrants and culminated in significant reforms.

Fleegler draws on a diverse set of sources—including congressional reports, policy debates, newspaper accounts, radio shows, public celebrations, popular films, and school textbooks—to show how contributionist ideas gained ground in intellectual, political, and cultural contexts. At the start of the restriction era, many Americans feared that "new" immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe were a threat to national identity and could not assimilate fully into American life. Yet by 1965, he argues, many intellectuals, policymakers, and educators had come to believe that Ellis Island immigrants and their descendants brought economic and cultural benefits even as they adapted to American norms. In the process, they expanded the definition of American identity.

Ellis Island Nation begins with debates over immigration restriction in the 1920s. Passage of the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, whose national origins system sharply curtailed immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia, reflected the dominant belief that immigrants from those regions remained outside the American nation. In the 1930s, some intellectuals and policymakers began to voice a more welcoming attitude, while public and private organizations initiated programs to foster appreciation for immigrant contributions. During World War II, these efforts shifted to emphasize tolerance, intergroup cooperation, and national unity rather than the particular contributions of newcomers. This universalist ideal carried over to the immediate postwar period, when support for immigration restriction remained strong.

Contributionism gained ground in the 1950s, when it emerged as a powerful political idea. In an insightful discussion, Fleegler analyzes the revival of contributionist language during congressional debate in 1952 over the McCarran-Walter bill, which ultimately upheld the national origins system. The bill passed both houses of Congress with wide margins and received enough support to override a presidential veto. Even so, the debate invigorated contributionist sentiments, as even opponents of the bill praised the positive economic and cultural impact of Ellis Island immigrants. Over the course of the decade, liberal thought moved toward opposing the national origins system as outdated and contrary to American ideals.

According to Fleegler, the religious pluralism of the 1950s reflected some elements of contributionism. Fleegler includes a discussion of the presidential campaign of 1960, analyzing the national conversation that accompanied John F. Kennedy's bid to become the first Catholic president. While this discussion is perceptive, it is not entirely clear how it fits with the book's larger theme. As Fleegler correctly observes, religious pluralism in this period emphasized tolerance and similarities among faiths rather than the particular contributions of each individual faith. Kennedy's campaign reflected tensions over religious diversity, but the evidence here does not suggest that it generated a specifically contributionist approach to Catholic identity.

In Fleegler's analysis, contributionism's triumph came in the 1960s. In this decade, a range of figures, including legislators, intellectuals, ethnic leaders, journalists, textbook writers, and filmmakers, expanded their vision of the nation to underscore the economic and cultural assets of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, whose children and grandchildren were by then achieving greater political power. Contributionist rhetoric shaped congressional debates, as both supporters and opponents of immigration reform voiced appreciation for earlier arrivals. Contributionism culminated in the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which repealed the national origins system and fully incorporated Ellis Island immigrants into the national story. In an epilogue, Fleegler explores the fate of contributionism in the post-1965 period, when the "nation of immigrants" ideal continued to shape popular understanding.

The book emphasizes that contributionism included Ellis Island immigrants while excluding Asians, Latinos, and African Americans from its vision of American national identity. It could go further to analyze this important tension and to explore the impact of contributionism on attitudes toward newcomers from regions outside of Europe. After all, even during the restriction period, a number of intellectuals, educators, and ethnic leaders did celebrate the benefits brought by immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Examining the extent to which these thinkers influenced cultural and political understandings would illuminate the immigration debates and demonstrate the conflicts among various and competing contributionist visions.

While many of the examples here will be familiar to scholars of immigration and ethnicity, Fleegler's achievement is to bring these stories together into a persuasive narrative, drawing on a wide range of sources to trace the emergence, fall, and revival of the contributionist idea. *Ellis Island Nation* is a valuable addition to the literature on immigration debates, ethnic diversity, and national identity in twentieth-century America.

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DAWN BOHULANO MABALON. *Little Manila Is in the Heart: The Making of the Filipina/o American Community in Stockton, California.* Durham, N.C.: Duke Uni-

versity Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 442. Cloth $99.95, paper $28.95.

In her exhaustive and heartfelt examination of the creation of the Filipina/o American community in Stockton, California, Dawn Bohulano Mabalon offers an invaluable work for scholars and the larger public interested in questions of immigration, ethnic identity, labor, activism, and historical memory. *Little Manila* fulfills all the expectations of rigorous, objective historical scholarship: complex analysis, thorough archival research, and breadth over time and space. However, this is also a deeply personal exploration that showcases the strengths of weaving together advocacy and historical research. Mabalon draws heavily from oral histories and the story of her transnational family: her grandfather immigrated to Stockton in 1929, brought over immediate family members during the next three decades, and celebrated Mabalon's own birth and maturation in the San Joaquin Valley. After completing the dissertation that informed this book, Mabalon helped found the Little Manila Foundation, an organization dedicated to preserving and revitalizing a four-block area of what remains of the once-vibrant Filipina/o neighborhood. Throughout the book, she expresses her reverence for the Stockton community and earlier generations of Filipina/o activist-historians, most notably Carlos Bulosan and Fred Cordova.

Like the best of American immigration scholarship, *Little Manila* begins outside U.S. borders, specifically in the Ilocos region of the Philippines, where Mabalon details the economic, political, and cultural conditions that convinced her family and so many others to emigrate to Hawai'i and the United States in the early twentieth century. She notes how American imperialism and capitalism, especially as expressed through the public education system, structured the expectations of Filipinos/as, who came to believe in the superiority of American culture and the ample opportunities in the United States. Economic changes, namely the shift from barter and subsistence to cash transactions and specialization, also encouraged Filipinos to depart. Many of the immigrants chose Stockton, Mabalon reasons, because of the city's relatively high wages, available jobs in agriculture, and position between two established centers for Filipino labor, Alaska and Southern California. Despite their hopes, Filipinos confronted difficult labor conditions and racial violence, challenges that they met through labor organization, relaxation of the regional divisions that had marked their earlier lives, and creative expressions of leisure such as escrima (a form of martial arts), jazz music, gambling, and cockfighting.

Mabalon's investigation of the unexpected and crucial roles that Filipinas played in the construction and revision of Stockton's community is especially thorough. She argues that the scarcity of women and resources "shifted the balance of power towards Filipinas, forcing both men and women to creatively adapt and transform gender roles and expectations brought from the Philippines" (p. 190). Women not only contributed to their households as wage laborers, they also acted as caretakers for their immediate and extended families. Second-generation Filipinas chafed under the restrictions imposed by the community and constructions of femininity linked to nationalist ideals of an independent Philippine homeland. They took advantage of different models of womanhood available in regional and mass culture to create new identities immediately before and after World War II. As much as labor and gender, Mabalon highlights the importance of religion and spirituality to the shape of the Stockton community. Although the majority of Filipino immigrants were Catholic on arrival, many joined Protestant congregations. They did so because they found the local Catholic churches inhospitable, and also because they appreciated the "underlying message of Americanization" that Protestant missionary programs offered (p. 215). Moreover, Mabalon insists that Filipinos used places of worship to express grievances and organize politically.

During and immediately after World War II, Filipinos translated their political and economic struggles into real gains. The relaxation of white prejudice, Filipino military service, and the wartime relocation of Japanese growers and residents elevated their position in the community. They won rights of naturalization, improved conditions in the fields, expanded work opportunities, and access to expanding suburbs. Despite these benefits and aspirations, the Stockton community could not resist the plans of the city's Redevelopment Agency in the 1960s, which ultimately evicted denizens and razed nine city blocks, including most of Little Manila and Chinatown. In her discussion of the destruction, Mabalon provides a revealing take on the messy process of community organizing. She attributes the reluctance of older Filipinos to challenge the demolition and later support the construction of a new Filipino Center to internalized colonialism. Post-1965, Filipino immigrants failed to join the cause, she argues, because they did not understand local history. She closes with a thoughtful reflection on what sustains community and memory.

Compelling though her account of past displacement and the necessity of current community action is, Mabalon might have offered a more complete portrait of the vision of urban change championed by redevelopment agencies and further explored the ways in which the selective success of Filipinos after World War II (like that of other ethnic minorities) weakened the foundation of Stockton's Little Manila. By moving into the suburbs and seeking new job opportunities, these families created other spaces and forms of community. Also, though she touches briefly upon the differences and tensions between pre- and post-1965 Filipino immigrants, she might have expanded this discussion. I expect that *Little Manila* will become a staple in courses focused upon histories of California, immigration, and labor.

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CHRISTOPHER M. REIN. *The North African Air Campaign: U.S. Army Air Forces from El Alamein to Salerno*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2012. Pp. x, 290. $34.95.

In *The North African Air Campaign*, Christopher M. Rein provides a useful explanation of the import of the Allied air effort in North Africa during World War II. North Africa exposed the rift between ground-minded commanders and air-minded commanders regarding how airpower should be employed in war. Ground commanders have generally considered the airplane to be an evolutionary extension of war, and airplanes simply another weapon in the inventory, one most properly used to support the main effort (defined as the land campaign). Airmen, however, have argued that airpower is revolutionary and more than simply flying artillery or the eyes of ground commanders. They believe that airpower is a war-winning capability in its own right and should be largely (if not completely) free of surface tethers. They also believe that the best way to advance the ground effort is to wrest control of the air away from the enemy. Yet at the beginning of World War II, the ground-centric perspective held sway. North Africa would change this.

As a result of the Allies' experience in North Africa, the relationship between ground forces and air forces changed dramatically. The most important (and controversial) lesson learned in North Africa was the need for centralized control of airpower by an airman. Although resisted by some ground-oriented officers, airpower was ultimately consolidated under a single air commander, the co-equal of his ground counterpart under the overall theater commander. While cooperation between air and ground forces was encouraged and deemed interdependent, the air commander retained sole authority (subject to the overall commander's direction) regarding how air assets would be employed. These principles were codified in U.S. Army Field Manual (FM) 100-20, *Command and Employment of Air Power*, in 1943. During the process of codifying this outlook into doctrine, the Americans seized the additional opportunity to further their aim of institutional independence by assigning priorities to tactical airpower (air superiority, aerial interdiction, and close air support) that favored an independent air force.

Straightforwardly written in a pleasing style, Rein's book constitutes a very good piece of graduate work accessible to the general reader. Airpower historians and hardcore military history buffs will find nothing new here. Indeed, the author confesses that his book employs essentially the same sources used to produce official histories and the current secondary literature on the subject. His purpose, he claims, is to reinterpret what is already known, or, as he puts it, to challenge earlier conclusions. He does not so much succeed in this regard, but rather restates a long-held proposition: that "joint" warfare—the synergistic employment of warfighting capabilities in all dimensions—is preferable to the unilateral employment of airpower.

The North African Air Campaign opens with a discussion of the major schools of thought before the outbreak of World War II, including the ideas of Italian airpower prophet Giulio Douhet, American brigadier general William "Billy" Mitchell, and the U.S. Army Air Corps Tactical School. In the main, Rein's summaries are accurate, but they are also shallow, and he relies too much on conventional wisdom regarding these schools of thought. For many, Douhet remains the "Great Satan" of airpower in terms of its war-winning potential sans active participation by surface forces. But Douhet's ideas must be placed in context, that is, *ex ante* as opposed to *ex post*. First, Douhet was writing for Italy, in the context of Italian geography, strategic thinking, and political economy. He did not set out to write a universally applicable theory of airpower. Moreover, he put forth an arguably valid deductive thesis that did not withstand the inductive laboratory of history. That said, some of what has been claimed about Douhet's writing is clearly wrong—for example, that "command of the air" is the sole end in and of itself and that he argued for the elimination of armies and navies.

The remainder of the book develops the story of the Allied effort in North Africa and how the Royal Air Force Western Desert Air Force provided the model for what was later codified in FM 100-20, which was imposed upon the U.S. Army following the demonstrated flaws of existing U.S. Army doctrine and organization. In truth, the extant doctrine in 1942 was not especially flawed, but the execution certainly was. Per FM 100-20, the air forces commander became co-equal to the ground forces commander, and the air commander centrally controlled air assets to maximize the flexibility of airpower to achieve concentration where it was most decisive, thereby achieving operational level effects. Rein does an admirable job of telling this story.

In the end, Rein does not so much challenge earlier conclusions as make the timeworn debate accessible to the lay reader. And for that he should be applauded.

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RICHARD BREITMAN and ALLAN J. LICHTMAN. *FDR and the Jews*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. vi, 433. $29.95.

According to Richard Breitman and Allan J. Lichtman, two extremes have dominated debates about U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Jews during the Holocaust. In *FDR and the Jews*, they challenge those extremes by seeking "to capture the contemporary reality of FDR" (p. 2), situating the president's thinking and decision-making in political and international context. They offer a reasoned, mostly sympathetic portrait of FDR, who they say engaged in limited action to aid the imperiled Jews of Germany and Austria before the war and, after news of mass Nazi killing, gradually became more willing to consider rescue action on behalf of a foreign minority. They argue that because of his executive actions, German and Austrian Jewish refugee

migration expanded during his second term; his shifting view in 1943 led to the creation in 1944 of the War Refugee Board and experimentation with temporary havens—important, if limited and late, initiatives. In the end, they admit, the story is a tragic one, for destroying the Jews was a central preoccupation of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis, whereas helping was a peripheral concern for the U.S. administration.

The heavy concentration on context emphasizes the many impediments to any potential action by the president between 1933 and 1945. The authors note correctly that FDR was not the last president to fail to provide an adequate response to genocide abroad. Nonetheless, they insist, FDR acted at the time to assist Jews, and did better than other world figures, "even if his efforts seem deficient in retrospect" (p. 2).

In the historiography on the American response to the Holocaust, the leading work has long been viewed as ahistorical and excessively moralistic. In *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945* (1984), David Wyman presented pathbreaking research but claimed that the Roosevelt administration "abandoned" the Jews, and that all American institutions and groups, including Jewish ones, shared the culpability. The main alternative has been the counterclaim in William Rubinstein's *The Myth of Rescue: Why the Democracies Could Not Have Saved More Jews from the Nazis* (2002) that rescue during the Holocaust was impossible, because Jews were prisoners in Nazi-controlled Europe and unable to exit, and that no proposals were put forward then that would have actually saved lives.

FDR and the Jews takes a middle path, stressing the many obstacles to action during depression and war. Congress was committed to immigration restriction; the State Department was antisemitic and anti-alien; the Republican Party offered no real alternative; antisemitic currents were rising in the country. The book also reports on wartime rescue proposals, suggesting that had some of them been implemented, they might have been effective. However, they were never attempted. While Breitman and Lichtman's study is balanced and fair, it offers a view that at times is unsatisfying. It is difficult to get a good sense of FDR and his thinking because of the absence of good sources. FDR was a private leader; he left no diary or memoir, wrote few letters, and told many visitors what they wanted to hear. The authors unveil less about what FDR thought or felt than about the many obstacles he faced.

In a novel periodization, the authors say that FDR proceeded through four phases on Jewish issues: he was inactive at first, then active after reelection, when the refugee crisis pushed him to take some limited steps. He was inactive again early during the war and deep into his third term, when foreign policy, internal security, and then pressing military concerns pushed Jewish issues aside. Then he became modestly active from mid-1943 to early 1944, when rescue advocates were applying pressure and his own Treasury Department discovered that the State Department was obstructing the flow of information and money from and to Europe. Taking a new interest in the genocide, Roosevelt created the War Refugee Board, spoke out about the Holocaust during events in Hungary, and experimented cautiously with temporary havens. Wyman argued that the president's inaction can be attributed to a lack of sufficient pressure because of Jewish disunity; Breitman and Lichtman, however, find that there was increased public pressure beginning in spring 1943, and that it was spurred to some extent by Jewish group rivalry. Wyman also argued that creation of the War Refugee Board was abruptly forced upon FDR; the authors here write that FDR had been moving in this direction.

FDR and the Jews suggests that only when FDR felt politically secure or was in control of other, more pressing priorities could he contemplate narrow action. Otherwise, he succumbed to reality, because Congress might tighten restrictions on immigration, or because opponents might raise concerns about his foreign policy. Breitman and Lichtman also highlight FDR's humanitarian leadership in calling for the Evian Conference in 1938 and his personal interest in colonization plans that would have moved Jews to settlements in Latin America and the Caribbean. Such praise goes too far, however, as these plans were deeply flawed, and settling some Jews in less developed areas accorded with the maintenance of high walls in developed nations and with British policy barring Palestine as a destination.

Even when news of the Nazi annihilation became known, FDR continued to be slow to show concern or embrace a plan of action. The president remained "politically and emotionally stingy" (p. 210), afraid to create any impression that Jews were dictating American policies or that the war was a Jewish cause. In the single meeting Roosevelt had with American Jewish leaders, on December 8, 1942, he was sympathetic, but noncommittal. The Allies issued a declaration on December 17, 1942, denouncing Nazi extermination actions against Jews and promising that efforts would be made later to punish Nazi war criminals.

What could have been done? FDR and others believed that going all out to win the war was the way to save Europe's Jews. American Jewish leaders asserted that by the time victory could be achieved, there would be no Jews left to be saved. Breitman and Lichtman review the proposed rescue efforts and the continued pressure for a rescue agency. In 1943, Polish courier Jan Karski also met with FDR and offered eyewitness confirmation of the genocide. Roosevelt began to move in the direction of more sympathetic consideration of action, and in 1944 the War Refugee Board was able to save significant numbers of lives.

In response to the ongoing controversy over whether the Roosevelt administration should have bombed the rail lines to Auschwitz and the crematoria there in summer 1944, the authors offer a note of caution. Bombing was possible, and bombers were in fact operating in the area, but precision bombing was neither simple nor easy. War Department decision-makers never explored

proposals for bombing, routinely rejecting diversions of military resources. Even if such action had been taken, the authors surmise that the Nazis would easily have continued their intense killing anyway.

More could have been done—pressuring Nazi satellites, sending food supplies, creating neutral havens. But FDR was preoccupied with winning the war, and the U.S. was not on the European continent until mid-1944. *FDR and the Jews* assesses the record scrupulously and well but does not probe the key actor's deepest thoughts or address the moral aspects of U.S. inaction. The book deserves critical praise but will also stimulate pushback.

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Annegret Fauser. *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 366. $39.95.

In 1942, Serge Koussevitzky, the famed conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, reflected upon the musician's role in World War II, declaring, "We, as musicians, are soldiers, too, fighting for the ever-growing spiritual need of the world. If music is our life, we give it joyfully to serve the cause of freedom, for the victory of freedom is also the victory of truth" (p. 15). Koussevitzky's sentiments were hardly unique among musicians in the United States, for countless instrumentalists, composers, and music educators were committed to harnessing their creative activities for the war effort. The stakes had never seemed higher, and those in the country's music community fervently believed in their capacity to contribute to the Allied cause. And as Annegret Fauser demonstrates in this deeply researched study, they were determined, in a host of ways, to do their bit to help sweep fascism from the world stage.

What is unusual about Fauser's work is its almost exclusive focus on classical music, which, as she convincingly argues, had a degree of "cultural relevance and ubiquity" (p. 4) in 1940s America that it lacks today. For example, as Fauser explains, when the Seventh Symphony of Dmitri Shostakovich had its American premiere in 1942 in a broadcast performance by the NBC Symphony led by Arturo Toscanini, a vast number of people across the country gathered around their radios to listen to an orchestral piece celebrating the heroism of the Soviet people. Integral to the experience was the fact that the symphony had been composed by Shostakovich, a citizen of America's Soviet ally, a figure lionized in the American press. As playwright Harold Clurman (who was the cousin of Aaron Copland) observed, if somewhat ironically, "You've *got to* have an opinion on the 7th" (p. 258), for at that moment it did not matter what one thought of anything else.

Indeed, Fauser contends, music mattered a great deal during these years, especially classical music. In considering the way musicians were "shaping music for total war" (p. 76), as composer Henry Cowell put it, Fauser writes that no other event in American history "mobilized and instrumentalized culture in general, and music in particular, so totally" and "consciously" as did World War II (p. 4). This was the war in which elements of the "modern media"—radio, phonograph, and film—were of critical importance, she claims, which allowed for "the strategic distribution of sonic materials" in new ways (p. 10).

In her opening chapters, Fauser examines the wartime activities of a variety of individuals (American and foreign) and institutions (the Office of War Information and the State Department, for example). In the book's second part, comprising three insightful chapters, she focuses on music itself, specifically on classical music written in the United States by a range of composers, from those who had fled Europe (Béla Bartók, Paul Hindemith, Bohuslav Martinů, Darius Milhaud, Arnold Schoenberg, and Kurt Weill, among others), to American natives like Marc Blitzstein, Elliott Carter, Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, Roy Harris, and Roger Sessions. These "musical chapters" offer a wealth of luminous discussion delineating the extent to which the war informed the creative output of some of the most important composers of the last century. According to Fauser, for those composers who had fled Europe, their work helped them to negotiate the "complex and competing demands of exile—between past and present, between the lost home and the new one" (p. 223).

In a stimulating discussion on the intersection between the governmental bureaucracy and classical music, Fauser considers the extent to which American cultural diplomacy, often seen as a postwar phenomenon, became a key part of the war effort. Those working in the Office of War Information recognized music's propaganda value, since it could cross international borders easily and "made 'friends out of strangers,'" according to one contemporary assessment (p. 85). Such propaganda efforts, which included overseas radio broadcasts recorded by American artists, targeted neutral countries, Allied nations, American soldiers, and the enemy. *Music with Margaret*, a radio program beamed into Germany, presented American music along with commentary by "Margaret," a woman who dispensed insulting observations about Nazi leaders. According to the Office of War Information, this was one of its most successful programs, though it was difficult to say whether the music or the insults explained its popularity.

Historians who wish to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between war and culture will find *Sounds of War* altogether stimulating, while it will also enlighten specialists who want to learn more about music written during these consequential years. By the end of this fascinating study, one is convinced, as the celebrated violinist Yehudi Menuhin observed, that World War II was a "spiritual war," in which the American soldier, a "serious-minded" fighter, wanted to hear performances by distinguished artists (p. 40). One also realizes that Americans from every social stratum had the opportunity to encounter classical music as they grappled with the challenges of war, and that such music had

an undeniable impact on the American people, whether they were toiling at home or battling overseas. As a Brooklyn sailor declared after hearing Menuhin, "Jeez! Dat guy c'n do more wit' a G-string dan Gypsy Rose Lee!" (p. 40).

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KATHLEEN J. FRYDL. *The Drug Wars in America, 1940–1973*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 447. $34.99.

In *The Drug Wars in America*, Kathleen J. Frydl locates the origins of the war on drugs in the aftermath of World War II rather than during the Nixon administration, and she argues that the drug war as waged both at home and abroad was integral to the emergence of modern state power. Unlike most historians of drugs, who usually focus either on foreign or domestic policy or on a particular substance, Frydl examines both domestic and foreign affairs and illicit and licit drugs, such as barbiturates and amphetamines. She asks broadly why the United States chose to take a punitive stance, rather than a regulatory one, toward recreational drug use, and she concludes her work with a call for dismantling the drug war apparatus.

Few can argue with the conclusion that the drug war has been a powerful tool of American foreign policy and has resulted in a massive increase in state power. In the postwar period, Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN) Commissioner Harry Anslinger used international meetings and the media to accuse foreign enemies of the United States of complicity in the opiate trade, even in the absence of evidence. In the following decades, the drug war was transformed from an end in itself into "a valued collection of tools to manage relations with the developing world" (p. 369). On the domestic front, hearings/bills on drug use in the U.S. became a way of augmenting the FBN's power by allowing the agency to wiretap, seize assets, and advocate for mandatory minimum sentences for drug possession. Well before President Richard Nixon called heroin public enemy number one and Congress ratcheted up federal sentences, the modern war on drugs was being waged.

Washington, D.C., serves as the locus of the book, not only because it is the seat of federal power and congressional policymaking, but also because aggressive anti-drug policing was pioneered in the city's poor African American neighborhoods. The southerners who dominated the congressional subcommittees governing the District used their positions to support the police, assert the criminality of black males, and thereby criminalize black neighborhoods in the face of an incipient civil rights movement. This also served Anslinger's goals of linking narcotics use to African Americans and to criminality. The District became the model for policing nationwide in the 1960s, when narcotics raids replaced discredited public order and drunkenness arrests as the prime mechanism for social control in inner cities.

While narcotics users were presumed guilty (possession was prima facie evidence of a crime), users of equally addictive pharmaceuticals received different treatment. Frydl argues that this was not because of race and class differences in users, but rather that race and class differences were a result of different classificatory schemes. This distinction resulted from concerns about federal taxing power. In a period when a majority of Americans were first subject to a federal income tax absent a war, Congress did not wish to "further burden the taxing powers of the federal government" (p. 159). Therefore, Congress regulated pharmaceuticals through the Federal Drug Administration's new Bureau of Dangerous Drugs rather than the Treasury Department's Bureau of Narcotics, meaning that the Federal Drug Administration regulated a trade, while the FBN prosecuted a crime. This distinction remained until the two agencies were united in 1968 in the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs within the Justice Department. Further consolidation followed with the passage of the Controlled Substances Act (1970), which classified drugs into one of five schedules and regulated them under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution, thus affirming federal policing power over all drugs. In essence, the war on drugs was a "state building strategy" that culminated in the Nixon administration but originated because the federal government was not equipped "to organize and manage the nation-state that emerged from World War II as a superpower" (p. 426).

Readers will find much that is familiar in these pages; it is the emphasis on state-building that is novel, but it is an interpretation that is quite functionalist and not entirely persuasive. In the decades prior to World War II, the largely white and Chinese opiate users pursued doggedly by the FBN would have been surprised to learn that they lived under a regulatory rather than a criminalizing regime: a punitive policy toward drug users existed prior to the war. Frydl also argues that the appearance of young African American heroin users after the war resulted from policing that focused on controlling black neighborhoods. This ignores evidence for shifts in the profile of opiate users that occurred several times over the twentieth century. Policing of African American neighborhoods occurred as much because of the location of retail marketplaces as because of any desire to criminalize African Americans.

The war on drugs has indeed resulted in the over-policing and over-incarceration of minority populations, and in a dramatic increase in the exercise of governmental power both at home and abroad. Whether this occurred because of the shift in the taxing and regulatory power over drugs is another matter.

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ERIC FURE-SLOCUM. *Contesting the Postwar City: Working-Class and Growth Politics in 1940s Milwaukee*. New

York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 396. $99.00.

Wisconsin Avenue, Eric Fure-Slocum declares in the opening lines of *Contesting the Postwar City: Working-Class and Growth Politics in 1940s Milwaukee*, not only divides the city of Milwaukee, it also bisects the twentieth century. Because it hosted two very different Labor Day parades in 1947 and 1951 and was itself the site of a contentious plan to replace "outdated" streetcar rails with more modern lanes for cars and buses, the street marks the moment when labor politics gave way to a new "growth politics" that saw the city (and many of its residents) as outmoded and in decline. Yet Fure-Slocum's book shows that this idea of a stark divide, offering a choice between backward-looking class politics or a forward-moving classless urbanism, was a fabricated notion created by proponents of "growth politics" for their own specific reasons. Labor politics did not fade away in the face of urban modernization. Rather, the period stretching from the mid-1930s to the mid-1950s represents a time of fierce debate over the fate and spaces of the industrial city. Moreover, these debates, while cloaked in the larger languages of liberalism and democracy, were profoundly local issues concerning urban debts, bingo halls, interracial bowling, and the taxes paid by federal housing units. Fure-Slocum offers us a way to think less about simple wartime and postwar divides and more about a new chronology that focuses on the dynamic period of contentious urban politics that stretched from the late 1930s to the early 1950s.

Although a visiting New Deal official once described Milwaukee's political heritage as "the cradle of liberalism" (p. 84), Fure-Slocum demonstrates that the city was a much more politically complicated place. Workers, reformers, socialists, conservatives, and labor leaders all held different visions of what Milwaukee was and what it could be. Working-class politics and growth politics battled each other at multiple sites. After establishing the vibrant (and far from monolithic) progressive politics of the city and its working classes in the 1930s, Fure-Slocum details the pressures placed upon the city by booming war-production industries, a crushing housing shortage, and a cultural battle over the morality and legality of gambling. These simmering tensions exploded in the immediate postwar period. Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) militancy toward racial integration, the Allis-Chalmers strike, public housing projects, and other issues made class and labor divisive urban issues. Out of these conflicts emerged "growth politics," which not only challenged the power of the CIO, New Deal housing authorities, and progressive mayors, but did so by crafting a seemingly benign notion of downtown decline and the need for "modern" growth policy in which labor was but one interest in the city.

Our historical thinking on postwar urbanism, especially in the emerging Rust Belt of midwestern industrial cities, is often predicated upon assumptions of decline. We look for, and often find, the origins of later urban crises in an urban geography reshaped by industrial mobility and job loss: an early deindustrialization exacerbated by racial animosities, organized labor's Cold War political battles, and the vice and morality campaigns of social reformers. Yet Fure-Slocum's work shows that postwar debates in Milwaukee were less rooted in shifting industrial production and fears of decline than a kind of optimism about postwar growth and new potential. After a decade of stagnation during the Depression and a crushing housing shortage during the wartime production boom, Milwaukeeans across the political spectrum were poised for urban growth. Even growth politics reflected a certain kind of optimism about the city's future. Whose growth, in what direction, and to whose benefit remained the questions to be battled out in the details of tax policies, streetcar lines, and Labor Day floats.

Fure-Slocum's fine book is part of a growing literature on mid-century urbanism and the origins of the Rust Belt, a literature that tries to respect the uniqueness of each city. The book's greatest strength lies in its perspective: it does not look to explain the urban crises of the 1960s or the political and environmental costs of suburbanization, yet it encourages us to rethink how the policies and practices of public housing, racial segregation, industrial mobility, and urban sprawl emerged not from an inevitable and shared sense of urban decline, but from a contested political struggle about what class meant within an industrial city. Such a broad approach to urban politics has its drawbacks; there are times when the connections between various issues such as public housing and bingo halls are tenuous at best. The book covers some familiar ground concerning the CIO and postwar politics, but it also roots these debates and transformations in concrete and local issues facing the city. *Contesting the Postwar City* adds to our growing understanding of the complexities of mid-century urban politics.

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Peter Mandler. *Return from the Natives: How Margaret Mead Won the Second World War and Lost the Cold War.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 366. $40.00.

Peter Mandler's meticulous and compelling study seeks to amend a prevailing conception of American social science as co-opted and corrupted by its participation in the Allied effort in World War II and in subsequent service against communism. The "post-Vietnam generation" of scholars, Mandler maintains, has distorted the history of American anthropologists' wartime and early Cold War policymaking involvements and overdrawn the associations between these and the profession's often rather mercenary national security activities in world affairs thereafter. His richly detailed and masterfully researched investigation into the hitherto unexplored roles and personal and professional relation-

ships of Margaret Mead and her colleagues between 1939 and 1953 reveals a more complicated and nuanced story. Treating the copious professional correspondence between Mead and her circle with great sensitivity and insight, Mandler shows that these anthropologists strove, with varying degrees of success, to balance the exigencies of wartime and containment with their discipline's founding commitment to cultural diversity and cultural pluralism, ideals whose fulfillment required professional autonomy from policy pressures.

Mead's tenacious adherence to these ideals derived from American anthropology's origins in the cultural relativism of Franz Boas. Boas challenged the turn-of-the-century "ladder of civilization" model of anthropology, which assumed that all peoples must inevitably "evolve" toward the Western-industrial model of social and cultural organization. Instead, he demanded acceptance of the diversity, integrity, and internal coherence of the world's cultures. His most prominent students, Mead and Ruth Benedict, actively promoted cultural relativism in the public sphere during the interwar years as a means of coping with the pressures and disorientations of modernity. In Mead's words, "education for choice" would equip Americans to thrive amidst heterogeneity and rapid social change. Anthropologists would thus "return from the natives" with illuminating lessons for modern societies facing their own novel predicaments.

With the outbreak of World War II and the sudden demand for anthropological insight into societies caught up in the worldwide struggle, cultural relativism stood at odds with demands for national unity and the repudiation of "enemy cultures." For Mead and Benedict, as well as their closest—and sometimes thoroughly intimate—associates, wartime service against fascism and militarism required a shift away from mere "education for choice" and toward the intensive study of both Allied and enemy cultures, the former in order to foster greater understanding and cooperation between the U.S. and Britain, and the latter for the formulation of tactics against Axis elites and their populations. Mandler acknowledges limitations within the "national character" studies that resulted, ranging from their reductionist neo-Freudian assessments of national personality types to their often insufficient access to the full diversity of subject populations, but he concentrates here on the deeper dilemma for Mead, that of contributing to an Allied victory without sacrificing her vision of "a new world order with cultural relativism embedded at its heart" (p. 63).

At World War II's end, Mead, and also Benedict, sought to return undeviatingly to this internationalist project but now confronted the growing democratic universalism and chauvinistic Americanism of the Cold War. In place of anthropological respect for cultural diversity, U.S. policymakers demanded increasingly that social scientists commit themselves to their own national culture and its institutions in the name of national strategic advantage, and even "victory," over communism. Mead sought to adjust to these new realities by joining the internationalist initiatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the State Department's Foreign Services Institute, hoping thereby to retain her influence over the direction of U.S. policy without sacrificing her cherished intercultural and cooperative ideals. By 1952, however, the Korean War and McCarthyism had rendered such anthropological work virtually impossible to sustain; cultural relativism, Mandler observes, was now perceived to be "soft on communism." Moreover, the putatively "masculine" orientation of the nationalist cold warriors now stood more acutely at odds with "feminine" (that is, inclusive, open-minded, and cooperative, but also, and extraordinarily often, female) anthropologists and their associates.

Mandler explores how Mead's deep disappointments during these early Cold War years brought her full circle, as she rededicated herself to the "smaller and more vulnerable cultures" whose destinies lay in the hands of the "Great Powers" (p. 255). In working with international development initiatives, she returned to anthropology's proper terrain, the world's "natives," who required the very "education for choice" that she had originally advocated for Americans: "the tools to cope with modernity as much on their own terms as possible" (p. 272). Mead's adversaries this time were the disciples of modernization, who placed economics above the value and integrity of indigenous cultures. Ultimately, modernization prevailed, but Mandler concludes persuasively that this final and monumental defeat of Mead's intercultural goals for the postwar world meant that the legacy she left for American anthropology—and American social science in general—was one not of service to power and compromised professional ethics, but of enduring commitment to her original cultural-relativist vision. His book thus adds an important dimension to the history of policy-involved social science at mid-century, one that exonerates, albeit selectively, a group of scholars who faced profoundly difficult moral choices under dire conditions.

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Glenn Mitoma. *Human Rights and the Negotiation of American Power.* (Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp. 226. $55.00.

Glenn Mitoma's *Human Rights and the Negotiation of American Power* is clearly argued and fluidly written. Mitoma contends that nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) played a central role in shaping American postwar human rights policy and the United Nations (UN) human rights regime. Specifically, his book focuses on the efforts of three organizations: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace (CSOP), and the American Bar Association (ABA), the latter of which actively opposed ratification of human rights treaties. The positive and negative

roles of the NAACP and ABA have been addressed previously in the literature; Mitoma's most important contribution is his analysis of the CSOP, which until now has gone unheralded. Mitoma argues that CSOP members "placed human rights on the international agenda." Quite boldly he claims that "the origins of the UN commitment to human rights [lie] in the research, lobbying, and education efforts of the CSOP" (p. 9). His evidence in support of such an interpretation, however, seems suggestive rather than definitive. For example, he argues that Franklin Roosevelt's advocacy for human rights was shaped by the influence of members of CSOP. Mitoma's account would have been more convincing if he had sources, such as memoirs or correspondence, that demonstrated that CSOP members decisively influenced American officials' positions at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco in 1945. This is particularly important given his argument that John Foster Dulles, a CSOP member, abandoned his commitment to human rights protections once he began serving in an official capacity.

In addition to integrating NGOs such as CSOP into the story of the UN and human rights in the 1940s, Mitoma reinterprets the roles of Charles Malik and Carlos Romulo, key diplomats in the drafting of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by depicting them less as representatives of different political and cultural traditions—Lebanon and the Philippines, respectively—than as proponents for the expansion of American influence abroad. Despite Mitoma's criticism of limited American leadership on human rights, in his view, and, he argues, in the view of Malik, Romulo, and others, "the rise of the United States as a world power was a necessary though insufficient condition for human rights to become a politically potent discourse" (p. 73).

Moving beyond the Roosevelt years, Mitoma examines what he describes as efforts by the Truman administration to "simultaneously contain and champion human rights" (p. 157). He highlights activism at the UN over what were called the Eastern European Cases (essentially cases of human rights violations in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union), arguing that the United States was concerned about the increasing independence of small powers such as Bolivia and Australia in the body and sought to assert authority over their actions. Despite the ideals of CSOP and the seeming promise that the UN offered for human rights internationally, Mitoma's work demonstrates how the United States and NGOs such as the ABA privileged other priorities due to the Cold War and domestic politics.

Human Rights and the Negotiation of American Power is a historiographically aware book that seeks to make a real intervention in ongoing debates about the periodization of the United States' role in the protection of human rights internationally. It is an explicit rejoinder to Samuel Moyn's de-emphasis on the 1940s in *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (2010). Mitoma, instead, sees a clear link between attention to human rights in the 1940s and 1970s and the intervening drought of interest attributed to the triumph of containment and the Cold War. It is not clear, however, that he wants to upend Whiggish histories of the United States and human rights in the 1940s. He tells, rather, a parallel, more nuanced story of the critical American role (if we take "American" to include Americans acting in official and unofficial capacities) in these negotiations. Mitoma has drawn a more complex picture of the construction of a UN human rights regime by highlighting new actors who, in his words, "recognized the potential of human rights to serve as a singular concept around which a reorientation of the international order could occur" (p. 172). Read alongside the work of Elizabeth Borgwardt, Carol Anderson, and others, his study will be of considerable use to students of human rights, the United States in the twentieth century, and the UN. The one significant drawback to the book is that it lacks a bibliography.

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William Michael Schmidli. *The Fate of Freedom Elsewhere: Human Rights and U.S. Cold War Policy toward Argentina*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 256. $39.95.

Scholars interested in human rights diplomacy will find much of value in William Michael Schmidli's engaging account of the human rights dimension of U.S. president Jimmy Carter's policy toward Argentina. As Schmidli rightly notes, relations with Argentina's brutal military dictatorship offered a key test of Carter's novel approach to foreign policy. Drawing on interviews and rich research in government archives and personal papers, including recently opened materials in the Carter Library and Warren Christopher's records at the National Archives, the book offers the most revealing account to date of the Carter administration's day-to-day struggles to implement a foreign policy that gave substantial weight to human rights considerations. With careful attention to bureaucratic battles, diverging national interests, the interplay of personalities, and what we might call "vision problems," Schmidli's account offers an unparalleled look at the complexities of human rights diplomacy in a priority case.

After a lengthy survey of U.S. relations with Argentina during the first three decades of the Cold War, including a detailed history of Argentine politics leading up to the 1976 military takeover, the book charts the Carter administration's sometimes confused efforts to use aid cuts and other sanctions to pressure the junta to curb a rash of state-sponsored violence. The book is particularly strong on the internal conflicts that raged within the State Department, especially between the frank and uncompromising human rights coordinator Patricia Derian and area specialists who viewed her public hectoring as a harmful and counterproductive approach. Schmidli's accounts of debates over arms transfers, international financial institution loans, and

trade deals are novel and illuminating. Along the way he offers lively pen portraits of key players, including U.S. ambassador Robert C. Hill and Franklin "Tex" Harris, an embassy officer who collected testimony and gave solace and support to victims and their relatives, only to draw the ire of his colleagues.

Schmidli's conclusions offer support for both critics and defenders of Carter's human rights efforts. Carter, he writes, "advanced the debate over U.S. foreign policy" (p. 191), gave welcome cover to Argentine human rights groups, and achieved tangible gains, most notably in securing permission for an Inter-American Commission on Human Rights visit in 1978 that helped put the brake on the regime's extensive use of kidnappings and extrajudicial killings ("disappearances"). Yet Schmidli also finds that Carter deferred to business interests that pumped private credit and sales to the junta, backed off his commitment to human rights after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and generally sent inconsistent signals that undermined long-term goals.

The author's evenhandedness leaves unanswered the question of why the policy produced such a "mixed legacy" (p. 192). If the Carter administration set such a high priority on human rights, why could it not achieve greater gains even in the country that was its top target? The book mentions all the possible culprits—lack of clarity, procedures that ensured an inconsistent and ad hoc approach, bureaucratic resistance, and limited leverage—without clarifying levels of responsibility. The answer matters a great deal, for if the problems lay primarily in mere details of implementation, the vision itself can be praised. But what if the key flaws lay in the vision itself?

The book's approach is largely traditional, focusing its attention on policymaking within the U.S. government, though extending the lens to Congress and, in fascinating new detail, to the pressures generated by business interests. Despite a gripping account of the travails of Olga Talamante, a U.S. citizen who was arrested and tortured by the government of Isabel Perón, the book does not delve into the influence of proliferating human rights and solidarity groups, barely touching on their networks, the important role of Latin Americans, the reasons for their embrace of human rights terminology, the ways they framed public perceptions of Argentina, and their internal debates. Standing outside a rising revisionist wave of scholarship on human rights history, the book repeats the oft-cited explanation that the post–Vietnam War cracking of the Cold War consensus led, apparently inexorably, to the rise of human rights, implicitly framing this development as a logical outcome of a reassessment of failed policies. But why were human rights embraced and not some other paradigm, and what were the implications of choosing this particular set of ideals? Critics of human rights are duly cited, but the thrust of the book implies that the human rights policy represented unequivocal progress.

Firm conclusions about the effectiveness of U.S. policy await close examination of Argentine sources. Until then, this book will stand as the best account of Carter's efforts to stem rampant human rights abuses by this important U.S. ally. Engagingly written and conveying the sweep of human rights developments in the 1970s concisely and effectively, the book deserves a wide audience.

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Thomas W. Devine. *Henry Wallace's 1948 Presidential Campaign and the Future of Postwar Liberalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 408. $39.95.

The year 1948 was a dramatic one in American political history. It marked the first explicit civil rights plank in the Democratic Party platform; the Deep South's resultant break from the party to follow a "Dixiecrat" racist revolt led by South Carolina governor Strom Thurmond; the launch of the Marshall Plan to reconstruct postwar Europe; and the surprise victory of Harry S. Truman in the presidential election that November, suggesting that the New Deal order created during the Depression still had legs in the postwar era. All this took place as the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union grew ever more frigid, a fact that prompted former vice-president Henry Wallace to launch his quixotic and ultimately futile bid for the White House at the start of the year. There are a number of books on Wallace, and scores—many of them cited in the bibliography to this book—on the politics of the Truman period. Thomas W. Devine promises a fresh "post–Cold War" reassessment that "paints a far more complicated picture of 'Gideon's Army' than historians, both sympathetic and critical, have painted heretofore" (p. xiv). Exhaustively researched and elegantly argued, the book places the Wallace campaign into a larger context of late 1940s post–Popular Front politics that sheds new light on the tortuous road of American leftist political activism in these years while leaving familiar historical problems about this period only partially resolved.

Devine's major achievement is to provide detailed and compelling evidence of the relationship between the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) and the movement for a third party between the end of the war and 1948. The relationship was complex—far more so than many have acknowledged. The CPUSA, thrown into turmoil by Moscow's annulment of the party's shotgun marriage with liberals in spring 1945, latched onto the movement for an anti–Cold War politics as a way to promote a pro-Soviet foreign policy line, but without a clear strategy for what it might achieve without an avowed Popular Front approach. There was no Communist blueprint for a third party, but the CPUSA became the leading force for the Wallace "peace" movement and instrumental in the formation of the Progressive Party. Devine tells this early part of the story in commanding detail.

Much of the rest of the narrative will not be new to

many historians of this period, but the level of detail and the reach of the analysis into every crevice of the Progressive campaign's operations are impressive. Once the Wallace movement was underway, Communists, some open, some concealing their affiliation, took control of the party's foreign policy and drove out many well-meaning progressives who were terrified of the direction of postwar politics but unconvinced of Soviet intentions. Wallace himself was, in Devine's hands, a naïve dupe too attached to moral readings of geopolitics and global capitalism to understand their complexities. Other recent treatments of Wallace fit his 1948 campaign into a much wider portrait of the man and his life and ideas; Devine's microhistory allows events like Wallace's foray into Dixie and his labor strategy to be told with new authority. He also convincingly lays much of the blame for Wallace's dismal failure at the door of the Communists, and indeed much of the book's argument is devoted to making that point. Implicit in his argument is that historians attuned to the horrific excesses of domestic Cold War anti-communism have not given enough attention to the apparent self-defeating idiocy of those committed to a pro-Soviet line, including Wallace himself.

The book left a number of questions in my mind. The first regards the argumentation and presentation of the research. The bibliography is extensive, citing every book one could think of on the subject of postwar liberalism, and at points the author provides historiographical discussion of key issues—and yet there is no full historiographical framing of the project, and there are but two endnotes in the preface, neither of which cites obvious treatments of Wallace or the Popular Front. Secondly, and related to this point, I would have liked more discussion of where this story leaves our understanding of the title's "future of postwar liberalism." This is a story of failure and self-delusion, convincingly told, but conspicuous by their relegation to the sidelines are the Truman campaign and its domestic policy program (implemented or not); the reasons behind the increasing enthusiasm for Truman during 1948 and the evaporation of the "dump Truman" movement; the domestic political beliefs of people like Rexford Tugwell and the true origins of their support for a third party; and the legacy of Popular Front intellectuals and activists to our understanding of the New Deal era. The latter is brilliantly discussed by Landon Storrs in *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (2013), which challenges Devine's assertion of "the intellectual shallowness of the Popular Front" (p. 291). Devine's statement holds water when applied to postwar Communist politics and strategy, but it does not do justice to the broader trajectory of American liberalism since the 1930s.

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Karen M. Dunak. *As Long as We Both Shall Love: The White Wedding in Postwar America*. New York: New York University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 244. $39.00.

American weddings and the bridal industry have attracted much scholarly interest over the past fifteen years, so much so that a reader might wonder what is left to say about the subject. In *As Long as We Both Shall Love*, Karen M. Dunak proves the depth of the topic and adds another nuance to the discussion of the meaning of the wedding in American culture. Dunak acknowledges the patriarchal roots of the ceremony and recognizes the power the market has had in shaping the material outlines of the celebration, both points that have been amply argued by other scholars. Rather than advancing another feminist interpretation or a history of wedding consumption, however, she sets out to examine questions of personal motivation and individual meaning. Asserting that weddings are an opportunity for couples to think about what marriage means to them, as well as what it means more broadly, she grants her subjects more agency than other scholars have done in the past. As couples shape their weddings, they influence cultural understandings of intimate relations, sex and gender, and expectations about their relationships to public and political life.

This well-written book also attempts to answer a question that has perplexed cultural critics and everyday observers of wedding excess: Why has the white wedding survived, seemingly unchanged, since the mid-twentieth century, while social relations have undergone great transformation? To investigate this important question, Dunak uses films like *Father of the Bride* (1950), prescriptive literature, and advertising, as well as firsthand accounts of wedding celebrations in memoirs, letters, and oral histories. Upon close examination, it becomes clear that even while the outline of the white wedding stayed the same, it could embody new social relations, as well as political meaning. Throughout, Dunak looks at who made decisions about such things as the guest list, what the bride wore, the officiant and the venue for the ceremony and reception, and the division of wedding-related labor and expenses. In chapters on late 1940s and 1950s weddings that challenged familial authority and privileged the fulfillment of personal desire, on hippie weddings and alternative celebrations in the late 1960s and 1970s, on the influence of presidential daughters' weddings, from Luci Baines Johnson to Tricia Nixon, and on same-sex weddings, Dunak demonstrates the flexibility of the wedding form and its meaning. In each chapter, she traces the way such celebrations expressed changing ideas about love and the place of marriage in society. From the late 1940s to the present, growing acceptance of individualism, as expressed in the celebrations surrounding marriage, opened the door for a broader vision of marriage itself. By the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, same-sex weddings emerged as a celebration of personal commitment and political triumph.

One of the most interesting historical chapters analyzes the 1966 wedding of Luci Baines Johnson. While others have written about the weddings of first daughters during this period, Dunak draws on previously unused sources from the White House Social Files and

other collections at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library. She cleverly uses the 1966 wedding to demonstrate the ascendance of the white wedding ideal, as well as ongoing conflicts over its meaning. Debates at the time over whether the president's daughter's wedding should be televised or publicized, Dunak argues, represented the larger cultural ambivalence about the growing emphasis on individualism and personal authority, as well as the authority assumed by the bride as the familial role in wedding decisions declined. In spite of the bridal industry's emphasis on weddings as an expression of individual desire, many still clung to the idea that they were communal celebrations. Uncovering numerous letters to the White House condemning Luci Baines Johnson's wedding as selfish for excluding the nation, she is able to argue that "marriage and family life contributed directly to notions of American citizenship and national belonging" (p. 63). Other letters condemned it as hypocritical and immoral during a time of war. Examining these and the widespread political protests directed against the wedding, Dunak uses the celebration to explore the deep divisions in American society over the war in Vietnam.

While the weddings of ordinary people are sprinkled generously throughout the book's five chapters, for the most part this is a study of the exceptional rather than the norm. Dunak, however, makes a convincing argument for the influence of White House weddings, celebrity or Hollywood celebrations, royal weddings, and the ritual choices of culturally prominent though numerically small groups like the counterculture. In addition, her chapter on the rise of same-sex weddings in recent years makes an important contribution to the history of the ongoing evolution of American wedding culture. For readers interested in recent developments in American wedding practices, this volume has much to offer.

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Amy F. Ogata. *Designing the Creative Child: Playthings and Places in Midcentury America*. (Architecture, Landscape, and American Culture Series.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2013. Pp. xxii, 293. Cloth $87.00, paper $34.95.

Marga Vicedo. *The Nature and Nurture of Love: From Imprinting to Attachment in Cold War America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 321. $45.00.

Arguably, the history of childhood is a lively field. New research emphasizes the social construction of childhood as an especially clear window for identifying trends in the larger world. Amy F. Ogata's *Designing the Creative Child: Playthings and Places in Midcentury America* and Marga Vicedo's *The Nature and Nurture of Love: From Imprinting to Attachment in Cold War America* are welcome additions to this scholarship. Both of these well-documented and skillfully written studies provide important insights about general trends taking place in the United States during the three decades following World War II.

Specifically, Ogata and Vicedo focus on debates among scientists, educators, and parents concerning the innate psychological nature of children. Both authors point to the roots of such ideas in earlier periods but agree that the onset of the Cold War provided fertile ground for the expansion and dissemination of notions about the innate nature of America's youngest citizens. The bottom line: If biology was destiny, did it matter whether children grew up under communism or democracy? Could cultivating the innate nature of children help to secure democracy's future and direct each individual child's successful emotional and intellectual development?

Ogata argues that by the mid-twentieth century, Americans embraced the idea of children's innate creativity. She asks how this notion was "constructed, disseminated, and consumed in the years after World War II." And "Furthermore, why has creativity . . . become so important to a sense of national pride and positive future gains?" (p. ix). The focus on childhood creativity was linked to Cold War fears about the very meaning of freedom and the survival of democracy. This story remains relevant to current debates, according to the author, because "the national, psychological, and educational discourse on creativity reawakened a radiant image of individuality that has continued to haunt us well past the end of the Cold War" (p. 193).

Designing the Creative Child includes an extensive bibliography that clearly shows the breadth and quality of Ogata's research. The book is organized into five topical chapters covering the origins of the notion of childhood creativity and how it related to children's play, the design of postwar homes, schools, and museums, and the infusion of art as well as math and science into education. The influence of scholars such as Abigail A. Van Slyck and Marta Gutman is visible in the book's perspectives on art, architecture, design, and material culture. Ogata also notes other authors' work on the history of education and pioneering research examining the commodification of childhood by scholars including Gary Cross, Daniel T. Cook, and Miriam Forman-Brunell. She argues that architectural design, material goods, and educational curriculum were essential in the dissemination and consumption of the notion of childhood creativity. She shows that the new construction of spaces for children, especially in postwar suburban homes and schools as well as in institutions such as the Brooklyn Children's Museum, worked hand-in-hand with marketers of educational toys and television shows to promote the idea that it was necessary to carefully cultivate children's innate creativity.

Clear writing and appropriately positioned illustrations make *Designing the Creative Child* an enjoyable read. Ogata pays little attention to children's actual experiences or how differences in socioeconomic class, region, or gender played out in the promotion of creativity as innate for all kids. Still, *Designing the Creative Child* is filled with useful examples. The book's point

about national anxiety regarding whether the U.S. was falling behind the Soviet Union is especially well supported. As the chair of a 1956 Senate subcommittee looking into the issue reported, "We are in a battle for brainpower. Are we to lose it by default?" (p. 133).

During the Cold War, public school curriculums required art classes, considering them essential for encouraging creativity and thereby securing democracy's future. Since the 1980s, public policy emphasizing test results, especially in science and math, has diminished investment in art instruction. Interest in science education has continued to grow, but academic success has not followed. In early December 2013, media attention concerning the test results from the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) supported Ogata's conclusion that national anxieties about the nation's future continue to shape notions about how best to nurture children's innate talents. Test results showed stagnation among students in the U.S., while other nations, especially in Asia, had large gains (Claudio Sanchez, "PISA Test Results for U.S. Students Are 'Sobering,'" National Public Radio, December 3, 2013).

Marga Vicedo centers her study on the same time period as Ogata. Instead of education and beliefs about the nature of creativity, Vicedo focuses on the development of scientific ideas about children's innate biological need for mother love and love for mother, or what has become known as attachment theory. Vicedo notes that British psychologist and psychoanalyst John Bowlby is credited with creating the theory. Bowlby's ideas received some biting criticism, but Vicedo shows that attachment theory was strengthened by an interdisciplinary approach and Bowlby's professional relationships. As a result, attachment theory justified mother love and a child's love for mother as a biological, not psychological, need.

Obviously not a fan of attachment theory, however, Vicedo argues that this "deterministic view of social behavior rests on shaky foundations." She warns, "much is at stake when scientists naturalize mother love and turn children's needs into biological instincts." The danger, according to Vicedo, is that modern society disrupts the attachment theorists' prescription for optimal child-rearing because serving as a full-time caretaker is no longer possible for most mothers. This situation has negative consequences for the discourse on socially acceptable roles for mothers. "Debates about balancing work, child care, and other life roles and responsibilities of mothers and fathers are central to our culture and to our thinking about the good society," Vicedo explains (p. 244).

Much of Vicedo's study is spent outlining and then debunking attachment theory. The eight topical chapters trace the debate among psychologists, biologists, sociologists, and psychoanalysts over the innate nature of love. Bowlby and his supporters selectively relied on interdisciplinary research, including Konrad Lorenz's studies of imprinting goslings, Harry Harlow's decades-long experiments with infant monkeys and surrogate mothers, and Mary Ainsworth's study of mothers and children in Uganda. Vicedo maintains that historians of science have not looked carefully enough at the personal and professional relationships of the major researchers in this field to uncover why, despite objections from prominent scholars like Anna Freud, Daniel Lehrman, and Harry Harlow, attachment theory "became one of the most influential psychological theories of the second half of the twentieth century" (p. 234). Vicedo rejects the scientific validity of attachment theory and points to four major reasons why it rests on shaky ground: first, its proponents appealed to the authority of biology, but this is merely a "halo effect [because] by now most of the biology Bowlby used [is] discredited" (p. 238); second, researchers have shown that infants relate to caregivers and not just mothers; third, the claim that the mother-infant relationship is a natural dyad designed by evolution remains unsubstantiated; and fourth, the role of animal studies as " 'stand-ins' for humans is questionable" (p. 241).

Vicedo's book also includes an extensive bibliography revealing the depth of her research. Like Kathleen Jones's study of the psychological notion of the troublesome child, Vicedo's book raises important questions about why some theories about children's innate nature become generally accepted as scientific truth even when they are built on limited evidence. Vicedo does not, however, offer an answer for how to change that situation. Further, I wish she had spent more time on how attachment theory became so closely linked to psychological treatment for children who are part of the recent wave of international adoptions.

Ogata's and Vicedo's books will likely appeal more to scholars than to general readers because of their detail and their focus on elites and debates among experts rather than the stories of individuals touched by such ideas. That is a shame. In a 1998 *American Historical Review* essay, Hugh Cunningham argued, "More, perhaps, than any other branch of history, the history of childhood has been shaped by the concerns of the world in which its historians live" (*AHR*, October 1998, p. 1195). The Cold War ended, but fears about the future of American democracy continue to fuel the sales of bestsellers such as Thomas L. Friedman and Michael Mandelbaum's *That Used to Be Us: How America Fell Behind in the World It Invented and How We Can Come Back* (2011) and Friedman's *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (2005). Amy Chua's *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* (2011) and Shirley Ann Pon's e-book *How My Three Children Got Admitted to Yale, Stanford, and Harvard—A Guidebook by a Successful NON-TIGER Mom* (2011) reflect specific concerns about how best to raise America's next generation amid social and economic change. Still, questions about nature versus nurture persist. The new books by Amy Ogata and Marga Vicedo help to show the roots of this cultural anxiety and why such debates tend to emphasize adult concerns rather than uncovering the needs and experiences of children.

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KARI FREDERICKSON. *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South*. (Politics and Culture in the Twentieth-Century South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 226. Cloth $69.95, paper $24.95, e-book $24.95.

Near the end of *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South*, Kari Frederickson contends: "Paying closer attention to the relationship between the local and the national, the influence of specific corporate or military cultures, and the interplay with specific historical dynamics within individual southern communities may ultimately yield a more compelling narrative of southern history" (p. 169). That supposition certainly fits with recent scholarship on the modern South, but also with the new history of capitalism's mission to offer accounts that run from the very bottom to the tip-top.

Frederickson's slim volume vows to investigate South Carolina's 300-square-mile Savannah River Plant (SRP) in this manner. The Du Pont chemical company operated this federal Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) facility, which produced the radioactive materials for America's growing nuclear stockpile. Truman administration appointees chose this parcel near Aiken because it best fit the theoretical needs of this expensive undertaking. It was in an isolated area with a small city nearby, a temperate climate, and an adequate water supply. Construction wage rates were also low, and black tenant farmers seemed easily removable. Yet in contrast to the wartime Manhattan Project's secret facilities in New Mexico, Tennessee, and Washington, the federal government did not build a company town for SRP's sizable staff. Hence, Frederickson surmises, SRP proved "a blueprint for future Cold War communities" (p. 1).

Du Pont's corporate culture played as much of a role in remaking this area as the federal government. Frederickson contends that Du Pont executives, like their counterparts in other firms, embodied "the transformation of American liberalism during this period: it shed its redistributive features and replaced them with an emphasis on growth and mass consumption" (p. 130). Du Pont's CEOs presented locals with an efficient, modern, civic-minded company committed to "Seeking a new independence, a new freedom . . . in the building of the nation" (p. 131). Managers expected their employees to uphold those values on the job, at home, and in local politics. Employees, Frederickson maintains, brought "their conservative, middle-class values" (p. 147) to South Carolina's laggard GOP, which grew in strength from this remote base of support well before the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

"Boisterous opposition had no place in this landscape of progress," Frederickson asserts (p. 168). Civil rights proponents nonetheless struggled to secure good jobs, equal salaries, and commensurate promotions for African Americans because AEC higher-ups largely accepted a manager's warning that "Du Pont was not in South Carolina to change any social patterns" (p. 103). This policy oddly made school desegregation a relatively peaceful affair. African Americans had to move elsewhere to find work during the early Cold War, when SRP drew a substantial skilled white population, some of whom, as a black Aikenite explained, "were going to make sure that [integration] was going to work" (p. 167). That select few included Du Pont staffers, whose acceptance of incremental change was due to their employer's more passive approach to desegregation in an area with few minorities.

Frederickson has not read widely enough to place this unique story in its national context. Du Pont executives exemplified the politics of the powerful industrialists who undermined Democratic policymakers before, during, and after World War II. These men hardly accepted liberalism. Recent scholarship has shown them to be well-known militants who helped fund the postwar conservative movement dedicated to restoring a free enterprise that they considered colorblind. SRP, then, was not a template for how liberal Cold War corporate culture remade American communities.

AEC's modus operandi instead seems like an evolution in how liberal Democrats fought to first reconstruct the South and later turn it into a Democratic arsenal. The links are clear: David Lilienthal headed the New Deal's Tennessee Valley Authority and the AEC in these agencies' early years, when both bureaucracies struggled to balance an expansion of federal power against the desires and needs of the grassroots, who did not gain nearly as much from these projects as outside private investors or the South's wealthy, influential whites. The same was true for the towns that blossomed under World War II defense spending. The War Department struggled to convince military contractors to move operations to the South and West and enforce federal non-discrimination rules, crucial aspects of the liberal warfare state that illustrate how atypical the Manhattan Project company towns were and how stridently executives resisted liberal policies.

Frederickson does her best work at the local level, where rural southerners parsed the coming of the military-industrial complex that did so much to transform their corner of South Carolina. Their responses at the time and in later interviews viscerally capture how transformative this period was for the many Americans once far removed from Washington who became intimately connected to the country's defense. Frederickson has not offered a model for writing history fully attuned to the dynamics of national trends and local peculiarities but instead has shown why this dual focus is a challenge that historians need to meet in order to produce the compelling narrative that Frederickson promised.

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MATTHEW LEVIN. *Cold War University: Madison and the New Left in the Sixties*. (Studies in American Thought and Culture.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2013. Pp. vii, 224. Paper $26.95, e-book $19.95.

In the 1960s the University of Wisconsin at Madison was an important center of the New Left, ranking with Berkeley, Columbia, and Michigan as one of the United States' most politically active campuses. This story was explored with great intelligence and insight in *The War at Home* (1979), an Academy Award–nominated documentary on the antiwar movement at Madison directed by Barry Alexander Brown and Glenn Silber, which featured unforgettable footage of the protests against Dow Chemical recruiters in 1967 and the police riot they provoked, as well as revealing interviews with Karl Armstrong, who bombed the campus's Army Mathematics Research Center in 1970. The film is still widely used today by those who teach courses on the 1960s.

As good as the movie is, it cannot compare to the superb collection of memoirs edited by Paul Buhle, *History and the New Left: Madison, Wisconsin, 1950–1970* (1990), which evokes the intellectual life of the Madison Left—particularly the radical historians and other dissident scholars who founded the important journal *Studies on the Left*. The more militant phase of the New Left has been the subject of Tom Bates's *Rads: The 1970 Bombing of the Army Math Research Center at the University of Wisconsin and Its Aftermath* (1992) and journalist David Maraniss's account of the Dow protests in *They Marched into Sunlight: War and Peace, Vietnam and America, October 1967* (2003). But perhaps the greatest testament to the New Left's impact is that E. David Cronon and John W. Jenkins devoted more than 100 pages of *Renewal to Revolution* (1999), the fourth volume of their authoritative *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1945–1971*, to an in-depth assessment of the 1960s student movement.

Though it is a crowded stage that Matthew Levin joins with his *Cold War University: Madison and the New Left in the Sixties*, he makes a number of important contributions. Levin has written an accessible, concise, and often compelling history—covering an impressive amount of ground in only 182 pages—that is ideal for undergraduate courses. It does a superb job of contextualizing the rise of dissent at Madison, showing the Cold War's contradictory impact. Defense-related federal contracts fueled the university's wealth and growth, but Cold War dollars drew an increasingly cosmopolitan faculty and student body, who were critical of that same Cold War militarism. The vast expansion of the student body (the graduate student enrollment alone doubled between 1955 and 1963) helped to enlarge Madison's dissident culture and created tensions as the university came to seem increasingly impersonal and bureaucratic. Levin demonstrates quite convincingly, in a gripping chapter on McCarthyism and student activism, that the university's highly unusual resistance to the red scare—wherein the administration clung to a commitment to academic freedom that dated back to the Progressive Era—meant that even though Wisconsin was Joseph McCarthy's home state, its flagship university would be one of the few to insist that dissident and even Communist-led student groups had the right to exist on campus. This enabled a New Left to take root at Madison relatively free of the harassment seen on campuses beset by sweeping speaker bans, loyalty oaths, and legislative red hunts.

Levin is at his best in the realm of intellectual history. His strongest chapter, "'A Constant Struggle with Ideas': Intellectual Community in the Sixties," leaves no doubt that the Madison Left had a vibrant intellectual life and, most notably through *Studies on the Left*, fostered searching critiques of Cold War liberalism—inspiring a whole generation of radical social critics. This history, as Levin aptly notes, offers a powerful refutation of those who dismiss the New Left "for its supposed anti-intellectualism" (p. 73).

Levin remembers what too many historians of the 1960s campus wars forget: that universities are not merely political battlefields, but are centers of teaching and learning. Thus, if we want to comprehend students and their politics, we need to understand their faculty's impact upon them. Madison's stellar cast of dissenting faculty—most notably William Appleman Williams and sociologist Hans Gerth—had an unusually powerful influence on its student Left. Of course, there were also tensions, since even Left faculty were often less willing to opt for confrontational tactics than their students were. Levin probes these tensions brilliantly, giving us an account whose subtlety and depth calls to mind the late Reginald E. Zelnik's classic essay "On the Side of the Angels" (2002), on the relationship between Berkeley's faculty and the Free Speech Movement.

While Levin knows Wisconsin very well, his knowledge of the New Left on other campuses seems limited, and this leads to errors, as when he terms Wisconsin's Teaching Assistants Association "the nation's first graduate student employee union" (p. 171). Actually the first such union founded in the 1960s emerged at Berkeley, where the tradition of TA unionism went back to the New Deal era. Levin does too little to step out of his local study and consider its larger implications, as, for example, 1960s historian David Farber did when he suggested "the relevance of university towns to the process of social change . . . as spaces in which people experiment politically and culturally" ("New Wave Sixties Historiography," *Reviews in American History* 27, no. 2 [June 1999]: 300).

Cold War University pays insufficient attention to race and gender. Even though the black student strike of 1969 was, according to Cronon and Jenkins, "the largest mass action" the Wisconsin campus had experienced up to that point, "involving . . . eight to ten thousand students and considerable property destruction on and off campus" (pp. 485–486), Levin devotes only four paragraphs to it. Women's liberation also should have received more than four paragraphs, and the gay movement surely merits more than three sentences.

In terms of legacies, one wishes Levin had considered the politics of reputation and how campuses such as Wisconsin have retained a vibrant Left culture in part because their radical past continues to draw activist-minded students. It seems no accident that, as David

Yamane documented in *Student Movements for Multiculturalism: Challenging the Color Line in Higher Education* (2001), even in the conservative 1980s Madison remained at the forefront of the battle against the curricular color line, or that, as Mary Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle demonstrated in *It Started in Wisconsin: Dispatches from the New Labor Protest* (2011), university activists played a major role in Madison's dramatic labor protests and occupation of the state capitol during spring 2011. The lesson from all this may be that it is impossible for a short book, even one as generally well researched, accessible, and illuminating as this one, to do justice to the long 1960s.

ROBERT COHEN
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GUADALUPE SAN MIGUEL, JR. *Chicana/o Struggles for Education: Activism in the Community*. (University of Houston Series in Mexican American Studies, number 7.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2013. Pp. 240. $40.00.

In this well-documented and thorough study, Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr. provides an overview of efforts to improve educational opportunity for Mexican Americans since the 1960s. The need for such a study is compelling given the extent and scope of activities pursued by Mexican Americans to reach their goal of better educating their children. The underlying theme of San Miguel's analysis, that these efforts emerged from the grassroots level, helps us to understand the significance of the three major strategies employed by the Mexican American community: contestation, advocacy, and alternative forms of education. Educational policy and practice in the United States have traditionally been determined on the community and state levels, with little federal involvement until the 1960s. Mexican Americans have followed that tradition in their many diverse struggles to influence schooling at all levels, working from the bottom up.

Activism for education suffused the Chicano movement with youthful vigor, as students often took the lead in contesting on behalf of their own educational conditions. Student walkouts not only drew attention to issues of discrimination, lack of access, and cultural/linguistic elimination, but also awakened and energized adults in the community. The first student walkouts in Los Angeles in 1968 inspired a wave of young activists to demand that their unique educational needs be met and their cultural heritage valorized. While the student movement could claim few substantive victories, students' brave and impassioned struggle empowered the Mexican American community to advocate for bilingual education, to bring legal action against discriminatory practices, and to challenge biased testing practices.

The strength of San Miguel's narrative is its focus on the role of Mexican Americans themselves and how they demanded inclusion in school governance, administration, and teaching while insisting upon preserving and constructing their own identity. Such advocacy was vital in order for them to avoid the overwhelming pressures to conform or be excluded from the mainstream. Increasing the numbers of Mexican Americans who graduated from college was key to their being placed in these positions of power, while creating curricula that included Chicano/a studies from the elementary school to the university reinforced cultural identity and made schooling more appealing to Mexican American children.

Certainly the hallmark of achievement in education for Mexican Americans was the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, and San Miguel devotes a chapter to its origins and implementation. Bilingual education was an issue around which educators could rally because it seemed to address so many linguistic, cultural, and academic concerns. It also signaled the entrance of the federal government into the educational arena and tied education to the War on Poverty. As San Miguel points out, however, the original legislation had limited scope until Mexican American activists weighed in to expand the law in 1974 to include more funding for professional and curricular development and make the policy mandatory. The 1970s stand out as the heyday of innovation in bilingual education as a result. Unfortunately, such vibrancy also invited a fierce backlash against bilingual education beginning in the 1980s and continuing to the present. While proponents of bilingual education had significant empirical evidence on their side, the ideological arguments against it coincided with a rising tide of anti-immigrant sentiment to undermine what progress had been made toward culturally inclusive curricular and pedagogical practices. Undeterred, Mexican American parents have shown a willingness to consider alternatives in religious institutions, unconventional schools, charter schools, and voucher programs. Such flexibility reveals the community's commitment to quality education and preserving linguistic and cultural diversity, ahead of mere access to mainstream schools.

San Miguel has given us a straightforward and insightful narrative of the Mexican American community's efforts to make education work for their children. His no-nonsense style is refreshingly free of the theoretical digressions that too often torment readers of educational history. This is a useful book, showing what has and has not worked in educational advocacy, and why. The reader cannot help but be impressed with the persistence of Mexican Americans in the struggle for educational opportunity and cultural integrity. As San Miguel stresses, these were ordinary people, parents and community leaders, who understood the importance of education for children and who would not abide discriminatory or exclusionary practices. There is much to admire in this story, but it is a continuing saga, and San Miguel has equipped us with the necessary criteria to know what to look for as the struggle goes on.

LYNNE MARIE GETZ
Appalachian State University

THOMAS L. BYNUM. *NAACP Youth and the Fight for Black Freedom, 1936–1965*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2013. Pp. xxi, 226. $49.00.

Thomas L. Bynum's book examines the youth councils and college chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), moving from the formal organization of NAACP youth activities under Juanita Jackson in the late 1930s through the sit-in movement of the 1960s. Bynum describes how "youth chapters staged antilynching demonstrations, campaigned for equal educational and employment opportunities, challenged discrimination and segregation in public facilities, and called for full civil liberties" (p. xiii). These young NAACP members engaged in grassroots organizing and nonviolent direct-action protests in the decades before the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) brought national attention to black youth activism.

NAACP Youth and the Fight for Black Freedom surveys dozens of different NAACP youth protests across the country, including demonstrations that targeted movie theaters, skating rinks, and barbershops. The book is at its best when it offers detailed examples regarding local protests. The Youth Council in East Chicago, Indiana, for example, challenged the segregated seating policies at local movie theaters. To avoid desegregation, the owners of two of the theaters began showing Spanish movies, which they thought would drive away the black teenagers. In response, the Youth Council members "picketed the theater using Spanish placards and distributed Spanish leaflets." After six weeks of picketing, they successfully desegregated the theater (p. 55). Similarly, the NAACP chapter at Pennsylvania State College staged a mass demonstration to protest the fact that the school's barbershops refused to serve black students. "The boycott of the state college barbershops symbolized more than the students' fight to get a haircut at the local barbershop," Bynum writes. "The boycott revealed their fight for human dignity and their sincere efforts to be fully integrated into all aspects of campus life at white colleges and universities" (p. 57).

To tell the story of these youth councils and college chapters, Bynum makes good use of microfilmed papers from the NAACP, including "annual reports, correspondence, memoranda, youth programs, financial reports, local chapter and conference minutes, and newsletters" (p. xiv). One of the narrative challenges he faced is that many of the available sources regarding NAACP youth focus on deliberations among adults, either NAACP executives or branch leaders. This question of agency figures prominently in the history of youth, and Bynum does a good job of articulating that these young people were political actors working under generational constraints. "Although the [NAACP's] bureaucratic hand controlled the scope of the youth's program," he says, "the youth councils and college chapters' contributions to the advancement of civil rights reached beyond the organization's bureaucratic hand" (p. 151). One source of tension that Bynum identifies between the NAACP national office and local NAACP youth groups was that young people "constantly insisted on more direct action campaigns and control over their programs," while the national office explicitly cautioned against direct action in the South and generally ignored requests from young people in other parts of the country (p. 149). I found myself wanting to hear more, from either oral history interviews or newspaper accounts, about how young people navigated their particular positions within the NAACP. Similarly, many of the book's examples of protests from the 1940s and 1950s are from outside the South, and Bynum could have said more about the similarities and differences between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation across different regions. Still, this is an important study of the successes and failures of NAACP youth groups. Well-organized and clearly written, this book builds on the work of scholars such as Rebecca de Schweinitz and Victoria Wolcott. *NAACP Youth and the Fight for Black Freedom* fills a gap in the scholarship and will be of interest to historians of civil rights and youth.

MATT DELMONT
Scripps College

ISAAC HAMPTON II. *The Black Officer Corps: A History of Black Military Advancement from Integration through Vietnam*. New York: Routledge. 2013. Pp. xiv, 241. Cloth $125.00, paper $34.95.

According to Isaac Hampton II, "the research for this project primarily focuses on the social and cultural experience of African American Army officers, from the early 1950s, just after the desegregation of the military through the Vietnam era (1961–1975)" (p. xi). As a finished product, this book concentrates on graduates of historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and their military service during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Its sources reflect both its greatest strengths and its most glaring weaknesses.

Hampton has produced a valuable addition to the literature by bringing to light the papers of Colonel Douthard Butler, whose analysis of efficiency reports during 1971 and 1972 revealed patterns of racial discrimination. As a result, steps were taken to prevent qualified black officers from being overlooked for promotion. Butler kept a personal copy of the analysis as well as related memoranda and correspondence. Hampton deftly wields these documents by explaining how the evaluation system worked and by using charts and graphs to illustrate the problem. Especially interesting is the way he applies the idea, popularized by W. E. B. Du Bois, of the "talented tenth."

The author has contributed further by conducting interviews with three dozen African Americans who held commissions. He also talked with spouses and enlisted men. These accounts add to a growing collection of voices and stories that will become a priceless resource for future scholars.

Hampton was not well served by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). According to him, he was told upon arriving at the College Park repository: "What you are looking for isn't going to be here. The Army was too embarrassed to keep records like that" (p. 219). This reviewer had a similar experience but was able to locate the materials thanks to personal assistance from Morris MacGregor, who wrote the official (and arguably standard) history of the subject. Many documents pertaining to racial matters were pulled from their original files and consolidated while under control of the U.S. Army Center of Military History (CMH). Many of the papers MacGregor used to write the 1981 book *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940–1965* were turned over to the NARA and stored together within Record Group 319. MacGregor retained the rest for a sequel, which he never completed. These were still at the CMH in 1995 when this reviewer went through them.

Finding the NARA and CMH documents would have helped Hampton engage with a discussion appearing on pages 568–572 of MacGregor's book that contradicts one of his major points. MacGregor presents evidence that, years before the Butler Report, military and civilian officials expressed concern about the career progression of black officers. He says that civil rights leaders, not prejudiced white officers, opposed the idea of expanding the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) at HBCUs because doing so could reinforce segregation. Instead, people within the Department of Defense worked to raise the number of African Americans attending the service academies and ROTC programs at multiracial schools. Hampton references other parts of *Integration*, but not this one.

Hampton's heavy reliance on Butler skews his analysis to the late 1960s and early 1970s. Consequently, he does not provide much coverage of earlier years or make the best use of his oral histories. His 2007 interview with a retired lieutenant general, Julius Becton, is a good example. Although this officer served with a segregated unit during World War II, experienced integration firsthand while fighting in Korea, and was one of the first African Americans to command a combat arms battalion in Vietnam, the author describes only his subject's marital relationship and his feelings about black power salutes. He does not cite Becton's 2008 autobiography.

Elsewhere, Hampton provides neither elaboration nor explanation for readers when one of his interview sources says that "there was a black colonel [traveling] between Fort Bragg and Fort Benning who was killed by an irate white person" (p. 175). The murder occurred in 1964. The victim was Army Reserve Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel Penn. Historian Robert Jefferson recounts the crime in his 2008 book *Fighting for Hope: African American Troops of the 93rd Infantry Division in World War II and Postwar America*. Hampton does not reference this book, either.

He does cite the Academy and Emmy Award–winning 1967 documentary *The Anderson Platoon*, as well as Wallace Terry's classic 1984 book *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War*, which contains an interview with Lieutenant Joseph Anderson, who lent the film its name. Hampton does not mention the black West Point graduate even once in the text, however.

To expect exhaustiveness in a 200-page volume would be unfair. Nevertheless, *The Black Officer Corps* contains significant gaps in breadth and detail. The definitive account of this important topic has yet to be written.

Andrew H. Myers
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Robert B. Rakove. *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Nonaligned World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xxviii, 291. $95.00.

The 1960s, Robert B. Rakove argues, "witnessed a dramatic deterioration in the position of the United States in the Third World." His compelling new book illuminates the manner in which, by 1969, "relations between the United States and the nonaligned world stood at an unprecedented level of mutual acrimony" (p. 213). It might have been otherwise, he suggests, as John F. Kennedy began his presidency in 1961 committed to a policy of what Rakove calls "engagement" with the new nations of the emerging nonaligned movement—"a foreign policy without an official name" (p. xxi). "Kennedy approached the nonaligned countries as states to be persuaded, not coerced" (p. xxiv), an inclination that was quickly challenged by a series of conflicts around the globe and that his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, did not fully share.

Kennedy's personal diplomacy with African and Asian leaders created much goodwill toward the United States. But the young president did not live long enough to confront fully the crises that undercut such sentiments as the decade proceeded—particularly the Portuguese imperial wars in Angola and Mozambique, white Rhodesians' unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, the U.S. military escalation in Vietnam to prevent an imminent Communist victory in the South, and the stunning Israeli victory and occupation of the Palestinian territories in 1967. Events in southern Africa and the Middle East reminded nonaligned nations of enduring U.S. ties to European imperial powers and to white settlers. Rakove details such stories and many more across Asia and Africa, from Togo to Borneo, that exacerbated tensions between retreating European colonial rulers and newly independent Third World leaders. The Kennedy and Johnson administrations found it increasingly difficult to keep nations of both the First World and the Third World on their side in the Cold War. Indeed, for the postcolonial states of Africa and Asia, Americans seemed too often "nonaligned" on what they saw as "the endurance of empire," which represented "a far more ominous threat than the Cold War" (p. 94).

Kennedy, Johnson, and the Nonaligned World offers a kind of alternative history of U.S. foreign policy in the

1960s. It focuses not on Europe or the Soviet Union, not on China or Latin America, and not on the crises over Berlin, Cuba, or Vietnam. Instead, Rakove provides the first comprehensive survey of "the Kennedy-Johnson approach to the nonaligned world" (p. xxiii). Methodologically, the book "focuses its attention on the American side of the story" of U.S. relations with the nonaligned nations: "on the outlooks held by policy makers and other actors, the ways these were expressed in acts of policy, and the outcomes that followed" (p. xxvi). This is fairly traditional diplomatic history in most ways, although Rakove also pays close attention to the attitudes and actions of leaders of the most prominent nonaligned countries, such as India, Egypt, Indonesia, and Ghana. He is particularly careful to delineate their differences that made this would-be geopolitical bloc often quite unwieldy. His research in several European archives provides further balance to a primarily U.S. policy story.

This book fits on one end of the flourishing revival of a field known increasingly as U.S. international history or the history of the United States in the world. Other recent important books in this field shift the focus away from Washington, such as Paul Chamberlin, *The Global Offensive: The United States, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Making of the Post–Cold War Order* (2012); Ryan Irwin, *Gordian Knot: Apartheid and the Unmaking of the Liberal World Order* (2012); and Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (2005). Rakove's work shares the field's concern with deepening our understanding of non-Europeans' interactions with the American and Soviet drum majors of the Cold War, although he does so with a particular emphasis on the U.S. side of the relationship.

Carefully researched and fluidly written, *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Nonaligned World* is an impressive first book by a skilled young author. It fills a significant gap in the existing historiography of U.S. foreign relations. Some readers may briefly raise an eyebrow at such usages as "the loss of China" (p. 22)—whose was it to lose?—and "the communism of the First World" (p. xxi)—presumably the Second World. Others may be slightly more sympathetic to Lyndon Johnson in light of the considerable challenges he faced abroad. Readers of a younger, more visually oriented generation may wonder at the choice of a static cover photo of Kennedy and Johnson standing stiffly at attention with a dour Jawaharlal Nehru. But here the cliché of not judging a book by its cover rings true. Robert Rakove has given us a precise and nuanced contribution to our understanding of how U.S. foreign relations and the Cold War unfolded across Asia and Africa in the volatile and significant 1960s. All readers interested in the American relationship with the nonaligned movement will begin with this book.

Thomas ("Tim") Borstelmann
University of Nebraska–Lincoln

M. J. O'Brien. *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Jackson Woolworth's Sit-In and the Movement It Inspired.* Foreword by Julian Bond. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2013. Pp. xii, 340. $40.00.

James P. Marshall. *Student Activism and Civil Rights in Mississippi: Protest Politics and the Struggle for Racial Justice, 1960–1965.* Foreword by Staughton Lynd. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2013. Pp. xxvi, 300. $45.00.

With these two books, M. J. O'Brien and James P. Marshall cover well-trodden paths in Mississippi history. Their timelines fall within the traditional boundaries of Mississippi's mass movement—the 1960s, a time when interracial direct action campaigns dominated much of the protest reporting and where most of the protest scholarship pools. O'Brien focuses on 1963 as pivotal in Jackson's movement, which ended in the summer of 1964; for Marshall, 1964 marks the movement's fulcrum. However, there is always room for more accounts given the nature of mass movements simultaneously orchestrated on multiple levels, each with its own nuances and cast of characters. Each book illustrates the cacophony of stories, voices, opinions, conflicts, political scuffles, and sacrifices that constitute a mass of movements with many routes to vaguely defined (and not always agreed-upon) goals.

Julian Bond—one of the most recognizable of the movement veterans, having successfully transitioned from a leadership role in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to serving in both Georgia state politics and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)—authenticates O'Brien's narrative with a brief foreword that does little more than stamp his approval. The book, however, does not need the aura of Bond's notoriety, as it easily draws the reader into the emotion, tragedy, and messiness of movement activity. O'Brien neatly dissects an iconic moment encapsulated by photographer Fred Blackwell's image of the Jackson Woolworth sit-in on May 28, 1963, showing a mob of white youth pouring condiments and insults on the seated protesters. He then moves from the previous sit-in demonstrations in Jackson to the immediate and long-term reverberations of the three-hour ordeal the activists endured that day. O'Brien rubs off some of the movement's gilt by narrating intra-movement struggles that thwarted cohesiveness among activists when segregationists frustrated their attempts at every turn, then killed their most visible leader, NAACP field secretary Medgar Evers, two weeks after the sit-in. He does this by collating biographical narratives of the subjects of the photograph, both the abused and their abusers, as well as those—from Evers and the journalists and photographers to the police and politicians— not in the photograph but who helped to frame the scene.

O'Brien uses this image to spin a sophisticated and effective narrative focused on the planning and aftermath of this incident that publicly showcased such vitriolic displays of human hatred. He helps us understand

why the participants' paths crossed in Woolworth's that day, what that meeting did to them, and how they made sense of it afterward, complicating the factors that can drive, feed, and impede a movement. By contrasting the ugliness and human weaknesses on both sides with the bravery and fortitude of a few, O'Brien has crafted a beautifully written text that transcends the local story with a simple, effective, and appealing structure that will lend itself to the many other movement campaigns with equally iconic images.

O'Brien's writing reflects his journalistic skills—he knows how to tell a story, and how to analyze images, interview his subjects, and craft tight prose that engages readers and elicits empathy for those on both sides. By structuring the book through the dissection of an image, he provides a lesson in how to "read" photographs and weigh the cultural, historical, and political significance of an image by understanding the individuals pictured, those the photographer chose not to frame, and the photographer himself. The last chapter neatly ties up the ends of the characters' biographies, quickly summing up their life paths since that fateful day, and also cleverly freeing O'Brien from having to assess the successes of the movement or how it changed as the goals shifted.

In contrast to the character development that characterizes O'Brien's study, James Marshall casts a wider net, gathering in many of the moving parts that SNCC juggled, including deep intra-group disagreements, the various campaigns that SNCC assisted in or organized in Mississippi and elsewhere, and the dangerous business of protesting amidst deadly violence. Staughton Lynd, coordinator of the Freedom Schools during the 1964 Freedom Summer and one of Marshall's professors while Marshall was a Yale undergraduate, wrote a longer foreword than Bond's to clarify the book's analytical questions: To what extent did the 1964 political campaigning of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) stem from 1963 voter registration campaigns, and why did student activists lose that summer's momentum? By following the campaigns and the pressures students faced during Freedom Summer, the internal conflicts amid the MFDP organizing, and protest politics in 1965 with the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, Marshall bounces around the state, occasionally losing the specificity of place and locality and sometimes the chronology, and hampered at times by cumbersome prose.

The value in this work comes from the exquisite detail with which Marshall stitches together his narrative, from sources he carefully collected during his own activist experience. For instance, he incorporates the notes written by New Yorker Mendy Samstein, a white SNCC worker attending a National Council of Churches meeting in New York in September 1964, as he seeks to prove how the "liberal-labor establishment" undermined SNCC's Mississippi work (pp. 156–160). The book clearly shows what was at stake for these young activists. By analyzing the movement through the single lens of student activism, Marshall illustrates the lack of blueprints for the students' work—buoyed by youthful determination and idealism, they made decisions based on moral imperatives, and a hope that by engaging "the system" they could create a just society.

There is always a propensity to overstate when writing a history around one organization. By claiming that the "southern student-supported civil rights movement" (p. 201) turned local struggles into national ones by forcing the federal government to intervene, for instance, Marshall undercuts the not-inconsequential foundation that local NAACP branches laid before 1960. Clearly, to Marshall the Freedom Summer Project was SNCC and SNCC was the Summer Project, but that flattens out the many nuances and local organizing that began long before SNCC's founding. His oft-used term "the movement" does not encompass those not directly affiliated with student activism, like the pockets of relatively strong NAACP members in Jackson and other parts of the state and those who voiced their concerns about the Summer Project. For instance, the Clarksdale activists in the Mississippi Delta proved their mettle under the NAACP banner from the early 1950s until well into the 1970s. It was the Clarksdale branch that ran the prototype voting drive that grew into the statewide 1963 Freedom Vote, making the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party campaign, which Marshall touts as revolutionary, the third drive of its type. While Marshall did not endeavor to write a statewide comparative movement study, acknowledging the forest while showcasing the most visible trees would give readers a fuller sense of how the student movement integrated (or not) with other local activities. Identifying "the movement" as merely the work of students during Freedom Summer precludes political activity in other realms, like desegregating public schools or creating community action programs during the War on Poverty, involving those outside of SNCC.

Neither author is a career academic, and each followed an interesting path to his research. Marshall, a volunteer who took part in some of SNCC's activities in Mississippi, interviewed many of his colleagues around 1965 for a college project that he folded into a draft manuscript a decade later and then revisited twenty years thereafter. O'Brien, a journalist and independent writer, knew activist Joan Trumpauer Mulholland first as a mother of five boys in his Virginia neighborhood. Once he heard about her work in Mississippi, initially as a Freedom Rider and then as one of the first white students enrolled at Tougaloo College, he set out to write her story before stumbling across the larger Jackson saga.

These two books came out in a year ripe with key movement anniversaries (including the fiftieth anniversary of the Jackson sit-in and the Mississippi-wide Freedom Vote) and in anticipation of the fiftieth anniversary of Freedom Summer this year. This timing, however, put the authors at a slight disadvantage, as they missed some of the newer scholarship on Medgar Evers and other movements in Mississippi that might have supported their projects. For instance, when

O'Brien steps back from the photograph to paint a more holistic picture of the various local and national moving parts, he echoes, rather than advances, existing arguments about the stultifying hierarchically structured NAACP and the efforts of local officers to elicit support from the national office as they tried to react swiftly in the face of overwhelming resistance and violence. Similarly, in making his case for the primary importance of the students in Mississippi, Marshall could have benefited from the newer scholarship (particularly the 2013 anthology edited by Ted Ownby, *The Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi*), which might have enabled him to anticipate some of the challenges to his arguments and to avoid limiting vibrant discussion about the dissenting and changing views of activists over time.

For the researcher, O'Brien's bibliography is surprisingly short; most of his chapters rely solely on his interviews (conducted, with one exception, in the 1990s), and his citations are frustratingly sparse at times. Many of both his and Marshall's interviewees have since died, a reminder of the urgency of this research in light of the fact that most of the written records remain in personal collections, if they exist at all. For the sake of future generations' learning about the full extent and costs of the movement beyond the distorted iconic figures in the public memory, I hope that these interviews will be digitized and archived at a later date.

While the two books chronicle different constituencies and activists, together they continue the trend in civil rights historiography of illustrating the intricacy of the various movements and how they intertwined or pulled away from each other as activists worked across campaigns. More specifically, these studies, in their very different approaches, provide additional models for scholars and students thinking about local histories and grassroots organizing in Mississippi and beyond.

Françoise N. Hamlin
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William P. Jones. *The March on Washington: Jobs, Freedom, and the Forgotten History of Civil Rights*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2013. Pp. xxi, 296. $26.95.

"Nearly every American and millions of people around the world are familiar with Martin Luther King's 'I Have a Dream' speech," writes William P. Jones in the preface to this volume, "yet most know little about the March on Washington at which it was delivered" (p. ix). Jones's objective is to fill this widespread knowledge gap. He succeeds impressively in this highly accessible, readable, and concise book that works well for both the classroom and general audiences in reminding us how pivotal that march was in the fight for equality.

What *was* the March on Washington? What did it *do*? Pieces of that tale are embedded in civil rights historiography, but as a singular narrative, the story has long needed telling. This is not a biography of A. Philip Randolph, although Randolph figures prominently as the prime mover behind both the 1963 March and its predecessor, planned for July 1, 1941. The latter was controversially canceled at the last minute by Randolph after President Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed under pressure to sign Executive Order 8802 banning discrimination in defense plants and government service and establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee, leaving unfulfilled until 1948 the movement's demand to integrate the military. What Jones provides us is a carefully considered "long history" of one truly remarkable day among many in the life of the black freedom movement, when thousands marched on the nation's capital.

Combining essential secondary sources with archival research, Jones retrieves a "forgotten history of civil rights" that is not triumphalist but dynamic and contingent. Coalitions formed, fractured, and rebuilt. A popular misconception Jones seeks to correct is that scholars "simply inverted the older story by allowing the March on Washington to remain a moderate exception to a radical 'long civil rights movement'" (p. xiii). In fact, black trade unionists and radicals, along with black women's groups like the National Council of Negro Women, played a central role in the struggles between 1941 and 1963 that made those two mobilizations more than isolated Big Events. Jones marks debates as well as grassroots connections in both marches, noting, for example, how in the 1940s black female activist leaders like "Pauli Murray, Ella Baker, and [black trade unionist] Ernest Calloway . . . worked for different organizations in disparate regions of the country, but . . . represented a broad and deeply connected web of young black radicals" (p. 63).

Bayard Rustin's role as a key architect of the 1963 March is just one of many restorations and correctives in the recent civil rights movement literature. Yet even Rustin's success, notes Jones, depended on the "rich organizational networks that he built upon" (p. 170). Jones explores the genesis of the March in the Negro American Labor Council (NALC), founded in 1960 by Randolph and others to advance equality for black workers. The NALC began planning a "March for Jobs" in March 1963. Mass nationwide black protest emerged in the spring and summer of 1963, from Birmingham to Detroit. Strategic and logistical planning quickly followed. By July 2, the Congress of Racial Equality, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and National Urban League had joined the NALC in calling for a "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" ("and Freedom" was added to bring on board civil rights groups active in the South). They set the date for August 28, "the eighth anniversary of Emmett Till's murder" (p. 169). The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations' non-support notwithstanding, labor and civil rights groups converged to pressure the John F. Kennedy administration to strengthen civil rights and fair employment legislation.

Chapter one of the book examines the roots of the

1940s March on Washington Movement (MOWM), which united black progressive organizations in the fight for equality. Chapter two looks at the MOWM's ongoing pressure on employers, unions, and the Roosevelt administration. Chapter three surveys the 1950s civil rights movement, with a particular focus on black youth in the South. Chapter four studies the NALC as the latest iteration of black trade union coalitions fighting "Jim Crow unionism." Chapter five covers the March itself as a kind of political jam session. Women activists responded to being excluded from leadership by launching their own march within the March. Jones also notes that SNCC chair John Lewis's revised militant speech ironically "was most remarkable" in "how consistent it was with the other speakers . . . [in calling] for both racial and economic justice" (pp. 194–195). And the second half of Dr. King's famous speech was improvised and probably inspired by gospel singer Mahalia Jackson. Chapter six details the "battle lines drawn" (p. 201) as marchers returned home to organize, often against white resistance. The epilogue finds the movement confronting its differences moving forward, but with the March inspiring "a similar vision of social and economic citizenship" (p. 244). The book also contains some iconic photographs.

The important place this work occupies in civil rights movement scholarship is testimony to the expansion of that scholarship as well as to Jones's ability to synthesize previous studies with fresh perspectives and needed correctives.

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Edward Miller. *Misalliance: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States, and the Fate of South Vietnam*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 419. $39.95.

Jessica M. Chapman. *Cauldron of Resistance: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States, and 1950s Southern Vietnam*. (The United States in the World.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 276. $39.95.

Edward Miller has written an important and fascinating book on the career of Ngo Dinh Diem and his troubled and ultimately disastrous relations with the United States. In hopes of moving beyond the simplistic views found in earlier work, Miller shows how Diem understood Catholicism and Confucianism and attempted to adapt them to current realities. He and his brother Nhu forged alliances "across sectarian, political, and regional lines" (p. 33) that enabled them to take power after the 1954 Geneva Accords. Diem ignored American recommendations in favor of broadening the base of the government and instead adopted a divide-and-conquer approach, playing rivals off against each other, then neutralizing them one by one. U.S. support helped, Miller argues, but Diem deserves the bulk of the credit for establishment of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) in 1955.

The book focuses on struggles between Saigon and Washington over "nation building" in Vietnam and disagreements within as well as between the two governments. Diem and Nhu were not reactionaries. The settler communities, agrovilles, and strategic hamlets that they sponsored were "high-modernist" plans to remake Vietnamese society. When Americans insisted on their own schemes, the brothers were quick to object that the United States was trying to turn Vietnam into a "protectorate" (p. 229).

The author attends respectfully to Diem's pronouncements, even his portrayal of RVN authoritarianism as a form of "democracy" (pp. 136–140). But Miller is not an apologist. He minces no words in describing the regime's strategy for crushing opposition, which involved "mandatory collective labor," sweeping laws against real and potential opponents, "tens of thousands" of arrests, torture, "mind-numbing" indoctrination, "tiger cages," and portable guillotines (pp. 196–202).

The narrative in the second half of the text builds momentum from the self-immolation of the monk Thich Quang Duc (situated in the context of the earlier Buddhist Revival) to disagreements within the Ngo family about how to respond as anti-government protest intensified. Miller casts new light on intrigues among Vietnamese military leaders and their allies in the U.S. diplomatic and intelligence communities. He declares that Diem and Nhu thought they were on the verge of winning the war in 1963 and hinted at their willingness to negotiate because they assumed that Hanoi leaders would be desperate for a settlement. They were wrong again in anticipating that coup plotters could be defeated while also preserving the alliance with the United States, as in 1955. They failed to see that the new crisis differed from the old, that their enemies had mobilized the support of key generals, and that the Americans were ready to sanction regime change.

Miller's book echoes some of the key points made in Philip Catton's splendid work *Diem's Final Failure: Prelude to America's War in Vietnam* (2002). But with its many original departures, backed by an imposing array of sources, *Misalliance* is fully capable of standing on its own as a major contribution to our understanding of the origins and first years of the RVN. *Cauldron of Resistance* also aims to supplant a dismissive scholarship, this time by presenting an argument on behalf of the "politico-religious organizations," a category including the Cao Dai, the Hoa Hao, and the Binh Xuyen. According to Jessica M. Chapman, they controlled as much as a third of southern Vietnam, "elected their own officials" (p. 75), and developed "impressive infrastructures" (p. 88) that collected taxes and recruited armed forces. Tay Ninh served as a fortress for the Cao Dai, which also made inroads south of Saigon and benefited from "the overwhelming conversion of the local peasantry" (p. 20). In the western delta, the Hoa Hao are said to have mobilized more than one million followers and an army of 20,000 soldiers. The Binh Xuyen criminal syndicate

controlled the police force as well as drugs, gambling, and prostitution in Saigon. Chapman cites the claim that the population regarded them as "Robin Hoods" (pp. 16–17, 142).

Building on these affirmations, the author assigns the politico-religious organizations a central role in Vietnamese history. Their anticolonial fervor is credited with obliging France to create the State of Vietnam, headed by Bao Dai, in 1949 and to lean toward withdrawal from Indochina in 1953–1954. Chapman declares that in the late 1940s, Diem was "little more than a bit player in Vietnamese nationalist political circles" (p. 47) and suggests that his rise to power depended on U.S. support. She affirms that pressure from the noncommunist opposition forced him to stage the anti–Bao Dai referendum of 1955 and that "the structure and professed ideology of the South Vietnamese state that he established during his first two years in office came about in direct response to challenges posed by his noncommunist domestic political rivals" (pp. 174–175). Extending this thread, Chapman calls attention to the soldiers and others from the sects who joined the uprising against the RVN in the late 1950s. Communist Party leaders in Hanoi established the National Liberation Front in order "to exert more effective control over the revolutionary movement in the south and to prevent ceding the revolutionary vanguard to Hoa Hao or Cao Dai resistance movements" (p. 191).

The book is always interesting and sometimes impressive indeed, as in the bravura treatment of Diem's effort to stage-manage the 1955 referendum. But does it exaggerate the substance and impact of the politico-religious organizations? A gangster enterprise with no political program or religious vocation, the Binh Xuyen fell apart once Diem and Nhu resolved to destroy it. Cao Dai and Hoa Hao leaders wanted seats in the government and subsidies to support their armed forces, which were needed to control the regional fiefdoms that they ruled. The embryonic RVN military appears to have brought them to heel with relative ease, and the fact that French subsidies "constituted the lifeblood of these organizations" (p. 88) implies that their "impressive infrastructures" were not strong enough to function without external support. The Ngo brothers talked at length about their programs, giving others something to chew on. By contrast, Chapman credits the politico-religious organizations for "their cunning, intentionally noncommittal political strategy" (p. 95), which left both Vietnamese and American audiences (and historians) in the dark about what they would have done in positions of power. The religious dimensions of the Cao Dai/Hoa Hao phenomenon seem to have mattered more than the political, and I wish the author had elaborated on the social aspect, the meaning of popular religiosity at the village level, in the era of the Vietnam wars.

Miller and Chapman agree on the need to combat ill-informed American commentaries on what happened in the early years of the RVN. At the same time, Chapman echoes many of the anti-Diem themes that Miller takes pains to challenge, while Miller does not pause overlong when it comes to the politico-religious organizations and characterizes their leaders as "warlords" and "satraps" (p. 3). Scholarship from a new generation in Vietnam studies will continue to enrich our understanding while also, as in these two instances, launching fruitful new debates.

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Judy Tzu-Chun Wu. *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era*. (The United States in the World.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. vi, 346. Cloth $79.95, paper $26.95.

According to Edward Said's concept of "orientalism," European empires in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries created a knowledge of the "East," particularly the Arab regions of the Middle East, that they used to justify their colonization of those areas. Judy Tzu-Chun Wu has taken the theory of orientalism and applied it in a fascinating way to her study of U.S. anticolonial activists who traveled to Asia during the Vietnam War. Modifying Said's central ideas for the mid-twentieth-century decolonizing world, Wu posits her theory of "radical orientalism," a system of knowledge that extolled, and often romanticized, Asian revolutionary movements in order to critique U.S. neo-imperialism, racism, and sexism. Key to Wu's idea is the agency of Asians in crafting the knowledge and imagery of their movements. As Wu contends, "the East and the West worked together to foster a radical orientalist sensibility" (p. 5).

Wu's choice of subjects reminds readers of the diversity of the U.S. antiwar and anticolonial movements. She devotes three chapters to Robert Browne, a State Department aid adviser who worked in Cambodia and South Vietnam in the 1950s and early 1960s. Browne, an African American who grew up in a middle-class family in Chicago, was what Wu calls "a racial outsider but a national insider" (p. 41), a position that offered him a broad perspective on U.S. engagement with Southeast Asia and provided the basis for his eventual opposition to U.S. policies in Vietnam. While in Cambodia, he met his future wife, a woman of Vietnamese and Chinese descent whose family had migrated there. In 1965 and 1967, Browne returned to South Vietnam at the behest of Thich Nhat Hanh, a Buddhist monk who became one of the most internationally recognized Vietnamese voices for peace during the Vietnam War. Browne and Hanh had met when Hanh was a student at Princeton University, and they developed a political alliance that shaped Browne's view of Vietnam and U.S. involvement there. Once an instrument of the U.S. government in Southeast Asia, Browne in the late 1960s advocated for peace in Vietnam.

Additional subjects include Cora Weiss, a Jewish housewife from New York who made several trips to Hanoi during the war, and Alex Hing and Pat Sumi,

members of Eldridge Cleaver's Anti-Imperialist Delegation. Hing, a Chinese American, and Sumi, a Japanese American, expressed their solidarity with African Americans as a way to critique the "model minority" thesis. Hing and Sumi came to the movement from vastly different backgrounds. Hing was the son of a working-class family in San Francisco's Chinatown who became radicalized while a student at San Francisco City College. Sumi grew up in an upper-middle-class Japanese family in Los Angeles and participated in civil rights efforts in the U.S. South in 1966 and 1967. Wu juxtaposes their stories to further illustrate the wide range of Americans who had committed themselves to U.S. and international movements for justice and peace.

The Anti-Imperialist Delegation traveled to North Korea, China, and North Vietnam during the 1960s and 1970s, and the governments of those nations received the members as guests. State-sanctioned tours, receptions, and dinners presented carefully orchestrated views of society, politics, and culture, while state representatives expressed solidarity with the Black Panthers and other oppressed peoples in the U.S. The Asia trips inspired Cleaver and others to conceive of a progressive Orient in opposition to what Cleaver called the "wicked west" (p. 138). When Cleaver created the masthead for the international section of the Black Panther Party's newspaper, he included portraits of Mao Zedong, Kim Il-Sung, and Ho Chi Minh. Government propaganda, along with Americans' encounters with local people, contributed to the orientalism of the delegates, and Wu offers convincing evidence that the East and the West together created knowledge about revolutionary Asia.

Absent from this otherwise compelling book is a critique of the realities of "socialist Asia" versus the images that Americans and Asians crafted. The devastating impacts of China's Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution, the persecution of political dissidents in North Vietnam and North Korea, and the brutal tactics the Viet Cong used to secure loyalty in rural areas of South Vietnam contrast starkly with the notion that revolutionary Asia offered a superior alternative to the violence and oppression the U.S. government perpetrated against its own citizens and other nations. Wu notes that, years after their trips, some members of the Anti-Imperialist Delegation expressed skepticism about the images presented to them, but she stops short of exploring why the delegates had arrived at that viewpoint (p. 139). Had they outgrown the idealism of their younger years? Did they read or experience something that changed their views of those nations? Without a nuanced approach to the era's revolutionary movements, histories of the 1960s will remain as romanticized as the images.

Of course, no book can cover everything, and Wu has written a study that is not to be missed. She has combined thorough research and sophisticated analysis with lively prose to create a work that will impress an academic audience but also engage a broad readership. Wu's study undoubtedly will inspire future scholarship, including work that explores the complicated realities of the nations that the Anti-Imperialist Delegation and other U.S. activists idealized.

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Sandra Scanlon. *The Pro-War Movement: Domestic Support for the Vietnam War and the Making of Modern American Conservatism*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 424. $28.95.

Historians of the Vietnam War have long recognized the means by which American conservatives drew on myths about the war in the service of partisan advantage and policy preference. Highlighting these *post hoc* pronouncements on the nobility of the cause or the folly of limited war, scholars have paid comparatively less attention to the origins of those myths than to their exploitation. Sandra Scanlon steps into this breach, tracing the process by which these interpretations of war, marshaled by conservative and pro-war advocates, emerged during the course of the conflict itself.

As Scanlon describes it, the pro-war movement took shape as a reactionary force: first to the graduated measures employed by the Johnson administration, and then to the anti-war protests against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Following the Americanization of the war in 1965, conservatives urged President Lyndon B. Johnson to adopt more expansive measures to achieve victory over Hanoi, and undertook several patriotic campaigns to support that effort domestically. When victory abroad lost its political viability at home, they trimmed their sails, particularly as Republican Richard Nixon offered the nation "peace with honor." Weighing Nixon's pledge against the backdrop of his strident and longstanding anti-communism, they presumed that any negotiation he might pursue to end the war would be accompanied by heightened belligerence toward North Vietnam and greater support for South Vietnam. These more hawkish measures, they reasoned, would allow American soldiers to come home under conditions that augured well for Saigon.

Yet Nixon's plans for Vietnamizing the conflict evolved in ways inimical to earlier pro-war and conservative positions. Appeals for a mutual and balanced reduction of forces gave way to a unilateral American troop withdrawal; commitments to the integrity of South Vietnam vanished in favor of a ceasefire in place; and the preservation of a non-communist, independent South Vietnam—a goal that a generation of policymakers had sought to uphold—dissolved as Nixon committed only to giving Saigon a "chance" at survival.

While these developments heightened conservative and pro-war unease with Nixon, it was his opening to China that brought their privately held concerns about administration policy—on Vietnam and beyond—out into the open. Yet Nixon's repeated use of military pressure—the invasions of Cambodia and Laos, the

bombing campaigns of Linebacker I and II—mitigated his perceived acts of accommodation. They also served his partisan goals of polarizing public opinion: not only did these hawkish measures shore up conservative, pro-war support, they sparked anti-war protest in the streets and in Congress, leading conservatives to loose their wrath on liberal legislators much more so than on the president. It was this political cover, provided by that portion of the electorate he feared most, that gave Nixon the latitude to pursue his "decent interval" solution for South Vietnam, withdrawing U.S. troops in a manner designed to secure his reelection, preserve national honor, and safeguard his reputation.

By then, however, the movement had reframed American objectives in Vietnam in ways that had little to do with Vietnam itself. Focusing less on the freedom of South Vietnam than on the credibility of the United States, conservatives and pro-war advocates recast the war's narrative in crucial respects. National security rationales for fighting in Vietnam gave way to the morality of the commitment, as veneration of the troops and the cause for which they fought became a litmus test for American patriotism. These tropes, which had long been present in such thought, now rose to the fore. Their utility would prove even more potent in the wake of defeat than during the war itself. For when Saigon did collapse, as Nixon fully expected it would, the seeds were sown for stab-in-the-back epithets that circulate to this day.

Scanlon deftly explores the means by which movement leaders, political elites, grassroots activists, and the Nixon administration navigated these currents and shaped each other's actions. The process by which they did so reveals the stresses and strains of American conservatism prior to its ascendance and then prominence in the early 1980s. Scanlon alludes to the generational dynamics at work in these tensions, but returning to that theme in her conclusion might have sparked broader comment on the persistence as well as the ascendance of those tropes beyond the 1980 election. Given her claim that culture and identity unified her subjects, Scanlon also might have commented more directly on intersections between Vietnam and social concerns, or linked expressions of Americanism with the pageantry of the early Cold War, in ways that further illuminate the nature of conservatism. While isolated errors dot the text—labor leader George Meany's last name, for instance, is repeatedly spelled incorrectly in the narrative (but correctly in the index)—these slips hardly detract from this finely reasoned and well-crafted book.

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Karen Ferguson. *Top Down: The Ford Foundation, Black Power, and the Reinvention of Racial Liberalism*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2013. Pp. 327. $45.00.

As we look around at today's large philanthropic organizations, we might wonder how it came to be that so many seem to believe they have the most effective solutions for solving pressing social problems experienced by those living in poor and overwhelmingly minority urban areas without actually consulting those communities. In *Top Down: The Ford Foundation, Black Power, and the Reinvention of Racial Liberalism*, Karen Ferguson provides us with at least one plausible explanation for how this phenomenon began by describing the Ford Foundation's attempt during the late 1960s and 1970s to ease the rebellion, unrest, and upheaval erupting in urban areas through a strategy that focused on fixing what one foundation officer termed "the Negro Problem" in America. This was a period when black power was on the rise in these same communities, and for a time its fundamental tenets were embraced by the foundation's elite white patrician leadership. These were strange bedfellows indeed.

Top Down provides a close look at the reasoning and intent of the foundation during this brief period of time when it dedicated an overwhelming majority of its funding dollars to aggressively fostering both black empowerment and black separatism. It did so primarily through its funding of urban Community Development Corporations, its embrace of the Black Arts movement through its funding of the Negro Ensemble Company, and its role in a high-profile battle for black community control of New York City's public schools and its subsequent support of efforts to provide alternative ways of educating black children.

Ford's reason for this focus was its belief that each of these areas would, in its own way, provide opportunities for black people and communities to develop their strengths and abilities separate from whites. It viewed this development as a crucial first step for black people, free from the oppressive gaze of the dominant culture, to become strong enough to ultimately assimilate into the greater society on their own terms.

Though the strategies may have looked like black power, as time went on and first one project and then the next struggled to show sustainable results, Ford's commitments and aims shifted. As Ferguson writes, "the Foundation reduced its once lofty assimilationist goals for African Americans to one of elite development and individual upward mobility. In this way, along with other major Foundation initiatives for minorities, like its commitment to high-art black cultural expression, university black studies programs, and minority postsecondary and graduate education, the Foundation helped to foster the multiculturalism with which we live today, which has little to do with the racial equality that was the ultimate goal of black power advocates" (p. 14).

Ferguson tells the story of the foundation's foray into and then hasty retreat from black power with care and great detail. She makes a convincing argument that its efforts were ultimately undone by the fact that the leadership could not see that social contacts, the money to fund a particular social vision, and a well-articulated "top down" strategy for social change were not enough

to overcome America's structural inequities and history of entrenched racism, to which Ford never devoted much real attention.

While the particulars of the story that Ferguson tells are engaging, to some extent it is a "twice-told tale" that is expansive, if not quite new. Indeed, as she acknowledges in her footnotes, there are at least three previously published books on the Ford Foundation and its shaping and institutionalization of the field of black studies during the heyday of black power, and they all cover similar ground and reach substantively similar conclusions about the foundation and its reasons for supporting black power. (Full disclosure: this reviewer authored one of those three books.) Of course, she rightly points out that her work differs from previous efforts because of its focus on different cultural organizations, and she furthermore acknowledges that previous scholars have already written about black studies, but she does not go so far as to acknowledge the greater intellectual debt relative to her overall argument and conclusions.

Nonetheless, this work is built on solid research using primary sources and opens up new avenues for research into Ford's urban strategy during an instructive period. Indeed, it is almost a historical primer that helps to shed light on the present moment in terms of the strategies through which elite white liberals today seek to use their expertise and knowledge to "fix" black and Latino communities while ignoring the fact that so much of their cure is killing the patient, or at the very least doing little to nothing to bring about change.

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William S. Walker. *A Living Exhibition: The Smithsonian and the Transformation of the Universal Museum.* (Public History in Historical Perspective.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 291. $27.95.

At the start of 2011, a man in Alexandria, Virginia, announced a New Year's resolution: he would visit all twenty Smithsonian museum sites. Though he lived just over the river from Washington, D.C., it took him four months.

That anecdote comes at the end of William S. Walker's *A Living Exhibition*, and it underscores just what an enormous operation the Smithsonian has become in the century and a half since James Smithson made his remarkable bequest to the nation. Indeed, taken as a whole, the Smithsonian is the largest museum enterprise in the world. Oddly, however, despite its size, its age, and its ambition, it has not attracted the attention of historians to the extent one might expect. In that sense, Walker's book is a welcome addition to a small but growing literature on our national museum.

Ostensibly, Walker is interested in how the concept of a universal or encyclopedic museum conflicted with an institutional desire to create different branches devoted to particular things—as he puts it, "the desire to put everything together and the need to take it all apart" (p. 2). Given that interest, he spends most of the book covering the period from the end of World War II to 1989, the years during which the majority of the Smithsonian's projects sprouted on the National Mall and elsewhere.

In fact, the story of the bricks-and-mortar growth of the Smithsonian after 1945 is not really at the center of this book. After a first chapter that trots briskly through the institute's first one hundred years, Walker spends a chapter examining the forces that shaped the Museum of History and Technology, which opened in 1964. He then takes us on a slightly unexpected tour. In chapter three he walks out of the buildings and onto the Mall proper to examine the origin of the annual Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife, the first of which took place in 1967. The initial goal of the festival was to foster "open education," the idea that museum education should become less didactic and more participatory. In chapter four we travel across town to look at the Smithsonian's project in the Anacostia section of Washington. The Anacostia Neighborhood Museum opened in 1967 as well and was entirely of its moment. It responded to long-simmering complaints about how nonwhite cultures were represented in the formal exhibits at the Museum of Natural History and the Museum of History and Technology, and it addressed concerns that the Smithsonian should be more accessible and relevant to the city's own residents.

Even as these projects got off the ground, officials at the Smithsonian were already looking toward 1976, and their plans for the Bicentennial are the subject of chapter five. As the title of this chapter indicates, the Smithsonian struggled to create programming that would express "national unity through cultural diversity"—no easy task in a political environment of heightened ethnic particularism. The exhibit at the Museum of History and Technology, *A Nation of Nations*, bent over backward to be as inclusive as possible, but when it opened, it was denounced by the Polish American Press Council because it did not showcase any famous Poles (p. 172).

For all that the Smithsonian built during the postwar years, one large project never did materialize, and this forms the subject of chapter six. The Museum of Man would have been the Smithsonian's museum of anthropology, a place where the cultural objects of non-Western peoples could be given a proper home. Plans for such a museum began to percolate in the 1960s and moved haltingly through Congress in the early 1970s, but by the middle of that decade, momentum for the new museum had stalled. To this day, visitors who want to see the Smithsonian's anthropological collections will find them at the Museum of Natural History, where they awkwardly share space with the dinosaurs and stuffed birds.

Buildings, collections, and politics run throughout Walker's book, as do some of the important figures who made the Smithsonian what it is. Though the book is not a biography of Dillon Ripley, this energetic patrician is at the center of much of it. Ripley came from Yale Uni-

versity to head the Smithsonian, and he served as the engine not only for the Smithsonian's remarkable expansion in the 1960s and 1970s, but for its commitment to blow the dust off the old museum idea and make the place more accessible, lively, and engaged.

Walker ends his book in 1989, when the National Museum of the American Indian was authorized by Congress, and it has been published while the new National Museum of African American History and Culture is under construction, underscoring that the tension between the universal and the particular remains central to the Smithsonian. No single museum could do all the things the Smithsonian does, to be sure, but how many of us have four months to tour the entire place?

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Amy M. Tyson. *The Wages of History: Emotional Labor on Public History's Front Lines*. (Public History in Historical Perspective.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 224. $26.95.

With *The Wages of History: Emotional Labor on Public History's Front Lines*, Amy M. Tyson makes a significant contribution to scholarly dialogue about the production of history in the American leisure economy. A truly interdisciplinary work employing methods from ethnography, sociology, and history, the book examines the conditions of labor for historical interpreters at Fort Snelling, a National Landmark and Minnesota State Historic Site since 1960–1961. Occupying a key position in the United States' war on American Indians in the nineteenth century, Fort Snelling has a past that evokes major themes in both national and regional history. Since the early 1960s, it has served the demands of an increasing leisure economy, hosting 158,894 visitors in its peak year, 1976. Like other historic sites, it has seen steadily dwindling visitation. This has led historic site managers to seek new ways of providing engaging and meaningful experiences to attract both new and repeat visitors, and like other sites, Fort Snelling has employed corporate models of customer service drawn from the burgeoning American leisure and tourist economies. Such models affect workers significantly, and *The Wages of History* does for "public history's emotional proletariat" (p. 25) what sociologists and labor historians have done for waitstaff, hairdressers, fast-food employees, nurses, and other workers whose emotions are seen as a crucial part of customer satisfaction. She has detailed the challenges and value of their work.

Tyson divides her study into two parts, corresponding to different phases in this site's management. Part I starts with the creation of Fort Snelling as a historic site in 1960 and ends in 1996, when the Minnesota Historical Society Interpreters Caucus—formed in 1985 to advocate for interpreters—disbanded. Tyson's analysis focuses on public service as central to the culture of the site from its early years through the time when interpreters organized to advocate for more of a voice in management decisions. Part II examines the period from 1996 to 2006, and more closely analyzes the emotional labor of interpreters, their reactions to it, and the gender and class dynamics affecting the conditions of labor at the historic site. This section is particularly effective in demonstrating the ways in which first-person historical reenactment can be used to express contemporary prejudices based on gender, class, race, and religion because they reflect historical "authenticity" and are therefore supposedly outside the control of contemporary sensibilities of inequality. This book does an excellent job of demonstrating the difficulties inherent in first-person interpretation, ensuring it a well-deserved place on public history syllabi.

In a monograph that effectively highlights the inequalities perpetuated in a contemporary workplace committed to an "authentic" representation of nineteenth-century military culture, it is curious that Tyson uncritically employs the military concept of a "front line" to describe historical interpreters' work with visitors. While the public history field, those in the service industries, and others (like reporters and evangelicals) often employ this term as a descriptor of their work with the public, as a framing device to criticize the replication of inequalities based on the historical conditions of nineteenth-century military life, it fails to serve Tyson's topic well. If historical interpreters are serving on the front lines, who are they battling? Visitors? Ignorance of the past? Are we to see those who leave the stresses of this work as casualties? Either way, the war term "front line" is not productive as a concept for effecting change in the public history field and change in the working conditions of historical interpreters. Tyson's study shows effectively how playing at war and military life made a poor framework for open dialogue at Fort Snelling, so it is curious that she employs the term of battle so readily in her descriptions of historical interpreters' relationships to visitors. Because this term is used so often and so uncritically in the public history field, *The Wages of History* misses an opportunity for some much-needed discourse analysis.

Despite the lack of criticism of one of the main explanatory concepts, this work provides an excellent mechanism for dialogue about public history as labor. Tyson's placement of historical interpretation squarely in the service industry makes *The Wages of History* particularly timely. In an age characterized by declining union power, the devaluation of both state workers and educators, and high unemployment among the young and educated, more public historians and public history educators need to engage labor issues as Tyson has done in this important and useful book.

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Edward D. Berkowitz and Larry DeWitt. *The Other Welfare: Supplemental Security Income and U.S. Social Policy*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 279. $45.00.

Edward D. Berkowitz and Larry DeWitt have spent their careers honing a portrait of the centerpiece of the New Deal welfare state—the Social Security Act. Together, they have pulled its previously unknown architects into the limelight, illuminated lesser-known elements of the system, drawn connections to insurance expansions like disability and Medicare, and provided scholars and students with access to primary sources crucial to its historical development. From DeWitt's position as chief historian of the Social Security Administration and Berkowitz's perch as professor of history and public policy and public administration at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., they have modeled generous, cooperative scholarship. In their second collaboration, they bring their knowledge and experience to bear on a distant relation of Social Security in a much later period—the Supplemental Security Income Program (SSI).

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, SSI emerged as a large, vital component of the welfare state, but its history, nevertheless, has been little-understood. SSI is a means-tested income-support program for the elderly and disabled who are not otherwise eligible for the larger federal disability insurance program, Social Security Disability Insurance. Created in 1972, SSI has come to serve over nine million Americans and continues to grow annually. Its architects in the Social Security Administration and Congress intended to include elderly and disabled adults as part of a more respectable, federally controlled welfare program—one more generous and more uniform than the previous Old Age Assistance program or the despised Aid to Families with Dependent Children, serving single mothers. In practice, however, the program fell short of those goals. Berkowitz and DeWitt demonstrate how SSI quickly evolved into a system as variable, vulnerable, and unpopular as many of the other means-tested "welfare" programs. Though policymakers desired a truly national program, compromises in the legislative and administrative processes left SSI at the mercy of state and congressional meddling. SSI paid radically different benefits from state to state as a result. The authors also track how shifting target populations generated hostility from lawmakers and the media. Though SSI initially aimed to provide support to the "respectable" elderly and disabled, increasing numbers of mentally disabled, mentally ill, and addicted adults and children soon populated the program. None of them proved to be popular or politically influential clientele. From the moment of the program's birth through the 1990s, journalists and disgruntled members of Congress attacked SSI's recipients. Today, despite the aims of its architects, SSI hovers just above Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and the food stamp program in the eyes of its critics.

Berkowitz and DeWitt's story of SSI illuminates not only the program's particularities, but also the largely uncharted territory of social policymaking after "the high tide of the expansive welfare state of the postwar and Great Society eras" (p. 1). Drawing on recent multidisciplinary scholarship on the state and American political development, they point to new structures and actors shaping social policy in an age of political conservatism, market ascendency, congressional restructuring, and media saturation. The original architects and administrators of SSI—the professionals of the welfare state—lost power to entrepreneurial congressional staffs empowered by changes in the rules and structure of Congress. A post-Watergate, profit-seeking corporate media made government the object of relentless sensational inquiry and exerted significant power over congressional debates. Legal challenges through class action suits found traction in the courts, which acted as a major source of SSI policymaking in the 1990s. SSI's unpredictable and rocky development reveals a world of policymaking that bears little resemblance to the one in which the New Deal welfare state was born. It is an era about whose structures we know too little.

SSI's uneven path knit the program into wider social histories that the authors' admittedly "top down" approach cannot address (p. ix). The fate of SSI intersected with emerging politics of disability, mental illness, substance abuse, and child mental health. It also intersected with the history of immigration, as the elderly SSI population was increasingly composed of noncitizens. Given their tight focus on the legislative and administrative maneuvers, however, the authors only hint at why and how these people and issues affected SSI. Much of the broader story of people and movements and ideology remains to be told. Yet the narrative Berkowitz and DeWitt have crafted suggests rich terrain for further research, not only about SSI, but also about the entire welfare state in the last decades of the twentieth century.

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Brenda E. Stevenson. *The Contested Murder of Latasha Harlins: Justice, Gender, and the Origins of the LA Riots*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xxxi, 411. $29.95.

One Saturday morning in March 1991, fifteen-year-old Latasha Harlins walked into a convenience store in Compton, California, to buy orange juice. Minutes later, she lay dead on the floor, shot in the head by the store owner, who believed, erroneously, that she had intended to steal the juice. Compton, an economically ravaged, mostly African American city south of Los Angeles, has seen countless senseless killings, and Southern Californians shrugged indifferently at what they viewed as just another example of "random" violence involving people for whom life meant very little.

This case was different, however. Most murders, random or otherwise, involve men. Both Latasha and her killer were female, as was the judge who presided over the eventual trial. And most murders involve individuals from the same ethnic group. Latasha was African American; the shooter, Soon Ja Du, was Korean Amer-

ican; and the judge, Joyce Karlin, was Jewish. The unique circumstances fueled widespread public interest in the case and led Brenda E. Stevenson to use it as a lens to examine how the intersection of gender, ethnicity, and class shapes larger community relationships and pathologies. The result is an extraordinarily significant and very interesting book.

The study would have been important even if Stevenson had chosen simply to tell the story of the trial and its aftermath. But she chose to dig much deeper, to investigate the cultural and socioeconomic influences that shaped each of the principal women, making her particular role in the case seem almost preordained. Though their backgrounds differed in many respects, all of the women came from cultures historically marginalized and "considered racially and culturally inferior" (p. 210).

Latasha's family came to Los Angeles in the 1980s from the South, in their case East St. Louis, Missouri. Her parents' lives reflected the stress and dysfunction resulting from longstanding African American poverty and oppression: an absent father and a mother who made poor life choices. At the time of Latasha's murder, her mother was dead and her father only an occasional presence. An honors student, Latasha lived with her grandmother, but also ran with a somewhat wild crowd.

Soon Ja Du had been a member of the economic elite in her native Korea, but she lost that status when she and her husband moved to the United States in the 1970s. In Los Angeles, Du worked in a garment factory until the family saved enough to buy a small market in the San Fernando Valley. When her husband decided to buy a second business, the Empire Liquor Market in Compton, Du strongly objected, citing the city's high rate of crime. In Korean culture, however, wives deferred to their husbands. William Du bought the market, but he also bought a gun for protection.

Judge Joyce Karlin was the great-granddaughter of Russian Jews who immigrated to New York in the first decade of the twentieth century. Each succeeding generation of her family had achieved more success. Karlin's great-grandfather had been a tailor; her father worked as a film studio executive. Whiteness, Stevenson writes, enabled American Jews to "benefit from their racial invisibility" (p. 215). Karlin came of age during the 1970s and, as a privileged white woman, benefited from feminism's push for gender equality. After graduating from law school, she worked as a federal prosecutor. In 1991, Governor Pete Wilson appointed her to the Los Angeles Superior Court bench.

Du's trial was Karlin's first. It illustrated the power of deeply ingrained stereotypes to shape perceptions and outcomes. Du admitted to killing Latasha, but testified that she had acted in self-defense. A racially mixed jury convicted her of involuntary manslaughter, but Karlin determined that Latasha had been threatening, and Du had been vulnerable. When Karlin sentenced Du only to community service and a $500 fine, African Americans, and some others, labeled her a "racist." She denied the charge, but Stevenson agrees with the critics. Forced to choose between two narratives, Karlin chose the one that privileged Asians as the "model minority" over African Americans, who were deemed violent and "criminal."

In the end, there were no winners. Seven months after Du's trial, five white officers were acquitted of beating Rodney King, an African American man who had refused to stop for police. Riots swept through Los Angeles, killing fifty-four people and causing $1 billion in damages to businesses—many Korean. They included the Dus' Compton market, which burned to the ground. Stevenson argues, convincingly, that the riots were as much about Latasha Harlins as Rodney King. As for Joyce Karlin, mounting criticism led to her transfer from criminal to juvenile court. Eventually, she left the bench. The Harlins family lost the most. Given their experiences with "the system," their faith that justice would prevail seems misplaced. But, as Stevenson demonstrates, even unrelenting racism cannot compete with the pervasive belief that someday things will be different.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

Fernando Cervantes and Andrew Redden, editors. *Angels, Demons and the New World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 318. $95.00.

For many early observers and chroniclers of the Spanish world, the spread of colonialism in the Americas was an extension of the cosmic struggle between the celestial forces of good and evil. "The Devil would often appear and speak to the Indians," claimed the Spanish historian Francisco López de Gómara in his *Historia general de las Indias* of 1553. "Deceived by his sweet words or the tasty meat of human flesh [the Indians of New Spain] would desire to please him" (p. 328). Writing a decade later, the Franciscan Jerónimo de Mendieta characterized indigenous peoples not as demonic victims, but as angelic agents capable of sublime acts of Christianity. The debate over the nature of the natives and the manifestations of supernatural forces were prominent features of the early modern Spanish intellectual landscape. And while angels and demons were central to Spanish American history, cosmology, and natural philosophy, modern scholars have for the most part long overlooked their importance. Fernando Cervantes and Andrew Redden's volume, therefore, comes as an overdue and welcome contribution to understanding an important component of the *mentalité* of the early modern Spanish world.

Angels, Demons, and the New World brings together scholars drawing on anthropological, historical, and iconographic perspectives to explore demonology and angelology as a means of interrogating elite and popular imaginaries. After a focused introduction by the editors, the work begins with three essays that broadly

deal with the transatlantic shifts in European and New World understandings of demonology and angelology. In a rich chapter on early modern Spanish intellectual history, Andre Keitt illustrates that demonology and natural philosophy were intertwined in Old World humanistic ideas. In the sixteenth century, the discourse of demonology developed alongside campaigns against superstition. Well-known published works by Pedro Ciruelo and Martín de Azpilcueta, for instance, focused on distinguishing between demonic supernatural miracles and preternatural phenomena. Spanish medical humanists stood at the natural front lines of the cosmic struggle as they confronted diabolism in the form of idolatrous rites and fraudulent healers. Looking at demonology in a comparative framework, Kenneth Mills shows the distinctions and fluidity of these ideas in the New World. Contrasting the narratives of fray Martín de Posada and fray Diego de Ocaña, Mills shows, at least in two somewhat limited cases, that in Spain, demonic forces often represented individual internal struggles, while in the Americas, manifestations of the devil were an expression of indigenous traditions. Although devils were critical to the language of anti-superstition, Cervantes demonstrates that angels were welcomed as mediums to bridge the natural and supernatural worlds. Mendicant friars, anxious to elevate New World Christian communities, recognized angels as important guides to the individual and communal piety of indigenous peoples. In this benign middle ground, Christian ideas were wedded to indigenous traditions and practices.

The three chapters in the second part of the volume examine the role of angels and demons in the conversion and everyday Christian practices of indigenous peoples. Using ethnohistorical approaches, both Louise M. Burkhart and Caterina Pizzigoni focus on the importance of demons, saints, and angels among the Nahuas of Central Mexico. In Nahuatl theatrical performances, as Burkhart shows, indigenous people celebrated their Christian identities and identified celestial forces as active agents. In morality plays, demons seduced people into the sickness of sin, while angels stood as markers of the Christian ideal. Complementing Cervantes's claims, she shows that Nahuas understood angels and demons as powerful and prominent members of the colonial community. Similarly, Pizzigoni demonstrates that the Nahuas of the Toluca Valley of Central Mexico quickly incorporated patron saints into their family traditions. By the seventeenth century, individual households identified specific guardian angels and maintained distinctive ritual spaces to celebrate patron saints. The Nahuatlized Spanish term for these saint houses, *santocalli*, symbolized the heterodox nature of everyday understandings of indigenous Christianity. Moving to New Granada, a region underexplored in the historiography, Redden illustrates that Jesuit missionaries saw their struggles to convert natives as a battle between celestial and fallen angels. The indigenous religious practitioners of the region known as *mohanes* served not as just the defenders of tradition, but as agents of the devil. Everyday natives, it seems, were simply the fodder lost in the middle between these warring forces.

The last part of the volume deals with angels and demons in the Hispanic *imaginaire* on their own. Ramón Mujica Pinilla shows that viceregal political and cosmological narratives actively employed eschatological angelology to frame colonial exploits. Conquistadores and settlers fought not simply in service of the crown, but alongside celestial angels that advanced Christendom in the pagan indigenous terrain. Portraits of harquebus-bearing angels illustrated that the struggle for authority and control was a mission to displace the indigenous devils of the New World. Andean indigenous communities were, as Mujica Pinilla notes, relegated as the "ghosts of paganism, infidelity and apostasy" (p. 195). The wedding of the political and theological was not one-sided, however. Creole and mestizo critics of colonial authorities in Peru frequently depicted the abuses of Spaniards as the work of the devil. By contrast, in an extremely engaging chapter, Jaime Cuadriello finds that in New Spain, images of idealized Indians stressed their simplicity and piety. Over the course of the colonial period, depictions of indigenous peoples shifted, from representing them as spiritually pure children to casting them as foundational religious intercessors. By the seventeenth century, Indians were at the heart of mariophanic devotionals, such as Our Lady of Santa María Nueva España, commonly known as La Españita, who appeared to an ordinary Tlaxcalan Indian. David Brading concludes the volume with an examination of the diverse and heterodox spiritual geography of the Baroque seventeenth century and the origins of the so-called Guadalupan Moment in New Spain. While local priests frequently lamented the supposed endurance of indigenous idolatries, popular religious cults celebrated angelic forces found in indigenous communities. Miguel Sánchez, who celebrated the apparition of the Virgin to the Nahua Juan Diego, likened the account to an apocalyptic battle between St. Michael and Lucifer. In the *Psychomachia Indiana* of New Spain, angelic and demonic forces regularly intermingled with colonial subjects, most notably indigenous peoples.

Angels, Demons, and the New World contains a selection of well-researched and thought-provoking essays that are critical to understanding early modern Spanish perspectives on the intersections between the natural and the supernatural world. Vivid and lively accounts of both well-known and underexplored apparitions and their followers, including the Virgin of Guadalupe and Our Lady of Los Remedios, will undoubtedly engage general audiences. Moreover, this volume challenges scholars to reconsider a number of basic assumptions about the origins of devotional and natural philosophy. In particular, until recently, many cultural and social historians have taken to popular representations of demonology and indigenous idolatry as prime examples of heterodoxy. Angelology, as this work shows, was a basic arena for the melding of traditions

and practices. Likewise, intellectual historians, particularly those in the growing field of early modern science, have located the roots of rationality in early modern humanist traditions without considering the coterminous linkages to preternatural philosophy and natural cosmography. Cervantes and Redden have assembled a volume that challenges scholars to engage the fundamental perspectives of the early modern Spanish imaginary and examine the mentalities of colonialism that manifested as a struggle between angels and demons in the New World.

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Cruz Miguel Ortíz Cuadra. *Eating Puerto Rico: A History of Food, Culture, and Identity*. Translated by Russ Davidson. (Latin America in Translation /En traducción/Em tradução.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 388. $45.00.

Cruz Miguel Ortíz Cuadra's project in this book is considerably more ambitious and interdisciplinary than the subtitle to the English translation suggests. Rather than chronicling a linear "history of food, culture, and identity," Ortíz Cuadra's expansive text engages in an interdisciplinary analysis of the current state of Puerto Rican cuisine, tracing its development from first contact between the island's three races—Taíno, Spanish, and African—through the subsistence farming of the colonial era, the rationing and food shortages associated with the Spanish-American War and the world wars that followed, all the way up to the global availability of formerly exotic ingredients and increasingly popular fast-food options that have come to characterize the twenty-first-century culinary landscape on the island and throughout its diaspora. Largely avoiding nostalgia, though not fully defining what contemporary attitudes about the island's culinary patrimony mean in terms of the Puerto Rican people's self-identity, Ortíz Cuadra insistently asks his readers, Puerto Rican and foreign alike, to consider the question that served as the Spanish version's original subtitle: "Are We Still What We Ate?" ("¿Somos aún lo que comimos?") This is a question the text never really answers, and for good reason. As much as Ortíz Cuadra succeeds in demythologizing the basic staples of Puerto Rican cuisine by explaining how rice, beans, cornmeal, codfish, beef, and pork arrived on the island and why they became as popular as they did, he also skillfully deconstructs the category of "Puerto Rican" into multiple populations defined by gender, rural vs. urban, literacy and education levels, laboring class, immigrant or island-born, government vs. private sector, and colonizer or colonized, among others. In order to avoid getting bogged down by debates about national authenticity as they apply to either people or foodstuffs, the focus of his discussion remains squarely on the foods consumed by people of all kinds on the island of Puerto Rico over a long span of time.

The book's ambitious scope works well in the original Spanish, primarily because the text is clearly, though not exclusively, directed at an audience of Puerto Rican readers. The English translation, however, faces different hurdles. Readers unfamiliar with Spanish colonial history or Caribbean foodways would find this translation especially disorienting because it rushes headlong into a discussion of the aforementioned canonical staples of Puerto Rican cuisine without much in the way of an introduction to provide a specific sociocultural or historical context for this information. Readers would be best advised to begin the book with the last two chapters, "Are We Still What We Ate?" and "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow," in order to have a clearer understanding of the stakes in this discussion of how food defines Puerto Rican identity, especially in light of the precarious political situation of the island vis-à-vis the United States. Anyone using this book in the classroom, where it would be a welcome addition to food studies, American studies, and/or Latin American and Caribbean studies courses, also would do well to read it backward, so to speak, beginning with the concluding chapters in order to better frame the contents for new learners.

In his discussions of the various foodstuffs that make up the staples of "traditional" Puerto Rican cuisine, Ortíz Cuadra introduces helpful concepts from cultural studies, like British scholar Eric Hobsbawm's concept of "invented traditions," or the social sciences, such as French sociologist Claude Fischler's concept of "gastro-anomie" (p. 202), which describes the anxiety people experience when faced with greater food choices. Although he dutifully references Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction*, and gestures toward Arjun Appadurai's work on national cuisines, I found Ortíz Cuadra's turn to "gastro-anomie" in the context of Puerto Rican cuisine to be not only appropriate, but among the greatest contributions this book makes to the field of food studies. Some key terms central to the overall analysis, however, remain undefined throughout the text even though they have not entered common parlance in English. Examples include "hipermercado" (p. 224), which is sometimes prefaced by the descriptor "big box."

A recurring theme throughout the book is the enormous influence that nutritionists and home economics scholars from the United States had in shaping the cuisine served in lunchrooms throughout Puerto Rico during the early twentieth century, both in K-12 schools and at the university. Ortíz Cuadra alludes to home economists from the United States so often that I began to wish he had indeed written either a chapter or an entire book detailing the history of this aspect of American culinary imperialism.

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Louis A. Pérez Jr. *The Structure of Cuban History: Meanings and Purpose of the Past*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 336. $39.95.

As the author of many books on Cuban history, Louis A. Pérez, Jr. has earned the right to the magisterial, almost oracular, standpoint he adopts in this new work. The book's voice is singular. It speaks with authority in large generalizations, almost as if it were the voice of history itself. National histories are often regarded as mythical stories of origin and struggle, playing fast and loose with the facts. Cuba's sense of its past is largely accurate, it seems: the word "myth" hardly appears in the book. The meanings of the past have, since the second half of the nineteenth century, been central to the present moment in Cuba, and Pérez traces those meanings with the help of his unparalleled knowledge of Cuban sources. The writing, as always, is laconic and measured, building its case through a careful accumulation of evidence.

The Structure of Cuban History proceeds chronologically over six chapters. The origins of Cuban nationalism are allowed to remain hazy, glimpsed in the slow separation of insular interests from those of the Spanish metropolis, with culture at the heart of the development of national sentiment. This national sentiment eventually consolidated into an independence movement that dominated the second half of the nineteenth century. Cuba was a nation struggling to be free, and the story of those struggles provided a cumulative and sustaining moral framework. By the 1890s, there was a national consciousness awaiting the political form that would enable Cuba to join the modern world.

At this point things started to go awry. Pérez is clear on the issue of the 1898 U.S. military intervention, which "was directed as much against Cubans as it was against Spaniards" (pp. 117–118). What followed in 1902 was a Cuban constitution in which U.S. interests were paramount, setting the stage for a further fifty-seven years of deferred national sovereignty, a period for which Pérez again produces an extraordinary array of vivid testimony. His verdict on this long period of corruption and malfeasance is entirely damning. The past, however, did not go away: it insinuated itself into the popular imagination in the form of an unfinished history, extensively memorialized and monumentalized. An impressive academic historiography took root during this period, a scholarship—Pérez convincingly notes—that strongly contributed to the intellectual environment in which the 1959 Revolution would be received.

Inevitably, 1959 proved to be a watershed. Fidel Castro knew the importance of history and understood the power of its redemptive narrative. The very plausibility of the revolution was derived from the messianic moral embedded within Cuban history. Because the historical narrative was so secure and so widely accepted, opposition could easily be characterized as treason to the nation. U.S. misunderstanding of the depth of Cuban resentment toward the U.S. was almost total, in the long run helping to preserve the patriotic consensus around the defense of the nation.

Was 1959 the completion of a process initiated in 1868, as Castro proclaimed in February 1959 and as the refrain of Nicolás Guillén's popular poem "Se acabó" ("It's Over") suggested? If so, then what exactly began in 1959? In practice a different historical narrative gained prominence, the one that incorporated Cuban history into the larger Marxist-Leninist picture, never a comfortable insertion. By 1989, Castro was referring to the revolution as "the continuity of the history of our nation at its highest stage" (quoted on p. 238), suggesting the resumption of a history interrupted in 1898. There was a sense of return to a specifically Cuban story.

Indeed, it turned out that earlier history still had work to do. When Pérez gets to the early 1990s, the tone of his book changes rather suddenly—as did conditions in Cuba at the time. Marxism-Leninism, Soviet-style, was found wanting by many Cubans, especially as a moral system. The 1878 Protest of Baraguá by Antonio Maceo emerged as the reference point of choice for the Cuban state, indicating a stubborn refusal to move with the tide of events and a determination to fight on, even against insuperable odds. The familiar logic of sacrifice and struggle began to be seen as lacking purpose, and revolutionary rhetoric sounded increasingly threadbare: "a history that the political leadership continued to invoke as a means to exhort—and exact—popular compliance was losing its cohesive power" (p. 281).

This is a study of nationalism, though you will not find the names of Benedict Anderson or Ernest Gellner in the index. It offers no comparative perspectives and almost no reference to non-Cuban materials, though there is one passing mention of Frantz Fanon. But all students of nationalism will learn much from this brilliant book, and to students of Cuba it will be absolutely indispensable.

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William C. Van Norman Jr. *Shade-Grown Slavery: The Lives of Slaves on Coffee Plantations in Cuba*. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 207. Cloth $59.95, paper $29.95.

The historiography of Cuban slavery is replete with works that examine the role of sugar in Cuba and its preeminence in the nineteenth-century Cuban economy. Likewise, to a lesser degree, tobacco has long been a focus of historians of Cuba. William Van Norman's *Shade-Grown Slavery: The Lives of Slaves on Coffee Plantations in Cuba* has as its objective the restoration of those slaves' stories into the historical record by exploring their role in the formation of the Cuban identity.

The work is divided into three parts. Part I examines the rise of the coffee plantations (cafetales) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Chapter one discusses the expansion of the cafetales with respect to legal, economic, and demographic change. Chapter two details the structural changes in eighteenth-century Cuba that allowed for the expansion of Cuban agriculture and argues against the notion that it expanded

solely as a result of the events of the Haitian Revolution. Moreover, Van Norman notes that cafetales exhibited a more balanced sex ratio than seen on sugar plantations; consequently, coffee-producing areas saw creolization occur years before other areas, a notion with important implications for Cuban history.

Part II focuses on plantation life, beginning with chapter three and its exploration of the role of space as a method of control for Cuban planters, and how slaves used space to resist that control. Coffee plantations maintained the bohío, or hut system of housing, longer than did sugar plantations, which generally employed barrack-like housing, giving slaves on coffee plantations greater freedom of movement along with the space they needed to live as independent of their owners as possible. Chapter four addresses religious practice, first tracing the African origins of slaves' spiritual lives and then looking at the significance of religion as slaves in an increasingly creolized society refashioned elements of African religion to form what Van Norman terms a "neo-African" and "Afro-Cuban" identity (p. 108). The fifth chapter focuses on slaves' economic activity and their role in the Cuban marketplace as both buyers and sellers, actions that provided them with a measure of autonomy—in some cases the autonomy of freedom through self-purchase. Chapter six scrutinizes the relationship between the culture of the enslaved and slave resistance and rebellion, arguing against creolization as a causative factor and in favor of the cafetales' distinct place in the Cuban plantation economy. The cafetal, unlike the sugar plantation, allowed greater opportunity for slaves to negotiate the parameters of their lives, and to resist the boundaries that Cuba's slave society imposed. The work's final section provides some concluding remarks and explores both the role of the cafetal in Cuban literary discourse and coffee's decline in the 1840s.

Van Norman is correct to note that sugar has long received primacy in the study of Cuban history, but, as he writes, "there were also other influential factors that as yet have not been fully considered" (p. 37). The story of Cuban slavery certainly cannot be written without discussion of coffee, yet the literature remains a long way from ceding much of sugar's ground. This work also provides an excellent discussion of the political climate of Cuba in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that gave rise to the cafetales. Likewise, there is a thorough exploration of the agricultural issues surrounding coffee production. This attention to detail makes *Shade-Grown Slavery* of special use to the nonspecialist in Cuban or coffee slavery. One of the particular strengths of this work is its attention to women on the cafetales. The historiography of Cuban slavery has long privileged analysis based on race and class, and issues related to gender have remained obfuscated. Van Norman's focus on demographics and their implications for labor, family life, creolization, and resistance is an important contribution to the study of slavery broadly, beyond just the confines of Cuba or the Caribbean. Van Norman is quick to ascribe a great deal of agency to the slaves of Cuba's cafetales, seeing it not just in overt acts of resistance, but in much of slaves' day-to-day lives, including their ability to supplement their meager diet through food production, which "enabled slaves to contribute to their own well-being and created a way into the larger system of commerce" (p. 64). This notion seems to call for additional discussion.

Van Norman's book is a welcome addition to the scholarship of slavery in Cuba and the Americas. Both scholars and students alike will find it of use, and the work does much to better our understanding of the nature of Cuban slavery and to help us avoid the trap of subsuming all of Cuba's slave society to the particulars of sugar slavery.

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Moramay López-Alonso. *Measuring Up: A History of Living Standards in Mexico, 1850–1950.* (Social Science History.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2012. Pp. xvii, 276. Cloth $65.00, e-book $65.00.

Ever so rarely, a young scholar produces a study that moves one of history's pivotal debates toward resolution. Moramay López-Alonso has done so with *Measuring Up*. Scholars of Mexico's history and economy have endlessly debated the consequences of the turn to liberal capitalism during the nineteenth century. One school, focused on land accumulation, labor protests, and the outbreak of revolution in 1910, argues that the people must have suffered. Another, focused on technological change and economic growth, emphasizes gains. Each vision is backed by ample evidence. Debates persist with no resolution and few concessions.

López-Alonso critiques the evidence for both prior visions, qualitative and quantitative, and shows that while they are revealing, none captures the everyday welfare of people across Mexico's diverse regions. Land accumulations varied greatly. So did wages, technological innovations, market incorporations, and economic growth. Before the mid-twentieth century, the statistical basis for analyzing any of these is limited and uncertain. She argues powerfully, however, that analysis of the heights of young adults, male and female, across Mexico's regions and in urban and rural settings, provides a revealing gauge of popular welfare. Military enlistment records—representing working men across diverse regions, and including enough women in medical service to allow a gender balance—provide the evidence. López-Alonso argues persuasively that changing heights reflected changing nutrition—especially before antibiotics came to Mexico in the 1950s. Her carefully constructed data series shows a steady fall in Mexican heights and nutrition from 1850 to 1910, fluctuation at low levels during and after the revolution of 1910, and a recovery beginning in the 1930s that accelerated to 1950.

Scholars of Mexican history will know the importance of these conclusions. Still, a discussion of the relationship between these trends in nutrition and the complex-

ities of Mexico's sociopolitical development may be clarifying for specialists and revealing to others. López-Alonso shows that Mexicans were tallest in the 1850s—their heights in the middle of the range of Western Europeans. The data supports the conclusions of those who have argued that Mexico was not "backward" during the colonial era, and that while post-independence economic and political disruptions curtailed Mexico's once-vibrant commercial economy, rural villagers simultaneously reclaimed autonomies of production that kept nutrition strong for the majority as the nation struggled to find a polity and a new economy.

In the 1850s, liberals took control of the national regime and began a long, slow, steady process of privatizing the lands of church institutions and indigenous communities while recruiting foreign capital and promoting technological advances in industries and agriculture for internal and export markets. López-Alonso details how the same liberal development eliminated institutions of social welfare that had historically countered inequities. The end of the corporate rights of indigenous villages inhibited representations of local interests across central and southern regions; the privatization of community lands led to the loss of the commons that had often provided sustenance of last resort to the poorest. Liberal constraints on the church eliminated many of the educational, medical, and welfare institutions that so long had cushioned the difficulties of urban Mexicans. Rhetoric aside, liberals from Benito Juárez to Porfirio Díaz did little to fill the social-service vacuum their policies created. Mexico's nineteenth-century liberals built a version of what today thrives as the neoliberal utopia: a globally integrated market economy, with little government role beyond the promotion and protection of private property, and with declining social services and welfare provision—pressing all to live by the market. López-Alonso documents the results: economic growth grounded in decreasing welfare for a broad majority.

That decline in welfare did not lead inevitably and automatically to revolution. The global economic downturn in 1907, followed by drought from 1909 to 1910, intersecting with regime crisis in 1910, combined to create the occasion for revolution. Regional differences in people's insertion into the new economy of market dynamism and popular exclusion conditioned where insurgencies were more or less intense. Still, the collapse in material welfare documented by López-Alonso grounded everything that converged during decades of revolution and conflictive reconstruction. Improvement could not come immediately. However, revolutionaries and regime-builders focused on repairing the destruction at the base of the nutritional decline. They demanded new community rights to lands—and partially gained them. They demanded rights to organize the provision of work—and gained them. From the 1920s, the regime promoted education; in the 1930s, it turned to medical services and social welfare. López-Alonso shows that it was precisely in the "Mexican Miracle" of the 1940s and 1950s—when the government promoted a market economy and funded health, education, and welfare services—that national nutrition finally recovered from decades of unfettered market liberalism. There are lessons for historians—and policy debates—in this.

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Heather Fowler-Salamini. *Working Women, Entrepreneurs, and the Mexican Revolution: The Coffee Culture of Córdoba, Veracruz.* (The Mexican Experience.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 418. $45.00.

Recent scholars have analyzed women's experiences to add significantly to our understandings of the historical record in Latin America. In this thoughtful and well-researched study, Heather Fowler-Salamini contributes to the growing historiography on gender, women, and labor through her analysis of women's diverse experiences within Córdoba's coffee agribusinesses between the 1880s and the 1950s. Throughout her study, Fowler-Salamini not only provides insight into women's roles as laborers and union leaders, but she also moves beyond the workplace to explore women's understandings and memories of the ways their work experiences impacted their lives more generally. She utilizes an extensive range of sources, including archival documents, published and unpublished sources, and her database derived from the membership lists of the Sindicato de Obreras Escogedoras del Café de Córdoba (SOECC, Union of Coffee Sorters of Córdoba), to uncover workers' ages, marital status, number of children, and so on. Most effectively, to analyze the memories and culture of "everyday" women workers, she incorporates oral interviews she conducted over a ten-year period.

Fowler-Salamini combines a consideration of women's everyday experiences at work, at home, and in the community with careful attention to women's interactions with their employers. As she points out, what is unusual in this study is that the women who labored as coffee sorters largely worked in women-dominated workshops, meaning that they often developed valuable skills on the job that percolated into other parts of their lives. Still, women coffee sorters faced the same difficulties as other women workers, including the need to balance home, children, and partners with work demands and financial issues. By emphasizing the specificity of "place" and the shared experiences faced by women workers, this study provides a most welcome addition not only to works on female labor in Veracruz or even Mexico, but as a testament to women's historical agency overall.

To provide a social, economic, and cultural foundation for her study, Fowler-Salamini has focused her first chapter on the merchants and exporters who acted as intermediaries between the Veracruz coffee growers and the larger markets in Mexico and abroad. Given that many coffee merchants were of Spanish origin, she explores issues of immigrant entrepreneurism and

transatlantic migration patterns to uncover the complex factors that led to the formation of Córdoba's coffee agribusinesses. She also examines the role of the U.S. firms that invested in Veracruz's coffee economy and the expansion of U.S. export-import companies into the region. Ultimately this chapter uses a long, historically based interpretation to emphasize the shifting relations between external market forces and regional factors. Perhaps more importantly, this initial section sets the stage for the remaining chapters, which for the most part focus on women.

Fowler-Salamini's interpretations of women's experiences, particularly as demonstrated in chapters two through five, are exceptionally strong. Arguing that previous scholarship has analyzed a more traditional, permanent workforce, she includes a study of seasonal workers as well. Women's agency plays a central role throughout these chapters as the author stresses the ways in which women struggled for better working conditions, increased pay, and the right to have their voices heard. Coffee agribusiness entrepreneurs preferred women for coffee-sorting positions, considering the work to be an extension of women's "natural" gender-segregated abilities—similar to sewing and cooking. As a result, there was an influx of women to fill these jobs, and they considerably outnumbered men in Córdoba's coffee agroindustry, especially in the temporary unskilled positions. While the work could be tedious at times, especially because coffee sorting required women to sit at tables and pick through coffee that had not yet been cleaned, the wages were sufficient to support the sorter and at least contribute to the upkeep of her family. Poor women had no choice but to work, and they had to spend long hours on chores at home that left them with little time to sleep. Despite such hardships, most women retrospectively reported satisfaction with their work experiences and the financial independence it allowed them, although they recognized the unequal power relations between themselves and their bosses. Moreover, women sorters mobilized during the revolutionary and post-revolutionary era, and they effectively unionized to agitate for change. By the 1930s, women dominated the leadership of Córdoba's coffee sorter union, and they would continue to do so for the next few decades.

Fowler-Salamini argues that her purpose with this work was to write a history from below, and she skillfully accomplishes that goal. Although a greater consideration of the roles of race and ethnicity would have added depth to the study, scholars will benefit from its nuanced analysis of the ways in which women's workplace experiences as a collective could transform positively how they experienced the world and contested elite authorities.

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Deborah T. Levenson. *Adiós Niño: The Gangs of Guatemala City and the Politics of Death*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 183. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

"Adiós niño" ("Goodbye, little boy") yelled a Guatemalan soldier as he tossed a young Mayan child into the river to drown. He was participating in one of many massacres carried out during the Guatemalan army's scorched-earth counterinsurgency war in March 1982. Deborah T. Levenson takes the title of her book, *Adiós Niño: The Gangs of Guatemala City and the Politics of Death*, from this incident (narrated on p. 1), and the image haunts readers throughout. Postwar Guatemala has become a country where poor, marginalized youth are disposable—hence "the politics of death," since capitalist modernity has not given them anything to live for.

Primarily, this is a book about street gangs in Guatemala City, but Levenson reaches far beyond the oral histories and analyses of the gangs, known as maras, themselves. With a historian's eye, she argues that the maras are a lens through which to interpret recent Guatemalan history writ large. The formal end of the country's thirty-six-year Cold War civil war (1960–1996) has brought not peace, but rather a reproduction and perpetuation of war in Guatemala City's streets and social life.

The book is beautifully written and supplemented by photos throughout. Its narrative and language move back and forth seamlessly from postmodern theoretical frameworks (particularly Michel Foucault) to micro-details of gang violence. Levenson constructs her master narrative out of nearly eighty interview-based individual narratives. Despite the horrors chronicled, she expresses great empathy for the gang members themselves.

Levenson published an earlier detailed study of the maras of the 1970s and 1980s, *Por sí mismos: Un estudio preliminar de las "maras" en la Ciudad de Guatemala* (1988). This enables her in this new book to trace the evolution of Guatemala's gangs from that period, when they were tied to labor union struggles and other social justice movements, and were "empowering" to their members (those were the "gangs to live for"), to their current incarnation, since the late 1990s, as perpetrators of violence against workers and each other ("gangs to die for"). Between these two periods, events in both Guatemala and the United States led to profound changes in the gangs.

In Los Angeles, young Salvadoran and Guatemalan migrants, many of them ex-soldiers, reacted to alienation, neglect, and unemployment by forming the MS-13 (Mara Salvatrucha) and M-18 (18th Street) gangs. Levenson argues that these two gangs were regarded as more violent than the longstanding Mexican gangs, largely because their members came to the United States from bloody wartime situations. Many ended up in U.S. prisons, and subsequently in mass deportations that returned them to the streets of Guatemala City and San Salvador. The Guatemalan govern-

ment has virtually no programs to help them reincorporate or find employment.

The spread of gangs cannot be solely reduced to conditions in Los Angeles and U.S. deportation policies, however. The key is the Guatemala to which they were deported, or which many had never left—a country where the brutal civil war left a generation of scarred youth in (or migrating to) Guatemala City. Many of the children "remembered" massacres that occurred before they were born, through stories they were told, as Levenson's oral histories reveal in rich detail. In short, state terror remained constitutive in the formation and re-creation of Guatemala's postwar gangs. Even their bodily markings in the "male warrior" mode recall the grotesque body markings of the Kaibil elite counterinsurgency units of the Guatemalan army.

The book also weaves in elements of urban history, tracing the transformations in Guatemala City as its population tripled in size from the 1970s to the postwar years, particularly the marginal shantytowns, where maras proliferated among a population increasingly under eighteen years of age. Levenson's accounts of the ever more dangerous streets of postwar Guatemala City spell out a terrain of "no hope," compounded by conservative voters' calls for hardline *mano dura* (iron fist) policies.

The most graphic accounts are in chapter four, about the maras in Guatemala City's prisons, where they have been treated by the postwar police as "noncitizen others" (p. 105). Stories of prison murders and beheadings are retold in excruciating detail. Even among those who seek the path of "hope" by leaving the gangs to become street artists, actors, educators, or migrants to the United States, many are eventually slain.

Stepping outside this superb book, from a Guatemala-wide perspective, beyond the maras, there are other major sources of postwar social violence and citizen insecurity. These include drug cartels, organized crime rings, clandestine paramilitaries—and sectors of the ruling economic and military elites that dominate the state, some of whom are intertwined with illegal forces or even implicated in high-level national crimes, but go unpunished. These other social actors, along with multiple social justice and human rights movements, are all pieces of Guatemala's complex postwar puzzle. For Guatemala to move away from the currently pervasive social violence, the country must address its multiple problems comprehensively. Beyond replacing the *mano dura* policies toward gangs, this will require a multifaceted new social agenda and transformations of the Guatemalan state.

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George Ciccariello-Maher. *We Created Chávez: A People's History of the Venezuelan Revolution*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 320. Cloth $94.95, paper $25.95.

Some people like their history to be or to approximate science. Others like it to produce stories about the past that envelop today's actors in meanings and identities that suit contemporary purposes. Those who hold the latter preference will likely receive the book under review warmly: that is, if the narrative's slant aligns with their own. Those who prefer the former will likely find *We Created Chávez* frustratingly committed to a strongly ideological position. Most readers will be tempted to choose sides. This reviewer recommends that instead we consider each of these possible reactions to the book and assess its strengths and weaknesses against this background.

George Ciccariello-Maher is candid about his own position. He focuses on "revolutionary" actors in recent Venezuelan history, and he identifies with them. On his telling, *el pueblo* has for decades been engaged in a great and noble struggle to deepen justice, equality, and democracy against the nefarious machinations of elite actors who would exclude and oppress them at every turn. The book's core argument is that Hugo Chávez was but an expression of this preexisting revolutionary process, one that "created" him, and not vice versa.

It is difficult to evaluate the claim that the people created Chávez. That many struggled for radical goals before his rise is easy to demonstrate. That some of those actors played critical roles in the sequence of events that constitute the so-called "Bolivarian Revolution" is also demonstrable, and Ciccariello-Maher shows us a good deal about this. But to argue that those groups defined by the author as "the people" created Chávez seems to suggest that Chávez's part was entirely incidental. If he was simply a reflection of the people (*however* this group is defined), then the people could equally well have used a different instrument, and Chávez's charisma, his strategic acumen, and the alliances that he and his associates formed were, in essence, irrelevant. This strains credulity.

This critical reading, however, may miss the point, holding the author to a standard that is foreign to his aims. Perhaps Ciccariello-Maher's argument is not, in the end, an empirical one, and a truly explanatory account of *el proceso* not his goal. Rather, the book's main purpose seems to be the construction of a *mythos* that justifies the revolutionist project, and which aims to do so in a way that empowers Ciccariello-Maher's favored actors: guerrillas of generations past, members of urban militias and collectives of more recent memory, social movement participants, and others. This involves identifying those actors as the representatives of "the people," a name he takes to designate subaltern groups engaged in "struggle." This "people" is then thought of as a collective subject acting through the concrete individuals and groups described in the book. At various critical moments—Ciccariello-Maher singles out the *Caracazo* of 1989 and the aftermath of the brief coup d'état against the Chávez government in 2002—the people themselves directly exercise their "constitutive power." The purpose of struggle is the ongoing realization of this power. It is worth noting that Chávez

himself described both events, and his relationship with the people more generally, in similar terms.

The book is at its best when it leaves "theory" behind, and the results of Ciccariello-Maher's interviews with and research about revolutionists and activists are presented. The chapters dealing with rural and urban guerrillas, with the development of urban collectives, with participants in a variety of social movements, with formal and informal workers in the cities, and with rural laborers have much to offer. Ciccariello-Maher impressively gained access to numerous individuals and groups: the chapters in question are mostly informative, and some are fascinating. A number of passages in the book, though—including the "interludes" dealing with 1989 and 2002—lapse into ideologically driven simplifications of complex events. In such instances, many readers may wish for less mythos and more episteme.

If you want a good causal analysis of the "Bolivarian Revolution," why it emerged and has taken its form, this book will disappoint you, although there is much to learn from it that would be *relevant* to such an analysis. While it may constitute an overcorrection to Chávez-centered approaches, some such correction was needed, and this book is part of a small wave of recent scholarship that addresses this need. If you want a fair-minded account that tries to capture the complexities of a divided country, this book will again disappoint you, since it tends to caricature the opponents of the author's favored actors. If, though, you want an engaging book that, in the service of a revolutionist mythos, narrates the actions and ideas of many people often neglected by scholars, you may appreciate *We Created Chávez*.

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Matthew B. Karush. *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920–1946*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 275. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

Jessica Stites Mor. *Transition Cinema: Political Film Making and the Argentine Left since 1968*. (Illuminations: Cultural Formations of the Americas.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 264. $24.95.

Cinema can be an elusive object of study for historians. Film and cinema studies scholars have shaken off post-structuralist tendencies to a degree, opening their film readings to historization. Historians' task, however, diverges in scope and methodology, as they seek to develop strategies that fully capture the possible meanings of the past through the lens of a film—its onscreen narrative, reception, and conditions of production. American film scholars and historians Robert Sklar, Miriam Hansen, and Tom Gunning (to name a few) have seriously debated the relationship between the cinematic apparatus and historical discourse, inquiring more specifically into the multiple and often contradictory liaisons between cinema, subjectivity, identity, ideology, and the public sphere. A vibrant historiography on Latin American film has taken up that approach, emphasizing the multiple and diverse connections between cinema and the public sphere, in particular the political dimensions of such connections.

Historians Matthew B. Karush and Jessica Stites Mor have written two very different books that are united in their concern with Argentine cinema and the multivalent political sphere during the twentieth century. Karush's beautifully crafted narrative grounds film and popular music as major defining elements of a populist subjectivity in Argentina from 1920 to 1946, when Argentines debated the integration of European immigrants and the meaning of the nation. Karush is not alone in the task of closely analyzing Argentine popular culture in the pre-Peronist era. Tango, popular theater, and film have been considered by many Argentine historians and Argentinists in the United States during the last three decades. The major merit of this book, however, is how carefully it delves into the articulation of links between tango and film through the language of a local version of melodrama during the early twentieth century. Beginning in the 1920s, Argentine local elites and American companies increasingly exerted pressure on cultural producers to "modernize" mass culture. What is known as the globalization of mass culture did not lead to an automatic import of foreign genres but instead to the emergence of what Karush (along other scholars before him) calls peripheral modernity: a culture of mixture that adopted technology and culture from the United States, without obliterating local cultural production.

Nothing embodies that peripheral modernity better than Argentine melodrama. A confluence of a variety of local cultural genres, including sainete, tango, *radioteatro*, and film, it created a language able to reveal the experiences of the popular classes. Debating major works on melodrama in Latin America, Karush challenges its supposed depoliticized characteristic and its normative function of passively integrating the poor into a profoundly unequal society. His rich analysis of tango and cinema shows the tension between melodrama's inner conservatism and its subversive message regarding the moral superiority of the popular classes. In the spirit of Daniel James's seminal work on the first two Perón administrations (1946–1955)—and a more recent scholarship on the cultural history of Peronism—Karush's book delves into the cultural experiences of the popular classes during the previous decades, which later allowed them to identify with Peronist ideology. In that sense, he makes a subtle but effective connection between the sphere of mass culture and everyday politics that elucidates the connections between culture, identity, and politics.

In a different vein, and invigorated by the robust tradition of political filmmaking in Argentina and Latin America during the last five decades, Stites Mor's study analyzes films primarily within sociopolitical contexts, looking at the transnational networks of filmmakers

and their (dis)connections with the state. Starting in 1968, the book inquires into the political and militant filmmaking that began to burgeon around that time, a paradigmatic year for any historian invested in worldwide analyses of more recent history. This 1968 film radicalism in Argentina was the lasting result of more than a decade of illegitimate civilian governments and authoritarian military regimes, and the civil uprisings that constantly confronted them.

Along with a vast scholarship (mainly in Spanish) that has approached film analysis in the same fashion (Mariano Mestman, Mirta Varela, and Fernando Peña, among others), Stites Mor examines films not as territories of artistic creativity, but as works that are historically possible within a sociopolitical context and determined by the filmmakers' political choices and state policies aimed at national cinema. The major contribution of her work is her *longue durée* and transnational analysis of the trajectories of political cinema since 1968. She analyzes the 1968 generation of radical filmmakers; the following generation, which emerged right after the demise of the last military dictatorship (1976–1984); and the generation of *videastas* and filmmakers connected to political activism at the end of the millennium, particularly *cine piquetero* in its multiple variations, which had its political and creative pinnacle with the uprisings of December 2001.

Stites Mor analyzes filmmaker Raymundo Gleyzer and his connections to the New Left, the political activism around his documentaries, his disappearance and assassination by the military regime that took power in 1976, and the making of *Raymundo* (2003) by the activists and filmmakers Ernesto Ardito and Virna Molina. This historical journey allows the reader to appreciate the trajectory of Argentine political filmmaking over a period of four decades and three generations of filmmakers. Eschewing teleological approaches, Stites Mor uncovers the connections that fashioned an enduring tradition of political filmmaking in Argentina, a tradition that was not completely destroyed by the last military regime and has been nourished subsequently by new political circumstances and a historical local tendency toward collective filmmaking.

Cultural history has made a remarkable analysis of subjectivities crafted onscreen, in song lyrics, theater plays, and other cultural artifacts. Fredric Jameson's compelling "Always historicize" is a call to also analyze the manifold dimensions of such cultural artifacts as a whole, deciphering the social, gender, racial, and political relations that made any text historically possible. Karush's implicit question about popular classes' historical formation of a sensibility and ulterior identity through the consumption of melodrama in all its variations shows how culture and politics intertwine in the public sphere, while challenging the notion of an alienating mass culture. Stites Mor's work, on a different note, casts aside textual analysis suggesting that cultural and film studies analysis is resistant to the political dimensions present in any cultural artifact. Her filmmakers, from Fernando Solanas to Cine Insurgente, are political for a myriad of reasons, among them the narratives and the aesthetics of their films. Debate about aesthetics and film language was a central part of the multiple encounters that Latin American and Third World filmmakers organized during the 1960s and early 1970s. The subsequent generations have also debated aesthetics profusely, with the 1968 filmmakers as an inescapable reference. In that vein, a textual analysis of these films would be beneficial to an already stimulating work that emphasizes the transnational element as central in the making of Argentine political cinema.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

Steven A. Epstein. *The Medieval Discovery of Nature*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 208. $95.00.

The title of Steven A. Epstein's book gives the initial impression that it might be a general tome on the history of nature, perhaps inspired by Clarence J. Glacken's magisterial *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (1967). Instead, Epstein has written a concise monograph focusing on five case studies that aim to understand what some medieval writers "found" in nature. Inheritability is the dominant theme of the book, and four chapters scrutinize grafting, mules, "like produces like," and the transmission of property. Epstein begins by stating his intent to cut "a path through this immensity" of nature by examining inheritability, or "how living beings in Nature make copies of themselves" (p. xi). The book's fifth and final chapter is slightly distant from the other four, being an examination of the understanding of natural disasters. Topics covered in Epstein's previous publications, such as Genoa and slavery, make an appearance in the text, and some of the Italian sources, such as entries in the Genoese annals or the journal of the Florentine Giovanni di Paolo Morelli, are interesting additions to the multitude of scholastic sources (authors including Robert Grosseteste, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Thomas of Cantimpré, and Vincent of Beauvais) that are the core of most of the chapters. The majority of the sources focus on theology, natural philosophy, lexicography, law, and literature, with few references outside of the scholastic context and late medieval Italy.

After an introduction defining "nature" and what will and will not be covered in the text, the chapter "The Discovery of Nature" discusses texts on the ancient horticultural technique of grafting and how humans could create something new but still "natural." This segues into the next chapter on medieval scholarship regarding mules, whose sterility was a result of their hybridity due to unnatural mixing of the "hot" mare with the "cold" donkey stallion (unlike the progeny of a wolf and a dog, which would be fertile because both animals were of a "cold" complexion). Both of these bring into discussion

the human manipulation and improvement of nature itself. A revealing part of the first chapter remarks on traces of knowledge on nature (and its manipulation) by the *rustici* (non-literate populace) in scholarly works, where such knowledge was generally treated with disdain by authors who received most of their knowledge of nature from antique and late antique sources (Pliny the Elder, Aristotle, Basil of Caesarea, Marcus Terentius Varro, and St. Augustine, among others). Albertus Magnus receives substantial attention in the first half of the book as the author develops some ideas on inheritability rather than rehashing old tropes. The only source that seems out of place in both time and context is Gaspare Tagliacozzi's 1597 treatise *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem* (*Concerning Surgery on the Maimed by Grafting*), as it seems tacked onto the end of a subchapter on Piero de Crescenzi's *Ruralia commoda*. Slightly redundant as well is the list of Francis of Assisi's encounters with animals, as it does not contribute to the chapter's focus on inheritability, and apart from being the source of St. Francis meeting a mule, could have been removed without affecting any of the arguments.

The third chapter is on the axiom of "like producing like," in which Epstein presents discussions on the inheritability of original sin, the guilt of Jews, and how this axiom did not mean the reproduction of exact copies, as children could look like their grandparents rather than parents. Regarding inheritability, the biblical story of Jacob and the multi-colored flocks receives point of pride, although Epstein concedes that most medieval scholars discussed the story in terms of Jacob's falseness rather than his manipulation of breeding stock. After this chapter on how living beings inherited characteristics, the following chapter details how property, a part of nature, could be inherited, and the problematic status of money, usury (money producing money), and slavery. The final chapter is less connected to the previous ones, as it deals with how natural disasters such as plague were perceived as manifestations of nature's agency (acting out God's wrath). A result of recognizing this action of nature was the development of insurance against the risks of acts of nature. This final chapter does not seem to mesh well with the other four, where inheritability is a major focus, and the argument could have benefited from a more detailed examination. All in all, *The Medieval Discovery of Nature* is a concise and thoughtful study on medieval scholars' understanding of some aspects of nature, with a wide variety of sources expertly presented, and it is a welcome contribution to the scholarship of medieval thought on nature.

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Anne A. Latowsky. *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 290. $49.95.

In 2001, Matthias M. Tischler published his monumental 1,800-page study of the textual transmission and reception of Einhard's *vita* of Charlemagne, *Einharts "Vita Karoli": Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption*. Tischler's work focused chiefly on the many manuscript copies (134 extant with a complete text) of the diminutive courtier's great Suetonian-inflected biography, on its various codicological contexts and textual recensions, and only then on what this widespread diffusion across space and time implies about the text's myriad readers and copyists. In her superb new book *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229*, Anne A. Latowsky takes as a point of departure her astute and important observation that, as popular as Einhard's work was in the medieval West, it was in fact a single episode within the biography that especially captured the attention of numerous authors between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. What Einhard had recalled briefly as telling examples of how Charlemagne "increased the glory of his kingdom . . . by winning over kings and peoples through friendly means" (p. 19), later authors isolated, amplified, and meaningfully altered in a great variety of genres, using the account of the emperor's warm diplomatic relations as a vehicle to comment on current concerns about "universal" sovereignty and the source of its legitimacy. Expertly tracking the "creative appropriation" (p. 10) of this Einhardian anecdote along the highways and byways of the investiture controversy and beyond, Latowsky charts how its ideologically charged representations participated in the struggle for political primacy through their articulation of a vision of imperial universal sovereignty, one that conspicuously had little need for any papal mediation or cooperation. Thus, her book serves as a perfect complement to Tischler's study of the *Vita Karoli*: by providing an expansive narratological survey and discursive history of a special part of Einhard's text, Latowsky's work implicitly parallels and problematizes many of Tischler's intricate philological and codicological findings about its whole. (Cf. Janet L. Nelson, "Tracking Einhard's 'Life of Charlemagne,'" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57, no. 2 [2006]: 301–307.)

Of course, *Emperor of the World* does much more than just shine an oblique light on the manuscripts studied by Tischler, helping to distinguish the flock from the sheep. For Latowsky contributes to a broader literature that has recently begun to reexamine and rethink the remembrance of Charlemagne and the Carolingians in the West. Or as Latowsky puts it, with others she seeks to gain "an improved understanding of the rhetorical function of fabricated memories in the various contexts in which they appear" (p. 12). Such fabrications and their functions constituted their own sort of political act, and thus have their own history. Beginning with Einhard and Notker of Saint Gall, Latowsky demonstrates the complex use of the ancient "foreign embassy topos" (p. 23) (inherited from Suetonius, Eusebius, and Orosius, among others)—of foreign nations subjecting themselves without violence to the dominion of a mon-

arch, thereby signaling his universal authority. Here was a ready means, she argues, for medieval authors to think about and articulate with discretion the nature of Charlemagne's reconstituted "imperial" sovereignty and its limits. It was in the tenth century, however, that a crucial element was woven into this categorical remembrance of the imperial Charlemagne: not only was the emperor himself now made to travel to and from the East, triumphantly returning with and liberally distributing precious relics of the Passion, but in so doing he was also understood to evoke the fabled "Last Emperor," prophesied by the ancient sibylline tradition to reunite East and West and herald the end of time itself. Over the course of her study, Latowsky deftly reveals the ways that this apocalyptic discourse was merged with the foreign embassy motif, and how this striking hybrid enabled the expression, ranging from praise to polemic, of ideas about rulership and the nature of the political.

As always, the devil is in the details, but Latowsky exorcizes them with confidence and care. Proceeding chronologically, she explicates the various modulations and transformations of the foreign embassy/Last Emperor hybrid (and its absence), how they reflect their authors' particular, frequently anti-papal concerns, and how they fit within the hybrid's longer pattern of intertextuality and recursivity. In addition to Einhard and Notker, authors and texts that come under her keen scrutiny include the *Translatio Sanguinis Domini* and Benedict of Mount Soracte's *Chronicon* in the tenth century; the *Descriptio* of Charlemagne's Eastern travels, the anonymous poem *Exhortatio ad proceres regni*, and Benzo of Alba's *Libri ad Heinricum IV imperatorem* in the eleventh century; and a host of sources in the twelfth, including the anonymous *Vita Heinrici Quarti*, Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris* and its continuation by Rahewin, the *Ludus de Antichristo*, the forged Hillin of Trier letters and the Letter of Prester John, and Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*.

Near the end of the book, Latowsky tidily sums up the common labor that all these narratives took part in: "the story of Charlemagne's encounters in the East continued to work against the rival claims of the Holy See to transcendent political power by offering a vision of Christendom under the aegis of temporal leadership in the West" (p. 247). That this same passage is also the only place in the book where she cites Ernst Kantorowicz's great work *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (1957) is both fitting and unfortunate: fitting, for *Emperor of the World* does indeed bring into clearer focus, and itself has much to contribute to, what Kantorowicz called "constitutional semantics" and their function in the medieval "political theology" notoriously alluded to in his book's subtitle; unfortunate, since by citing it so late, Latowsky forgoes the opportunity to engage explicitly with that long controversial topic of political theology (a debate involving the likes of Carl Schmitt, Erik Peterson, Jacob Taubes, and recently Giorgio Agamben), leaving it to the reader to tease out her book's implications regarding the longer historical development of sovereignty and its shifting legitimation from the transcendent to the immanent domain. As she does with Tischler's study, Latowsky obliquely builds on and brightens the corners of Kantorowicz's dense work. While this is fine company to keep, I only wish one could hear more of their conversation.

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Janina M. Safran. *Defining Boundaries in Al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 247. $65.00.

The use of juridical literature to analyze society is a fast-growing field in Islamic studies, and Janina M. Safran's volume is an important and engaging new contribution. Through a careful reading of juridical opinions and discussions (*fatāwā*, *masāʾil*) from al-Andalus in combination with historical chronicles and secondary studies, Safran presents numerous insights into how Muslim jurists defined the legal relationship between Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Although her focus is on the Umayyad era, through Ibn Rushd al-Jadd's eleventh-century juridical works, she also shows how attitudes evolved over time, from an early transitional phase during which legal boundaries were still being determined using the medium of differing opinions, to a more fixed set of Mālikī "rules."

As Safran points out, it was not a simple matter to define legal boundaries between the dominant Muslim community and the protected Christian and Jewish minorities, the *ahl al-dhimma*, given that no community was hermetically sealed from another. Communities lived in proximity and, most importantly, conversion meant that people of different faiths shared family members, generating conflicting religious and familial obligations that jurists had to address in cases of dispute. Although many situations upon which jurists commented may have been casuistic, Safran argues that they reveal the range of issues jurists felt impelled to consider. Moreover, the existence of divergent opinions and exceptions gave judges considerable flexibility to accommodate social, as opposed to abstract religious, connections.

The introduction includes an explanation of why juridical texts form such an important body of material for the study of intercommunal relations in Islamic Iberia. It also points to the problems inherent in them, particularly their abstract quality and lack of concrete information about individuals. However, Safran's use of a wide range of other sources to provide social and historical context enables her to present a convincing, albeit sometimes speculative, interpretation of the ways in which the legal system coped with a complex multifaith society.

Chapter one builds on Safran's earlier work on the legitimating strategies of the Umayyads of Cordoba by giving an overview of the "structuring of Umayyad rule," with particular attention to the relationship be-

tween the Umayyad rulers and the emerging cohort of scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*), jurists (*fuqahāʾ*), and judges (*quḍāt*) in al-Andalus. It looks at the rulers' involvement in defining religious boundaries through appointing a juridical council (*shūrā*) and taking advice from it. It also considers the Umayyad state's religious self-image, particularly in relation to heresy and rebellions such as the Hafsunid uprising, which generated legal questions about the religious categorization of heretics and rebels.

Chapter two focuses on the issues that arose in the ninth to tenth centuries, a period Safran characterizes as one of "transition" as (urban) populations became Arabized and acculturated to the Arab-Islamic environment and conversion to Islam picked up. This created mixed-faith families, prejudices among "Arab" Muslims toward Iberian converts, anxieties among the Christian community, and explosions of tension, most notably in the form of the Cordoban Martyrs' Movement and the Hafsunid rebellion. To cope with the issues that arose, Mālikī jurists referred to key Mālikī authorities in Qayrawan and Egypt and gradually created a corpus of Mālikī opinions of the legal boundaries between communities.

Chapter three explores social interactions between Muslims, Christians, and Jews from the perspectives of family relations and commercial intercourse. It covers the problems generated by conversion and "apostasy" within families, cases in which people might not realize the religion of a partner, and how to strike a balance between possible "defilement" by contact with *dhimmis* and the need to maintain cordial relations within families and communities. Relationships between faith communities and individuals were particularly complicated in the marches (*thughūr*) between Islamic and Christian territory. Not only did individuals of all faiths reside in the marches, but many also crossed between the two zones as traders, ambassadors, migrants, or even spies, sometimes converting along the way. Warfare, raiding, and the capture of enemies were also common occurrences.

The porosity of the Muslim-Christian border in Iberia is the focus of chapter four, which returns to the Umayyads' attempts to assert their authority (but not always power) over the borderlands by means of military campaigns presented as *jihād*. It then moves on to the Almoravid period. Although the overview of border relations is comprehensive, it is a little confusing and certainly would have benefited from a map to enable readers to locate the numerous places mentioned in the narrative. The inclusion of the Almoravid era also gives it a slightly "bitty" feel, but the information and analysis is nonetheless as fascinating as in other chapters.

In conclusion, this book is an exploration of liminality and the Mālikī response to it in different social contexts and eras. Key to Safran's argument is the fact that there was rarely a definitive legal answer to questions relating to religious boundaries; rather, a variety of opinions were developed or discarded as circumstances changed. In *Defining Boundaries*, Safran gives us a richly textured analysis of the development of the Mālikī *madhhab* and its adaptability, firstly in the context of extensive conversion from Christianity to Islam, and secondly in the rapidly fluctuating conditions on the marches between Christian and Islamic territory. By combining juridical materials with other sources, such as martyrologies and historical chronicles, she also gives us a feel for the lived experience of individuals who could not help crossing abstract legal boundaries through conversion, marriage, capture, enslavement, or migration. Her work is insightful and readable, and it makes a significant contribution to the field of Andalusi and interfaith studies.

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Steven Vanderputten. *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 247. $55.00.

For a very long time, and with only a few exceptions (Ernst Werner and Neithard Bulst, for example), scholars took the apologetic of monastic reform at face value, resulting in a narrative of repeated cycles of reform and decline. Acceptance of the apologetic also led scholars to present reform as the work of a handful of great monastic leaders, until biographies of the reformers became nearly as hagiographic as the sources on which the biographies were based. John Nightingale and Isabelle Rosé have done much to correct these misapprehensions for the abbeys of Gorze and Cluny. In *Monastic Reform as Process*, Steven Vanderputten does something similar for the history of monastic reform in Flanders. In characterizing reform as a "process," Vanderputten emphasizes that it was not a constantly recurring cycle of decay and rebirth but an ongoing work in which later reformers built on the efforts of earlier ones and consciously respected the traditions that earlier reformers had established in individual houses. Above all, he demonstrates that the lasting success of reform in Flanders owed less to charismatic leaders like Richard of Saint-Vanne than to the largely unheralded disciples who followed him.

In chapter one, Vanderputten analyzes Simon of Ghent's early-twelfth-century history of the monastery of Saint-Bertin before the reform of Abbot Lambert. Lambert had wanted to integrate the monastery into Cluny's network, but his plan met widespread resistance. He therefore compromised by adapting Cluniac customs to Saint-Bertin while leaving the monastery independent. Simon's history reflects the community's proud sense of its identity by presenting a past in which a successful reform had been established in 1021 under Abbot Roderic and continued under Roderic's successors, leaving the monastery in no need of reform, but fully capable of regulating its spirituality internally. Chapter two discusses the mid-tenth-century monastic reforms associated with Gerard of Brogne and Count Arnulf I of Flanders. Vanderputten argues that Arnulf was the driving force behind the reforms, whose pur-

pose was really to allow the count to take over monastic domains. Arnulf remained the effective master of the monasteries that Gerard "reformed," Gerard's role being limited to the oversight of internal discipline necessary for the monks' effective performance of their prayer duties (which included commemoration of the count and his ancestors). Chapter three turns to the later tenth century, usually thought to be a period of marked decline in monastic rigor that required the reforms of Richard of Saint-Vanne to correct. Vanderputten demonstrates, convincingly, that during this period uncelebrated abbots worked hard to organize estates, establish useful ties with regional aristocrats, and maintain the prestige and independence of their houses. In chapters four and five, Vanderputten argues, again convincingly, that Richard was less important in instituting reform in the Flemish monasteries he oversaw than were his successors. Richard and his associate Poppo of Stavelot were charismatic leaders whose high birth and close connections with emperors, dukes, counts, and imperial bishops accorded with reforms initiated by these latter leaders to suit their own political agendas. As in the later tenth century, the real work of reform was done by Richard's less famous successors, such as Leduin at Saint-Vaast, Roderic at Saint-Bertin, and Malbod at Saint-Amand. These abbots were men of the middling local aristocracy, sometimes converts to monasticism after a period of life in the world, and they had been appointed by Richard to serve as administrative priors under him. Their local connections and administrative experience equipped them for the nitty-gritty tasks of monastic government, not least managing estates and negotiating pacts with local advocates. In chapter six, Vanderputten identifies what "reform" really entailed for Richard and his circle: good internal discipline, remembrance of the dead, strong community identity focused especially on the cult of patron saints, and in-house production of the kinds of books (hagiographies, necrologies) that furthered these ends. Finally, chapter seven uncovers something of a crisis in many of these old Flemish monasteries, the result of declining donations and reduced comital engagement. Yet Vanderputten concludes that the monasteries weathered the crisis and were certainly far from corrupt or poorly governed. Toward the end of the century, there was also renewed comital interest in the old monasteries, spearheaded by Count Robert II's wife Clementia, which, together with the influence of the Gregorian Reform, led to the introduction of Cluniac affiliations.

Readers may find that in dealing with crucial events, Vanderputten occasionally elides details. Too often he introduces key statements with qualifications ("perhaps," "possibly") that call attention to the lack of proof for the assertions. Most of all, he is not as critical of the discourses of politics as he is of those of monastic reform, making for overly simple accounts of the political interests at stake in Gerard's and Richard's reforms. Nevertheless, his broader arguments are almost surely correct and might be considered hypothetical templates for reexamining other charismatic reformers, such as Odilo of Cluny and William of Dijon.

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John Eldevik. *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950–1150.* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 315. $99.00.

In this impressive study of tithes in the dioceses of Lucca, Salzburg, and Mainz, John Eldevik explores the nature of changes in episcopal lordship and power between 950 and 1150. He argues that by the middle of the eleventh century, episcopal governance in all three dioceses had dramatically changed, shifting from a regime that relied on an exchange of tithes, churches, and other assets to form horizontal ties of friendship and political association, to another that embraced the value of property and territorial control. This transformation or "re-ordering" (p. 144) helped shape the ways that eleventh-century church reformers perceived the previous two centuries. Instead of understanding past governance practices on their own terms as ways to assert influence through social connections and political ties, reformers in the eleventh century "re-remembered" (p. 143) the past. They condemned as corrupt the practices that earlier generations of prelates had embraced as effective strategies to extend episcopal power. The book therefore not only explores the social significance of tithes in three bishoprics over two centuries, but it also tackles topics that should interest a wide audience of medievalists. These include the ecclesiastical reform movement, the so-called "feudal revolution," and the role of memory in eleventh- and twelfth-century texts.

Framed by an introduction and conclusion, the book consists of six chapters. This is a bottom-up, comparative, and synchronic history of three dioceses within the German Empire. Chapter one covers the earliest history of the tithe, emphasizing its social and political significance to early medieval bishops and kings. Chapter two focuses on Frankish Europe and links the emergence of the compulsory tithe in 779 to the interests of political leaders in making ecclesiastical institutions and bishoprics "self-sustaining" (p. 64). In chapter three, the author carefully surveys the early development of the three dioceses and situates the role of tithes in their respective histories. Lucca is the subject of a strong chapter four, and the author develops in later chapters many of the themes first presented here. Its central character is Bishop Teudgrim (983–987) of Lucca, who in a single year granted forty-eight *livelli* or leases that included *pievi*, churches, and tithes. For this bishop, as for those in the other two dioceses, grants like these constituted "a tool for forging alliances and networks of fidelity" (p. 145) with local elites. Influenced by sociologist Arjun Appadurai, Eldevik argues that grants of tithes and churches before the eleventh

century were essentially social and political in value, and they established personal associations of lasting importance. By the middle of the eleventh century, however, the bishops at Lucca, Mainz, and Salzburg were embracing a whole new strategy of local governance, one now rooted in the formation of territorial lordships based on the control of land, churches, castles, tithes, and other types of property. In this they were following the lead of secular lords. This transformation constituted a significant development in episcopal governance, and it occurred just as the ecclesiastical reform movement was getting under way. The practices that had once established horizontal ties of friendship and political association in places like Lucca before approximately 1050 now constituted evidence of corruption and abuse of church property, according to contemporary reformers. In Eldevik's estimation, the reformers therefore "invented the past to which they claimed to respond" (p. 258). The concluding two chapters on Salzburg (chap. five) and Mainz (chap. six) trace the trajectory of episcopal lordship in the eleventh century as bishops clashed with monasteries and individuals to reclaim tithes. At Salzburg, for example, to endow the monastery of Admont and manage his diocese, Archbishop Gebhard I attempted in the 1060s to recover the tithes that predecessors had intentionally and previously given to their closest vassals. At Mainz, Archbishop Siegfried I (1060–1084) tried less successfully to expand his authority by laying claim to tithes in Thuringia held for generations by the monasteries of Fulda and Hersfeld.

There is much to learn from this well-documented but densely written study. The argument presented here is convincing. However, the author is less persuasive when he downplays if not eliminates the economic significance of tithes for bishops before the eleventh century. It is also not clear to this reader that bishops were always following and mimicking their lay counterparts when it came to the development of territorial lordships. Was it possible that the bishops were actually leading the way in some instances? Finally, Eldevik insists that reformers were inventing or re-remembering the past to pursue their own agendas, which suggests that they were probably creating an account that they knew to be untrue. Perhaps they were not inventing or re-remembering but actually simply offering an interpretation of the past as they saw it, even if, as the author demonstrates very well, it did not reflect what tenth-century bishops were actually doing.

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Eljas Oksanen. *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066–1216.* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought; Fourth Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xiii, 305. $99.00.

In *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066–1216*, Eljas Oksanen adopts a transnational approach, paying particular attention to cultural and military practices, economic interactions, the movement of peoples, and diplomatic interactions. He argues that Flanders was a linchpin between France, Germany, and the Anglo-Norman regnum. The book is organized topically in seven chapters: "Power and Politics in Flanders and the Anglo-Norman Regnum," "Military Treaties and Diplomatic Culture," "Anglo-Flemish Diplomacy," "Tournaments in Anglo-Flemish Society," "The Politics of Cross-Channel Commerce," "Flemish Immigration to England," and "Social Identity and the Image of Flemings in England." The first chapter is an excellent summary of English-Flemish-French politics from the ninth through the early thirteenth century. Oksanen demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the secondary literature and provides a nice overview of the political history. This chapter sets the stage for the heart of this book, chapters two through four.

Oksanen argues that the Anglo-Norman-Flemish treaties were primarily military agreements that provided the Anglo-Norman kings stipendiaries (paid military men rather than vassals) who were drawn primarily from Artois and southern Flanders. The annual money fief paid by the Anglo-Norman king was the equivalent of the daily wage for the stipulated number of stipendiaries the Flemish count promised to provide. Three themes—fidelity, friendship alliance, and an inequality of power—dominate these military-diplomatic agreements of the twelfth century, which started out as pragmatic and flexible and became more symbolic over time. The treaties themselves were the formal outcomes of extended discussions conducted by trusted envoys who carried gifts and messages between the two rulers. These envoys were noble men and women who had land and family ties in each region. An important argument in this chapter is that the money fiefs provided the recurring gain that sustained political friendship and were "the principal diplomatic mechanism by which the kings of England attempted to consolidate their influence in the southern Low Countries, among the comital rulers and baronial aristocracy alike" (p. 92).

Tournaments (first held in Flanders) provide a broader context for the social and political exchanges among the Flemish and Anglo-Norman military classes. Oksanen focuses on how tournaments served as platforms for leadership, venues for networking and military recruitment, and opportunities to forge bonds with the lesser nobility of a region. In this chapter he neatly utilizes the secondary scholarship to demonstrate his thesis that northern French tournaments, sponsored by local lords, enabled Flemish and Picard soldiers to seek opportunities in Anglo-Norman and Angevin service. Through socializing, politicking, mock warfare, and alliance-building, tournaments nurtured a military ethos and identity and created a foundation of power.

The key to the Anglo-Norman and Angevin kings' ability to use money fiefs and tournaments to win the alliance of the Flemish count and the region's nobility was cash. Oksanen demonstrates that Flanders was the

trade network through which continental silver flowed into England, and that the two regions' economic growth and development were intimately linked. The Channel was a connector, not a divider, and it provided a permeable "barrier" for trade goods as well as troops. Given the proximity of Flemish ports to England, defense as well as economic ties stimulated the cultivation of the Flemish alliance. Military service, trade, and kinship were the primary reasons for Flemish migration into England. Oksanen argues that after 1070, high-ranking Flemings who had served in William the Conqueror's army offered kin, allies, neighbors, and vassals land in order to buttress their own authority in England. Non-elite immigration stemmed from demographic pressures combined with slow land reclamation, partible inheritance, and the relatively greater freedom of movement of Flemish peasants. Prior to the 1140s, Flemishness was part of the émigrés' personal and family identity, but it attracted no hostility from English or Anglo-Norman commentators. Negative stereotypes of Flemings as weaver-bandits and rapacious mercenaries stemmed from the pervasive use of Flemish stipendiaries by anti–Henry II forces in the mid and late twelfth century.

Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World is eminently readable, and Oksanen does an admirable job of summarizing key developments in the regions' politics, economic development, and social-cultural ties. The overarching thesis and conceptual framework, however, needed to be more prominently used to connect the chapters. In addition, the lack of a historiographical discussion in the introduction leaves the reader to wonder how Oksanen's work challenges or complements established interpretations of these regions (although it is clear from his bibliography and footnotes that he knows the historiography well). His analysis of the Anglo-Flemish treaties, diplomatic contexts and processes and the role that tournaments played in diplomacy and politics is fascinating. Oksanen's work further elucidates the political and social mechanisms of the networks of Flanders, the Anglo-Norman and Angevin realm, and France. He shares the emphasis of contemporary scholars of medieval Western Europe on examining the spaces between polities and the networks that spanned them as key to our understanding of the period.

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Mark C. Bartusis. *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xliv, 697. $170.00.

Mark C. Bartusis has provided the first comprehensive study of the *pronoia* in more than half a century. The *pronoia* was an institution of fundamental importance in the history of the later Byzantine Empire. The practice of allocating fiscal revenues and peasants to soldiers developed from the twelfth century C.E. and became an increasingly important source of soldiers for the army during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The origins of the institution are obscure, but it developed out of Byzantine fiscal privileges.

Many of the difficulties in understanding this process are due to the imprecision of the word *pronoia*, which has a wide range of meanings in translation—care, solicitude, provision, and administration. It can be found in a range of sources: chronicles and histories, ecclesiastical texts, and documents issued by emperors and state officials. Often the word is used in a non-technical sense, meaning "care." Bartusis has examined a multitude of ways the word was used in the sources, and with good judgment has separated the technical from the non-technical applications of the term. To add to the complexity of the problem, some sources that refer to fiscal grants to soldiers do not call them *pronoia*, but instead use phrases such as "grants of peasants."

The most valuable sources for this study are the official documents that detail the transfer of land, peasants, and fiscal exemptions to landowners. The great majority come from the archives of the monasteries of Mount Athos, and due to the recent publication of a series of scholarly editions, a significantly greater number of documents relating to the *pronoia* are now available to historians. Bartusis's book is based on a thorough analysis of these texts, and one of the strengths of his work is that he has a very good grasp of the complexities of technical terminology and makes clear distinctions between the different types of fiscal grants and exemptions that were conceded to landowners by the state. The administrative and fiscal background to the evolution of the *pronoia* is clearly established. It is traced from the exemptions and grants of fiscal revenues given to monasteries in the tenth century and a more varied range granted to monasteries and some lay landowners in the eleventh century. It is of course possible that this pattern is distorted by the preponderance of documentation relating to monasteries in the surviving source material. The next phase, in the late eleventh century, was the concession by Alexios I Komnenos of property and fiscal revenues to relatives and important supporters. Then in the twelfth century, *pronoia* grants to soldiers are mentioned in the sources. These were conditional, linked to service and limited to one life, and marked an extension of fiscal concessions beyond a small elite group to soldiers of lower social status. These grants subsequently became hereditary and were also granted to individuals of higher social status, but they remained conditional upon the performance of military duties.

All the important grants of *pronoia* are discussed in detail. There is also some assessment of the reasons for the evolution of the institution, but this can be further developed. For the fourteenth century, when the state had become considerably weaker than in previous centuries and was struggling to retain control over the empire's resources, it can be argued that the *pronoia* was a practical response to a difficult financial position. In contrast, the increase in *pronoia* grants during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos in the twelfth century, when the state had much greater resources at its disposal, is more

difficult to explain. Bartusis's work will be the starting point for future investigations of the institution of *pronoia*, and he has produced an indispensable work of reference for historians of the later Byzantine Empire.

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Nicholas L. Paul. *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 350. $55.00.

It is sometimes argued, perhaps with good reason, that historians of crusading can be unduly tentative when it comes to integrating their field of inquiry within wider scholarly understandings of medieval Europe's cultural norms, social structures, and political trajectories. This disjuncture is ably addressed, nonetheless, in Nicholas L. Paul's intelligent and measured discussion of the play of ancestral memory within the crusade traditions of noble families between the First Crusade and the early thirteenth century. The long twelfth century was the heyday of the aristocratic genealogical narrative, and these rich and deceptively complex texts duly constitute Paul's core primary resource.

By means of perceptive and thoughtful close readings of this dynastic corpus and other material, in conjunction with sustained and careful attention to the shifting subtleties of context so as to avoid easy generalization, Paul builds up a persuasive picture of the importance of crusading within the self-fashioning and commemorative strategies of many high-status families in Western Europe, and of the means by which memories of the past were worked upon so as to become scripts for future action. One recurrent motif that powerfully emerges is the great value attached to *probitas*, a term that simultaneously captured the exemplary worthiness of one's forebears and established a responsibility on the part of the current generation to vindicate its inherited prestige and status by replicating, and ideally surpassing, the achievements of its ancestors. Equally noteworthy is the role of metaphor within aristocratic mnemonic discourses, especially the notion of following in the footsteps of one's predecessor. This particular metaphor was all the more resonant, of course, in that the distance between its tenor and its vehicle was collapsed in its evocation of physically traveling on pilgrimage or crusade. Paul, additionally, devotes an intriguing chapter to an exploration of the importance of objects, such as textiles, rings, relics, and weapons, as foci of families' crusade memories. The material dimensions of aristocratic culture in this period have not always been given their due by historians, in part because so little of that past's tangible experience is directly recoverable, so Paul's discussion here is an extremely important intervention in what deserves to become a growing area of scholarly interest.

The book's central methodological project is to establish ways of assessing the impact of family memories and traditions upon twelfth-century nobles in the near-total absence of the sort of expressive ego-documents upon which historians of later periods can profitably draw. There are a few important if partial exceptions, such as Fulk IV of Anjou's chronicle—about which Paul makes some perceptive and judicious remarks—but by and large the impact of a family tradition upon any given individual's decisions, actions, and public persona can only be a matter of informed surmise. That said, Paul makes a very good case for supposing that having one or more ancestors associated with crusading was a powerful, if not always decisive, influence. In two nicely balanced and carefully constructed case studies concerning Henry II of England and Alfonso II of Aragon, Paul deftly shows how these kings literally and figuratively traversed dense landscapes of crusade memory, as variously actualized in historiographical texts written for or about them, ancestral mausolea, the commemorative rituals of favored religious communities, the rhetoric of papal appeals to take the cross, and the mordant criticism of troubadours and other observers. As Paul observes, Henry and Alfonso both had to reconcile multiple claims made upon their senses of attachment to the past; in the event, neither went on crusade, but the cultural ambience that might have disposed them to do so was pervasive and potent.

Ideally, and if only to open up his work more fully to scholars working on similar questions in other periods and places, Paul's argument might have been extended by means of a more developed and theoretically informed exploration of the key elements of his target language, namely memory and tradition, though what he says on both counts is considered and germane. That said, this is without question an important, subtle, and substantial study. It is also extremely thought-provoking, suggesting further lines of inquiry that could build on Paul's insights. One such would be further close study of the poetics of the dynastic narratives, texts that, as Paul demonstrates, are far more layered than is usually supposed. Another would be a gender reading of this same material, for one is struck by its insistent construction of ideals of elite masculinity, shot through with complex interlacings of similarity and difference as aristocrats both followed in their ancestors' footsteps and attempted to move beyond them. That further possibilities such as these are opened up by Paul's book is evidence of its great value as a groundbreaking study.

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Catherine Rider. *Magic and Religion in Medieval England*. London: Reaktion Books, distributed by University of Chicago Press. 2012. Pp. 219. $45.00.

Magic and religion often overlapped in medieval culture, creating persistent problems for the Christian clergy in teaching laypeople why they should spurn all magical practices. Almost no one was immune to magic's lure; in the quest for love, health, success, riches, and protection from enemies, people from all parts of medieval society turned to questionable practices.

Their magical activities included reciting incantations, using charms, wearing amulets, casting lots, seeking to know the future through divination, and even summoning demons. In *Magic and Religion in Medieval England*, Catherine Rider surveys the medieval clergy's views of these practices, focusing on their attempts to teach parish priests and laypeople about magic's perils. Investigating clerical ideas primarily through the numerous pastoral manuals produced from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, Rider shows their surprising inconsistency and probable ineffectiveness, as diverse magical practices continued to inflect medieval people's relationship with the supernatural.

Pastoral manuals, such as compendia of theology and canon law for parish priests, guides to confession, and sermon collections, aimed to improve the education of priests and their care of the laity. Although these works typically drew on older texts and authorities, Rider asserts that they also responded to changing conditions in the later Middle Ages. The influence of Arabic science, for example, apparently made some clergy uncertain how to separate science, or natural forces, from magic, which they believed relied on demons. So while in the fifth century St. Augustine condemned amulets as magic, late medieval clerical writers could defend the wearing of herbs and stones to cure illness because their power was "part of the natural world, put here by God himself" (p. 39).

The line between magic and religion was also blurred with practices like miraculous healing, prophecy, drawing lots, and dream divination. Biblical stories seemed to authorize many such practices, for example, but clerical authors warned of their dangers. Even though Joseph interpreted the Pharaoh's dreams in Genesis, medieval pastoral writers cautioned that the devil could also send dreams and thus lead people astray. Similarly, although the Apostles cast lots to replace Judas Iscariot (Acts 1:23–26), these authors condemned lot-casting as an effort to force God to provide answers to everyday problems. One of the knottiest problems involved incantations or charms to heal sick people who wore pieces of parchment inscribed with words from the Gospels—was this acceptable? To judge such cases, clerical writers used numerous screens to sift religion from magic, the licit from the illicit, but their fundamental ambivalence left enough leeway that royal and monastic libraries could hold books teaching dream divination, and many prayer books recorded healing charms.

Even more definitive teachings might fail to convince the laity. The fissure between pastoral teaching and popular belief opened wide, for instance, in regard to beliefs about the universe of "mysterious beings" (p. 70) such as elves, fairies, and flying women. Clerical writers cast these otherworldly creatures as demons or possibly purgatorial ghosts, but literary sources and court records indicate that laypeople clearly had other views. English church courts, for instance, documented women who testified that fairies helped them to heal people, and references to sometimes dangerous, but not demonic, elves punctuate a variety of medieval texts as well.

Learned ritual magic, taught in Latin texts accessible only to the well-educated, highlights further divergences. Collections of *exempla*, popular moral tales used to enliven sermons, contain stories of scholars from Paris or Oxford who traveled to distant places where they learned how to summon demons with circles and incantations. In contrast, English treatises on confession and preaching argued against belief in such rituals, asserting that these magicians simply relied on illusion and lacked the power to make demons work for them. Rider's argument that these *exempla* reflected "common views of ritual magic" (p. 125) deserves more investigation. Yet the absence of anxiety about ritual magic in general seemed to mirror the contemporary social and legal world, where few people were ever accused of owning these dangerous texts or performing their magical rituals.

Rider's thorough investigation of pastoral works supports the conclusions of medieval historians who have rarely found evidence of the intense fears of magic that emerged in later centuries. Medieval writers exhibited almost no concern that magic could be used to harm people, but instead focused on mapping the shadowy territories where magic, religion, and natural forces intersected so that they could detach lawful religious practice from its magical encrustations. Their task was beset with ambiguity, and their ideas encountered opposition. Because the condemnation of magic was always just one small part of the clergy's effort to educate laypeople to be better Christians, their teaching about it remained "sporadic," and in the end met with limited success (p. 146).

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Rémy Ambühl. *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 301. $99.00.

Noblemen in the Hundred Years War preferred being ransomed to dying in battle. Rémy Ambühl's important book is the first comprehensive examination of the whole ransom system. He documents its operation over a full century in every aspect, from surrender on the field of battle to the minutiae of money-lending and the conversion of coins into foreign currency. He brings together chronicles and state-centered and private records—at times the wealth of data astounds—but nevertheless laments deficiencies in his sources. Some private archives, French and English, remain untrawled.

The international law of arms supposedly applied everywhere, but reality was more complex. In practice the law was modified by different rules, customs, and values, and by the influence of captors and captives, and was extended case by case and through royal ordinances. There was no French counterpart to the Eng-

lish indenture system that terminated compensation for lost horses (which ceased ca. 1370) and cut the royal half-share of all winnings of war to a mere third. *Les marz* was the convention that limited expenses to a fifth of the ransom, although it was systematically flouted by Henry V, a most callous rather than chivalric king, who indefinitely imprisoned the prisoners of Agincourt and confined others who had fulfilled their engagements for a further eight years. Pleas for mercy, humanity, and moderation in demands went hand in hand with dreadful brutality. If some valuable prisoners languished in comfort, others were undernourished, poorly housed, maltreated, tortured to extort more ransom, and killed when they defaulted. Not infrequently captives were slain, both on the battlefield (like Anthony, Duke of Brabant) or because they were unable to pay. Sir John Chandos was left to die of his wounds. Captured raiders were executed by the Lancastrian government. At Mont Saint-Michel a hostage was hurled from the walls.

Arguably the most important revelation is the sheer scale of the system. Hundreds of prisoners of war were ransomed after Agincourt, 170 being distributed to castles across England. Most prisoners were humble and were ransomed for £10, £15, or £20—amounts sufficient only to pay their keep, and a far cry from the thousands of pounds extracted from the nobility. Some soldiers were captured repeatedly: two sergeants-at-arms were ransomed seven and fourteen times, respectively. This "indicates not only that ransom culture embraced the whole social spectrum but also that the process of ransoming could run smoothly and quickly enough to allow a succession of returns to service and further captures" (p. 10). The standardization of ransoms and costs of custody was "a necessary evolution to make the ransoming of lesser soldiers profitable" (p. 159). Alongside the well-known but occasional battles and more frequent sieges, there were far more small-scale encounters that went unrecognized and made life perilous even behind the lines. Most profits of war were undeclared. K. B. McFarlane's assumption that the English profited more as invaders and occupiers may be incorrect. Maltreatment and summary dispatch was more common than the documented instances. Ransoming the nobility, whose fate is better recorded, was case-specific. Best-documented are numerous disputes about ownership, payment, escapes, and rescues. If the quarrel of the Percies with Henry IV was uniquely savage, many kings, particularly Henry V, were slow to compensate captors for their prisoners. Notables normally sought royal relief, some obtaining it in recognition of past and future services, but it was actually their own resources and the assistance of family and friends that mattered most.

What the system cost prisoners of war is more apparent than the profits of captors that prompted so many in 1359 to join Edward III's great *chevauchée*. Two menial archers at Agincourt earned eleven years' wages from a single captive. The famous debate about profit versus costs of the Hundred Years War passes unremarked. Whereas McFarlane and Michael M. Postan swapped anecdotes, often alternative facets of the same example, a few cases have been properly documented by modern historians. Ambühl's book is rich in such illustrations, which bring together sources never before combined, and offers new insights to old cases. The £945 in sweeteners paid by Lady Margaret Hungerford proves to be disguised usury. Although Ambühl supports the antiquarian John Leland's much later attribution of Farleigh Hungerford Castle to the profits of Agincourt, the timing leaves the profits of the Lord Treasurership a better explanation. The Sir Walter Hungerford captured at Patay and ransomed for £4,500 was a younger son, not second baron, and several points are missed regarding the ransom of his nephew Robert, Lord Moleyns, whose £6,000 ransom was certainly not "the highest ransom ever demanded from a nobleman during the conflict" (p. 130). Although densely argued and substantiated, Ambühl's book is an illuminating read and is destined to be a standard text.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

Richard Raiswell and Peter Dendle, editors. *The Devil in Society in Premodern Europe*. (Essays and Studies, number 28.) Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2012. Pp. 568. $37.00.

The status of witchcraft and demonology studies within the academic mainstream has always been somewhat ambivalent. Stuart Clark's *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (1997) became an overnight classic, and witchcraft scholars are among the most influential early modernists in the contemporary academic world. Meanwhile, the mainstream press regularly reports the high number of people in the United States who believe in the reality of demons: a 2012 article in the *New York Times*, for example, referred to a survey in which an estimated 57 percent of U.S. respondents believed in demonic possession. Yet there remains a sense that the case still needs to be made for the importance of demons to the thought and behavior of people of all social strata in the history of Christian Europe. Perhaps there is a tension in mainstreaming something as inherently marginal as the devil, since the devil's identity implies another, greater presence: God. God, one might say, is the mainstream. Yet precisely because of the proximity of the devil to God, the devil as a discursive force is central to the dynamics of power in much of Western Christian history. While the devil is not theologically a creator, the idea of the devil is nonetheless a vigorous discursive creator. Moral meaning and even the very nature of reality in Christian history revolve around the capacity of the devil to seduce and to delude. As this excellent collection clearly shows, the malleable and unique capacity of the discourse of demonic power to penetrate, infiltrate, oppress, and invade perceptions of the self and

the world is one of the defining features of Western Christian history.

Seventeen essays by a range of established and emerging scholars make up the collection, from academic disciplines and subdisciplines including cultural history, intellectual history, legal history, microhistory, art history, medical history, literary studies, and theater studies. The book's chronological scope is very extensive, but this works because of the nature of the subject. While the widely studied late medieval and early modern eras in Europe were a peak time for the exchange of ideas about the devil, the precedents for these ideas dated back to the Old and New Testaments. As Richard Raiswell observes in a superb introductory essay, the Old and New Testament devil was "made and remade over the centuries in response to the social, political and intellectual priorities of the age as they engaged with the biblical tradition, and in reaction to the devil of previous generations" (pp. 36–37).

Several of the essays stand out for their scholarly significance, but also because they both entertain and inform. Indeed, discussion of the incongruent idea that the devil himself can be something of an entertainer is cemented through these studies as a theme in the field. Richard Kieckhefer's "The Necromancer as Mountebank: Comic Elements in a Late Medieval Tragedy" considers the serious and potentially lethal implications that could arise in light of "the difficulty of distinguishing sharply between taking magic seriously and dismissing it as folly" (p. 399). The problem of illusion is also of importance in Andreea Marculescu's reading of an early-fifteenth-century passion play that featured demons and was performed mainly by clerics. Marculescu makes the argument that seeing devils portrayed in living human bodies contributed to the perceived reality of the demons. To reinforce this case, the essay begins with the poignant story of two condemned witches whose own descriptions of the devil they had seen specifically likened it to the devil of the passion plays. Visualization of demons is also an important theme addressed in essays by Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe and Suzanne Scanlan, on images from antiquity and *quattrocento* Rome, respectively, while allegations of demonic illusion are at the heart of an exquisite piece of microhistorical research by María Tausiet, writing on early modern Spain.

Underscoring the diversity of subject matter in the volume, two excellent essays by Peter A. Morton, on the Lutheran theology of everyday magic, and Gary K. Waite, on the rhetoric used in relation to Anabaptists and witches, reinforce the importance of linking Reformation history and the study of demonology as related fields of research. Jolanta N. Komornicka and Guido Dall'Olio provide important contributions to the legal history of demons, while Nadine Metzger provides an impressive study of the history of the medical idea of the incubus.

Raiswell and Dendle draw together the diverse elements of the book in a valuable epilogue that identifies four ways in which the devil emerges from the preceding essays: as God's Agent, God's Rival, God's Frustrated Opponent, and God's Dupe. The editors argue that these roles are reflected in different expressions of human endeavor: "The devil's identity, meaning, purpose, and remedy are always in play; he is continuously pulled in conflicting directions by historical, literary, theological, artistic and folkloric processes that arise organically from the unfolding of human societies themselves" (p. 550). Once this strong and necessary overview essay is set alongside Raiswell's opening essay, the book in totality takes on the shape of a sophisticated and highly imaginative overview history of the devil in the history of Western Christendom, prior to the modern era.

Inevitably in a collection as ambitious as this, there are drawbacks. A few of the essays tend to lavish too much attention on the empirical material, with at times insufficient reference to the current literature. This is in part explained by disciplinary traditions, but not entirely. And the assumed reality of a speculative idea as a world myth or "collective unconscious," referred to in one essay, will not, for example, satisfy most historians. Several erroneous homonyms and similar errors detract from the overall scholarly quality: arguably these might not matter unless they confuse meaning, but some did.

Overall, however, this is a superbly researched and well-presented volume that will provide students, scholars, and general readers with a fascinating and intellectually compelling series of insights into the history of the devil across more than a millennium. The book is beautifully illustrated with high-quality reproductions of rarely seen images. The outstanding introduction and epilogue provide ample introduction for students working in any one of the several disciplines that research this important and still relevant subject. Raiswell and Dendle's excellent collection will go a long way toward extinguishing any lingering sense that studies of this subject are peripheral to "real" humanities scholarship. The sheer diversity of the research material and the long timespan serve to reinforce the power and pervasiveness of the idea of the devil from antiquity up to the period of the Reformation and witch trials. The latter epoch, characterized by violence directed toward demons in the form of their supposed human allies, in particular witches and heretics, is something of the conscience of the book, which lies just below the surface but is always there. What people will do in the name of belief in the devil poses perennial questions, in ever-changing forms.

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Massimo Rospocher, editor. *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento/Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient, number 27.) Berlin: Duncker und Humblot. Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2012. Pp. 303. €30.00.

This rich collection of fourteen widely ranging essays revisits the influential theory of public space proffered by Jürgen Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1962; English trans. 1989). In that work, Habermas argued for the development of a public sphere as "a space of mediation between authority and the individual" (p. 11), fostered in the social institutions of the bourgeoisie (primarily English and French coffeehouses, lodges, salons, and the like, as well as in print). Habermas's public sphere allowed for open debate and public critical discussion of the state, but increasingly corrupt political and economic institutions would later usurp and control it, transforming it into an "arena of manipulation" (p. 34). The aim of this volume is to undertake a thorough reassessment and critique of Habermas's influential theory, and to offer alternative models.

As Massimo Rospocher and Andreas Gestrich point out in their opening essays, the relatively late translation of Habermas's work into English not only prolonged its influence but moved its sphere of engagement from the social sciences to the discipline of history. In that context it has been subject to comprehensive criticism, but it remains, at least in shorthand, the point of reference for the history of communication, the history of the *ancien régime*, and ideas about the development of modernity. This book calls for historians, especially of early modern Europe, not to rely on easy or reductive notions of the public sphere.

The volume is divided into four parts: "Theory and Practices," which seeks alternative models to Habermas; "Spaces, Voices, Humors," which questions the assumptions underpinning his theories; "Publics," which provides case studies in the complex construction of public spheres; and "Opinions," which reassesses notions of public opinion that were for Habermas the historical outcome of the public sphere. Although the first and last sections are more theoretical and the middle sections more source-based, the impression they leave on the reader is ultimately that the essays in the first half of the book fundamentally question the plausibility of Habermas's public sphere, while most of those in the second half accept his categories but seek to expand them chronologically, geographically, or conceptually, depending on the authors' own specialties.

After an introduction that thoroughly analyzes the historiography of the concept of the public sphere, and its repeated attempts to move away from Habermas, the first section of the book contains a cluster of essays suggesting alternatives. Andreas Gestrich and Angela De Benedictis both propose a return to the work of Niklas Luhmann, Habermas's long-time opponent, whose systems-theory approach allows for a more cyclical and less teleological approach that allows for multiple public spheres in various stages of development. Francesco Benigno, surveying the evidence ignored by Habermas, also weighs the view of Walter Lippmann, in which public opinion is irrational and opaque, and the public citizen is an imaginary abstraction.

Essays in the middle two sections complicate or challenge the notion of a unified public sphere with focused research, paying particular and welcome attention to Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands. Massimo Rospocher and Rosa Salzberg describe a transitory, evanescent public sphere, formed through songs, the spoken word, and cheap print, that coalesced and reformed around particular events. Bronwen Wilson makes a parallel argument through an itinerant object, the *album amicorum*, and the virtual public communities of the friends and contacts who appeared or were evoked in these early autograph books. Filippo de Vivo builds on his recent work on communities and street life to argue for a broad public discourse characterized by dynamic, creative interaction among authorities, the wider political arena, and the city populace. A number of essays offer close readings, such as Sandro Landi with Machiavelli's *Histories*, Shankar Raman with Descartes and Sidney, and Silvana Seidel Menchi, whose astute analysis of political insinuations in Erasmus's *Adages* and the dialogue *Iulius* demonstrates how political communication was so highly manipulated and closely controlled that the era's most renowned scholar fell victim to it.

The final section of the volume calls for more precise definitions of public opinion. Arjan van Dixhoorn suggests that we should treat public opinion not as a product of the modern era but as a constant, historically contingent category, demonstrated by reactions to the Inquisition in the Spanish Netherlands. Charles Walton argues against the public sphere as a generator of consensus in the context of economic and political developments in revolutionary France. Antonio Castillo Gomez studies the seventeenth-century Spanish monarchy to show how popular broadsides functioned as tools of agitation and influence. Finally, Edoardo Tortarolo's study reconceives the opposition of public and private as between public and secret, a tension constantly renegotiated in the early modern period. The overarching, and largely convincing theme of the book is that any public sphere must be treated as interactive and constantly regenerating, subject to contradictions, manipulations, and opacities, and perpetuated by ephemeral print and a disharmonious chorus of voices.

Despite the volume's breadth and general comprehensiveness, it is perplexing that no scholar pays attention to questions of gender, thereby overlooking significant recent scholarship on women's salons, publishing, and political involvement in the early modern period. Likewise, Habermas's assumptions about the behavior of the bourgeoisie are not sufficiently interrogated by looking at other social groups in early modern Europe. These are fruitful areas for future scholarship. On a lesser note, the book suffers from some faulty editing and clunky translations, and it lacks an index and collective bibliography, which would have made it more useful for teaching. Nonetheless, this is an important work of scholarship that, not incidentally, introduces some new scholars to an Anglophone readership. It is an erudite state-of-the-field survey that suc-

cessfully assesses, updates, and suggests future directions for the history of an idea.

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MAXIMILIAN VON HABSBURG. *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the* Imitatio Christi, *1425–1650: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller*. (St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2011. Pp. x, 355. $134.95.

The *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis has long been recognized as one of the most important late medieval devotional texts to survive and thrive in the Reformation period. The work's Christocentric, inwardly focused piety proved widely popular. There were 639 editions published between 1500 and 1650, with roughly another 100 published before 1500; more than 800 manuscripts survive. Scholarship on the *Imitatio Christi* has traced the development of the text in the *devotio moderna* movement and its use in early communities; scholars have considered translations of the text into vernacular languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Maximilian von Habsburg's book represents the first comprehensive treatment of Latin and vernacular editions of this critically important text from the late fifteenth century through the Reformation and its aftermath. The task this book undertakes is daunting, and its accomplishment is significant. Von Habsburg challenges the notion that the *Imitatio Christi*'s appeal stemmed from a supposedly universal spirituality. Instead, he argues convincingly that the work's many editions and translations are best understood in relation to their particular contexts.

Von Habsburg's work participates in the turn in early modern history and literary studies away from the study of doctrinal differences and confessional lines and toward devotion, piety, and spirituality. Like others focusing on these areas, von Habsburg demonstrates that the affinity between late medieval and early modern piety is too often obscured by tight scholarly focus on doctrinal formulations. He attends to the *Imitatio Christi*'s many publishers and translators to assess carefully areas of change and continuity in Christian piety. His emphasis falls on German, French, and English editions and translations, with some attention to Latin editions, including Sebastian Castellio's important classicizing, Protestantizing Latin work.

The book's first three chapters focus on the *Imitatio Christi*'s development within the *devotio moderna* movement. The text initially addressed itself to both monastic and lay readers, von Habsburg argues, but changes within the movement led to the gradual emphasizing of the monastic strand. That monastic appropriation may explain, he suggests, why late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century translators undertook new versions of the text that emphasized its appeal to lay readers.

The mass-printed circulation of the *Imitatio Christi* in the incunabula period and the early sixteenth century was enabled by the large number of manuscript copies, the pious motives of early printers and booksellers, and the support of lay patrons. By the middle of the sixteenth century, von Habsburg argues, English and French translations "reflect a conscious effort to address a lay readership" (p. 77).

The book's middle chapters examine Protestant editions in Latin and vernacular languages (especially German and English), such as German translations by Caspar Schwenckfeld and Leo Jud, and Thomas Rogers's massively popular translation of Castellio's Latin edition into English. Habsburg discusses the changes Protestant translators made, including the frequent excision of the *Imitatio Christi*'s fourth book (on the mass); the removal of references to monasticism, intercessory prayers to or veneration of saints, and purgatory; and a heightened Christocentricity. Protestants translated the *Imitatio Christi*, he suggests, for many reasons: for some, the work assisted efforts to argue that Protestantism represented continuity, not rupture, with Christian tradition; for others, the text's biblicism and emphasis on the Gospel's practical implications were appealing.

Chapters nine through eleven discuss the *Imitatio Christi* in relation to Jesuit spirituality. Von Habsburg establishes that Jesuits' support was critical to the work's continued circulation, and influenced its translation into languages such as Catalan, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Greek, Chinese, Japanese, and Ukrainian. The *Imitatio Christi* was recommended reading in St. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, and many translators taught it in Jesuit colleges. Their missionary and educational work contributed significantly to the work's international spread. Von Habsburg argues that thematic areas of overlap between the *Imitatio Christi* and the *Spiritual Exercises* confirm the late medieval roots of Jesuit spirituality, often understated, and contests the notion that the *Imitatio Christi*'s supposed anti-intellectualism and introspective piety conflicted with Jesuit emphases on study and active ministry.

The book's work with devotional material in Latin and European vernaculars demonstrates impressive erudition. The scholarship is vast; readers interested in exploring the book's many leads will find rich resources in its notes. The work's emphasis on print history and translation is timely, and von Habsburg has done an invaluable service by providing a detailed table (of nearly sixty pages) listing Latin and vernacular editions of the *Imitatio Christi* published between 1470 and 1650. This table lists each entry's language, date, place of publication, printer, contents (that is, which of the *Imitatio Christi*'s four books are included in a particular work), the author credited with the text, and locations of surviving physical copies. As the table updates and expands earlier accountings of the *Imitatio Christi*'s many editions, it will be a critical resource for those interested in the vast influence of this devotional text, as well as in early modern print culture and book history.

A book with such a wide scope necessarily makes some trade-offs. The study takes a bird's-eye view of many of its topics, most of which warrant intensive investigation, and there is relatively little attention to the details of the *Imitatio Christi*'s literary aspects in its many editions or translations, something scholars should explore further. Specialists may quibble with von Habsburg's statements on occasion: for instance, England's religious settlement is described as "moderate and deliberately accommodating" (p. 144), a characterization that has been thoroughly critiqued by historians of early modern England. Still, this book's many contributions must not be underestimated. Its focus on piety and print is timely, its usefulness as a research tool is invaluable, and it should spur rich scholarship on the vastly important *Imitatio Christi* for years to come.

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Carol Pal. *Republic of Women: Rethinking the Republic of Letters in the Seventeenth Century*. (Ideas in Context, number 99.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xv, 316. $90.00.

During the fifty years from 1630 to 1680, a group of scholarly women participated through their correspondence, patronage, publications, and networking in the European "republic of letters." Carol Pal's study focuses on seven of these women, who were more or less closely connected to each other, and who make up her "republic of women": Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678), Princess Elisabeth of Bohemia (1618–1680), Marie de Gournay (1565–1645), Marie du Moulin (1613–1699), Bathsua Makin (1600–1680), Dorothy Moore (1612–1664), and Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh (1615–1691).

The twin hubs that connect this rather eclectic mix are the exile court of Frederick V, the Elector Palatine, and his wife Elizabeth Stuart at The Hague—where their daughter Princess Elisabeth famously encouraged intellectual activities, and corresponded with René Descartes between 1643 and 1649—and the friendships and epistolary contacts developed by Elisabeth and her associate, van Schurman. They were introduced by André Rivet—appointed, in 1632, court chaplain and tutor to Elisabeth's brother—who in turn brought his niece Marie du Moulin to court (p. 35). Dorothy Moore was also connected to the court at The Hague through her friendship with John Dury, and Lady Ranelagh was her friend. Makin and Gournay are brought into the story via their epistolary exchanges with van Schurman.

Marie de Gournay, Michel de Montaigne's tireless editor, lies at the margins of this network. Her major works date from the first decades of the seventeenth century, and the center of her world is Paris, the reign of Henri IV, and the regencies of Marie de Medici and Anne of Austria. Like Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701), who engaged in a brief correspondence with Moulin and Rivet (p. 15), her exchange of letters with van Schurman is evidence that erudite early modern women were keen to establish contacts with each other, and to represent themselves as contributing to a growing female presence within the "republic of letters."

At the other margin, Bathsua Makin is connected with van Schurman through an epistolary exchange in Greek that took place during the mid-1640s. Her intellectual formation in England was apparently quite independent of the hub in The Hague, except for an interesting connection with the Stuarts. Her father was a schoolteacher who presented her to the court of James I in 1616 (p. 180). She was later engaged to teach Charles I's daughter Elizabeth, and in her *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen* (1673), she looked back to the period of Elizabeth I as a golden age of English female erudition. Descendants of Makin's students would be among the Bluestockings, and she might well have been treated as an important link in a wider network associated with Stuart women, which stemmed from the court of Elizabeth I and branched out to The Hague, Hanover, and beyond.

A weakness in this study is Pal's tendency to represent the network she describes as absolutely exceptional. Educated European women had engaged in these kinds of epistolary and networking activities throughout the previous two centuries, and continued to do so during the eighteenth. In fact, the phrase "republic of women" is taken from Laura Cereta (1469–1499) (p. 1). Cereta's letter book includes letters addressed to Cassandra Fedele (1465–1558), who in turn corresponded with many notable humanists. Later, Marguerite of Navarre (1492–1549) would engage in a eulogistic exchange with Vittoria Colonna (1490–1547), who maintained a diverse epistolary network. Earlier networks involving literary and scholarly women had sprung up in Paris, Lyons, Venice, and northern Italy, and would continue to develop, from Rome to Hamburg, London, Paris, Hanover, and St. Petersburg. Mary Wortley Montagu's letters are quoted by Pal as evidence that the eighteenth century failed to offer the kind of opportunity to be included in "a community of female scholars" that van Schurman had enjoyed (pp. xv, 275–276). Yet, while Montagu was in voluntary exile in Italy, Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806), Catharine Trotter Cockburn (1679–1749), Sarah Fielding (1710–1768), and Sarah Scott (1720–1795) were developing an English female scholarly community at least as vibrant as that connected with van Schurman.

Another disappointing aspect of the study is that Pal takes a "sociological and anthropological approach to intellectual history" (p. 6). This means that we are given biographical sketches and accounts of events and interpersonal connections, but we are told very little about the women's own arguments and ideas. They are instead described as geniuses (p. 71), "virtuosi" (p. 181), and "remarkable for their learning and piety" (p. 205). We are told that they studied Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in order to be able to progress in their scholarship, but apart from the fact that they promoted education, particularly for women, we are given very little idea of what they did with their linguistic skills. It is

hardly surprising that when they had the opportunity to learn, seventeenth-century women were just as adept at ancient languages as were their male contemporaries. The excessive praise that they received for this skill reflects the prevalent belief in women's intellectual inferiority. In order for one to be really impressed by their achievements, one needs to be shown that their views remain pertinent. This I believe to be true, at least for Elisabeth of Bohemia and Marie de Gournay, but one would not know it from reading this book. I would have preferred a more philosophical approach to intellectual history, but that should not detract from the fact that Pal offers us a wealth of information about the lives and connections of this network of scholarly women, whose ideas deserve deeper scrutiny.

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Anthony D. Smith. *The Nation Made Real: Art and National Identity in Western Europe, 1600–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. 213. $55.00.

This is the latest in a series of volumes by Anthony D. Smith on the culture and history of national identity, the conceptual frameworks of which have proved influential in a number disciplines, indeed in reshaping the field. This book focuses on the expression of national identities in visual art, mainly oil painting, produced in Western Europe over two and a half centuries, particularly in Britain and France, with an early chapter on the Netherlands and brief excursions to the German-speaking territories, Italy, and Scandinavia. In contrast to microhistories of nationality, a comparative, relatively long-term synthetic account is welcome, even if the conceptual reach of this book admittedly exceeds its empirical grasp, and there are some puzzling gaps and blind spots.

Most of the cited sources for this book are in English, primarily well-known secondary sources, with large sections of chapters heavily dependent on a few authors. This means generous helpings of Simon Schama, but little material from recent art and cultural history on the topic, including notable absences like Svetlana Alpers and Linda Colley. The volume is short and briskly written, with bullet points and long sequences of picture commentary, making it read rather like a series of illustrated lectures. Unfortunately, few of the many pictures that are discussed actually appear in the book, which makes critically engaged reading difficult. The second chapter cites over forty pictures in twenty pages, yet there are no accompanying illustrations. Some of the seven color plates compensate for this, and the works discussed in most detail are illustrated, but the book begs for a supportive website of images, or at least online links, as I was constantly searching for the images online as I read.

Despite, or perhaps because of, its reliance on oil paintings, the book is not a contribution to art history (now a resolutely multimedia field), nor does it claim to be. We are told in the preface that it "aims to make a contribution to the historical and cultural sociology of nations and nationalism," and its goals are "conceptual and programmatic" (p. 1). Its main argument, as signaled by the title, is that various styles of art served to realize abstract or conspicuously invented or imaginary ideas of nationality and feelings of national belonging. The "imagined community" of the nation was grounded in landscapes, located in nature, embodied in heroic action, and authenticated in historical events. Oil painting, with its claims on verisimilitude, proved a serviceable medium for the message, particularly in Protestant cultures with a materially worldly empirical ideology. Of course, a good deal of invention, imagination, and fabrication went into creating such realistic pictures, and many have a highly staged, theatrical character. This is well brought out with reference to epic history paintings, and might have been extended more to discussions of landscape art.

The most compellingly and successfully comparative parts of this book are in detailed discussions of re-creations of the medieval past in French and English art, in a period when the two nations were undergoing profound political and religious transformation and were often at war with each other. Here it would have been useful to learn more about the relations of amity and enmity that have defined Anglo-British and French nationality, along with narrower regional and wider imperial formations. The cross-Channel axis of southern England and Normandy invited more explication, as did some wider discussion of colonization, empire, and subject territories, not least for their implication in portraying the society and spaces of homelands. In the current historiographic climate, the relative absence of European *imperia* in this book is remarkable, for these were militantly seagoing nations whose identity was as much oceanic as territorial.

In general in the book we learn little about internal or external power struggles over nationality as expressed in the politics of art, in the very composition, display, and reception of the artworks. This might have meant getting entangled in more contextual matters at the expense of the broader processes the author was keen to illustrate. However, these very processes are evident when we widen the pictorial net to the visual culture of nationality, in particular to affordable prints—to maps, views, and plans. After all, many oil paintings were known through engravings, as they circulated throughout Europe, and paintings and drawings were often expressly produced as designs to be printed (engravers often commanded more money than painters). Also, we need to be mindful of national imagery that was not realistic but fantastic, such as cartoons and satires, and some scenic views, too, that challenged and questioned various claims to national authority. In considering the place of oil painting within this larger visual field, we are made more aware of the breaking as well as making of national identities, and some of the messy and pathological complications in the relationship between art and society, its ironies, maladies, and edginess. It is these unruly aspects of na-

tion-building in pictorial culture that tend to be screened out in the conceptual architecture of this book's narrative and its gallery of painting.

The Nation Made Real will be useful to students beyond the humanities and encourage them to take art seriously as a source, inviting them to delve deeper into the pictorial range and complications of the subject, and the rewards of primary research. At the same time, its sociological schema merit the critical attention of historical scholars too.

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Saskia Coenen Snyder. *Building a Public Judaism: Synagogues and Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 350. $49.95.

"Synagogues are great storytellers" (p. 253), writes Saskia Coenen Snyder in her comparative study of synagogue architecture in Berlin, London, Amsterdam, and Paris. Indeed, Coenen Snyder succeeds well in telling the story of these four different but comparable Western European communities in this innovative, informative, and well-presented study that builds on her dissertation. Her book tells us what we can learn about these communities when we look at how they built their houses of worship.

We learn, for example, that German Jews, who were not yet emancipated in the 1860s when Berlin's New Synagogue on Oranienburger Straße was built, felt a strong need to impress their neighbors; hence their desire for visibility and the structure's fancy exterior, prime location, and Moorish Revival architectural style. They were also under pressure, Coenen Snyder argues, to adopt religious reform in order to finally achieve legal equality. British Jews, being already emancipated, were more low-key when it came to showing their status to the Gentiles. They adhered to Orthodox rites inside the new London Central Synagogue and remained modest in designing its architectural exterior, which reflected Victorian codes of public and private display.

The situation in the Netherlands was quite different: Amsterdam was home to Europe's first widely visible free-standing large synagogue, which was built in the 1670s. Other synagogues followed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These existing buildings, combined with the poverty of both the city of Amsterdam and its Jewish community in the mid-nineteenth century, meant that no major new community synagogues were constructed in this period. Instead, in contrast to developments elsewhere, the more traditional small *hevrot* were revived, resulting in the construction of private synagogues. France, finally, was proud to be the home of the first European Jewish community to be fully emancipated. Paris, however, did not emerge as a major Jewish community until the nineteenth century. Here, the state and the municipality were responsible for helping to finance and influence the building of churches as well as synagogues. As a result, the synagogues there were in less prominent locations than many local Jews envisioned, and their exteriors were less "Jewish" than those on the synagogues built in many other countries during this period. For example, the synagogue on the rue de la Victoire, "monumental in size, but timid in visual impact" (p. 255), resembled a Christian cathedral.

Students of European Jewish history may not be surprised by what Coenen Snyder's synagogues have to tell, but the angle she takes in relating the Western European Jewish experience is new and includes many fresh details. Her book is one of the few truly comparative studies of European Jewish communities, and it is one of the few works with a strong focus on religious life.

It would have been impossible to include more than four case studies in this book, but it would have been helpful for the author to take at least a brief look beyond these examples in her conclusion. Italy, of course, was the example par excellence of the nineteenth-century boom in (often oversized) synagogues built in place of razed ghettos. A comparative look at Rome, Florence, or Torino would have completed the book's tour of Western Europe.

Coenen Snyder has much to say about German Jews' need to show that they were part of German society. She does not fully explain, though, why they chose an "Oriental" or "Moorish" style for their synagogue in Berlin, which continued to depict them as outsiders. Perhaps the answer is that they were more self-confident than this study depicts them as being, and that the allusions to the "Golden Age" in Muslim Spain were more important than Coenen Snyder admits in only briefly touching on the subject. As Ismar Schorsch, John Efron, and others have shown, the nineteenth-century idealization of the Iberian Jewish past by German Jews as an exemplary path for their own future played a prominent role in literature, liturgy, and scholarship and deserves more attention in discussions of synagogue architecture as well.

These few shortcomings notwithstanding, Coenen Snyder has written a thoroughly researched, beautifully presented, and intellectually stimulating account of four European Jewish communities. Her study proves that we should take buildings seriously as storytellers. She convincingly demonstrates that a closer look at both the interior and the exterior of a structure can help us understand the history of its community in ways that looking exclusively at printed material and archival sources cannot.

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Harold James. *Making the European Monetary Union: The Role of the Committee of Central Bank Governors and the Origins of the European Central Bank*. Foreword by Mario Draghi and Jaime Caruana. Cambridge,

Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 567. $35.00.

Only a handful of historians can boast of anything approaching Harold James's depth of knowledge about European economic, business, and financial history. Individually or as part of a team, James has been commissioned to investigate the histories of Krupp, the Deutsche Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. In this project, he has taken up the invitation of a less renowned body with an impossibly long name—the Committee of Governors of the Central Banks of the Member States of the European Economic Community (CoG). James follows the committee's activities over a thirty-year span, from its founding in 1964 to its replacement by a new organ, the European Monetary Institute, in 1993.

One would expect little drama from the history of a committee, particularly one with so few formal powers. The CoG was a loose club of central bank governors who conferred in Basel on a routine basis. As it happened, the secretariat took excellent notes; this allows James to reconstruct the deliberations in exhaustive detail. The reader is privy to a steady stream of commentary by highly influential monetary authorities in response to the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system. These central bankers were not the authors of pathbreaking documents such as the Werner Report of 1970, the first significant program for unifying Europe's currencies. Nor did they pioneer the European Monetary System (EMS) in 1978–1979; that came at the initiative of political leaders, notably the French president and the German chancellor. What the CoG did do was find workable expedients to put political decisions into effect.

Is that enough to justify a study of this length? Apparently. Unheralded though it may have been, the CoG was the setting for two of the most significant European compromises of the late twentieth century. First, West Germany's partners wound up embracing German preferences for a European currency. Upon its founding, the European Central Bank (ECB) would enjoy independence from overt political interference, and it would pursue price stability as its single most significant policy goal. Second, skeptical German and Dutch bankers convinced themselves that a currency union could work even in the absence of a deeply grounded economic convergence. The intellectual consensus reached in Basel had wide-ranging effects: the CoG became, in effect, the nucleus of the ECB itself.

According to James, this monetary consensus was not a product of abstract economic reasoning; it represented a learned response to a seemingly unstoppable wave of currency crises afflicting the Common Market from the 1960s to the early 1990s. Even acute speculative attacks eventually passed, contributing to a (misplaced) confidence that future crises could be prevented or minimized. For this reason, the massively disruptive collapse of the EMS in 1992–1993 did not derail the course toward monetary union. European central bankers had already rallied around the Delors Report of 1988–1989, launched prior to (not as a result of!) German unification. James's chapter on the Delors Committee represents the high point of the book. He reveals how perceptively central bankers such as Alexandre Lamfalussy (of the Bank for International Settlements in Basel) anticipated the problematic interest-rate effects of currency union (p. 249). Still, following the bidding of European politicians, the committee forged ahead with plans to create a united currency in stages. Among the first steps was a transformation in the character of the committee itself, which by 1990 had begun to resemble a formal institution rather than a debating society. First in Basel and later in Frankfurt, Europe's central bankers crafted the most ambitious European undertaking to date.

The author's tone is anything but triumphalist. Writing with reference to Europe's ongoing financial crisis, James is well aware of the structural flaws at the heart of the Euro project—for example, its failure to ensure proper banking oversight (p. 317). Yet he avoids the temptation of reverse Whiggism. The book does not read as a long lament about the folly of monetary union. While such detachment is admirable, it comes at the price of readability; there is little sense of wonder or surprise in this volume. Was it consensus or group-think that led so many brilliant minds to play down the glaring incompatibilities among the EU's economies? How did a shallow set of "convergence criteria" defined in 1991—later thinned out to the point of caricature—ever look like an adequate basis for permanently linking the Italian lira and Deutsche Mark? To be sure, the Euro was a political project through and through, as James observes repeatedly. But why did the central bankers sign on to it? Even 400 pages of fresh and original research do not fully illuminate the fraught and puzzling decision to unite Europe's major currencies.

William Glenn Gray
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C. A. Hagerman. *Britain's Imperial Muse: The Classics, Imperialism, and the Indian Empire, 1784–1914.* (Britain and the World.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. ix, 266. $85.00.

Perhaps the most compelling image in this book appears in its conclusion. In 1803, a Roman mosaic of Bacchus/Dionysus riding a tiger was uncovered while construction work was being done on the East India Company's premises on Leadenhall Street in London. The discovery was fitting, for the mosaic referenced the Dionysian conquest of the East. Its surviving pieces were restored to a high polish and transferred many years later to the British Museum. C. A. Hagerman's study of the imperial affection for the classics similarly takes on the appearance of this restored mosaic. He treats classical discourse as an assemblage that shaped imperial perceptions, conduct, virtue, and vision. In turn, British imperial interpretations shaped classical discourse in light of the present. Like the Roman mo-

saic, classical discourse appears as a medium and open to multiple readings.

While other scholars have critiqued the notion of the Indian sublime in European intellectual traditions, the history of ideas that Hagerman presents is different. This book contributes to the burgeoning literature at the intersection of classical reception studies and British imperial history by analyzing how a divinely sanctioned Roman dominium animated British imperial visions. It mines poems, private libraries, scholarly tomes, popular literature, examination questions, personal correspondence, and memorandums written in English in both India and Britain. Nine full chapters deal with the various ways in which imperial discourse drew on the classics for ideas about the civilizing mission, imperial virtue, subject peoples, and imperial decline. Far from an irrelevant subject of rote learning, the classics appear in each chapter as crucial to imperial subjectivity. Britain's elites, as Hagerman notes, learned to love the classics as schoolboys, gleaning from them a shared code of conduct that would prove indispensable for public life. Even if a muscular Christianity permeated the upper classes in the nineteenth century, elite models of rule held that public men ought to orate like Cicero and rule with a firm hand like Roman heroes—and a steady diet of classical histories of conquest fed the imperial appetite. As the chapter on Roman imperial perfection suggests, republican ideals of martial and civic virtues may well have been pushed aside by Victorian Hellenism, but the fascination with Rome's martial history remained. Even that most modern idea of Victorian progress was not left untouched by the classics.

To be sure, some of this is familiar ground. Readers will recognize in the figure of Edward Gibbon the enduring trope of imperial degeneration, a discourse that Hagerman discerns even in the much later writings of the Victorian historian J. R. Seeley. Similarly, the fear of degeneracy triggered by empire might be familiar to readers of imperial historiography. But the book pins these well-worn tropes back onto classical discourses to useful effect. For instance, Hagerman notes that the classical filter provided a chronological frame for organizing Indian history, and created ambivalence toward ancient Indian classical history. The unstable analogy between Indian classicism and ancient Greece was very important for the debate on British conquest, while serving to represent India as an inferior historical entity. Interesting insights also stem from Hagerman's analysis of the "classics in action." He shows how Mountstuart Elphinstone, an important early colonial administrator, drew on the classics to depict western India as timeless and unchanging. This manifestation of imperial power is also one of internal churning. It brings to mind a moment in Upamanyu Chatterjee's novel *English, August: An Indian Story* (1988) when the urbane protagonist "August" (Agastya), a young Anglicized Indian civil servant, attempts to cope with his first rural Indian posting by reading Marcus Aurelius. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Hagerman's analysis is the contention that the classics maintained their hold on the imperial imaginary in the late Victorian period. In this book Rome appears, rather unexpectedly, as something other than a conquest state. To Seeley, the British Empire was acquired in a fit of absentmindedness rather than by conquest. Hagerman notes that orientations to Rome mirrored this shift in imperial ideology. Victorians ascribed an accidental imperialism to Rome, reconfiguring it to fit the new mode of empire. This book is a call to think about how the classics were used by imperial ideology. Although, its framework of means and ends does not do justice to its insights, there is much here for students of classical reception and the British Empire, and for those interested in the narration of conquest history.

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Roger Chartier. *Cardenio between Cervantes and Shakespeare: The Story of a Lost Play*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2013. Pp. vii, 238. Cloth $69.95, paper $24.95.

On December 13, 1727, the struggling London author Lewis Theobald achieved what should have been one of history's greatest dramatic coups: he presented a production at the Theatre Royal of a hitherto unknown play by William Shakespeare. The play received a warm reception, and a bookseller soon paid the impressive sum of 100 guineas for its copyright. A month after its successful stage debut, Theobald's "adapted" work was published in print as *Double Falshood; or, The Distrest Lovers*. It seemed to be a major new addition to the corpus—but then it disappeared, almost as abruptly as it had arrived. It was scarcely ever performed again, and found no place in the Shakespearean canon. Even Theobald himself did not include it in his edition of the bard's works.

In recent years, Shakespeare aficionados have returned to this curious play. Was it really based on something written by Shakespeare, probably in collaboration with John Fletcher? If so, how much of his work can be recovered from it? Did it, on the other hand, derive from some other Jacobean playwright, perhaps Philip Massinger? Or was it simply an audacious scam perpetrated by Theobald himself? Unlike others who have tackled the piece, Roger Chartier does not try to answer these questions definitively, although he thinks it unlikely that the play was an out-and-out fraud. Instead, what interests him is a paradoxical early modern relationship between collaboration, adaptation, authorship, and reading that the story of the lost play makes evident. The absence of an original is positively helpful here, because it allows him to focus squarely on that relationship without the distraction of a genuine text.

What also helps is the fact that *Double Falshood* was at best an adaptation of an adaptation. It derived at some remove from one of a number of *novellas* included in Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. Cervantes's *novella* centered on one Cardenio, and a complex story it

was, involving seduction, betrayal, deception, dishonor, brigandage, lunacy, and violence. *Double Falshood* changed the names and simplified the plot, but the debt was clearly recognizable. And archival records show that in 1613 a play by Shakespeare and Fletcher based on the same Cardenio story was indeed performed in London—something that Theobald could, but may not, have known. In the 1650s the bookseller Humphrey Moseley registered this play among a job lot of titles at Stationers' Hall. After Moseley's purchase, it disappeared completely, until Theobald rediscovered it (or reinvented it, depending on your point of view).

At any rate, the great contribution of Chartier's book is to treat the Shakespearean and Theobaldean Cardenios as two among many versions of this story, for it seems that Cervantes's convoluted *novella* caught the imaginations of readers and spectators across Europe and even in the New World. In the generation after *Don Quixote*'s first publication in 1605, Cardenio was almost as prominent as the Don himself at festivals and in dramas, comedies, and chapbooks. References to it began appearing on stage very soon—almost immediately in Spain, and by about 1607–1608 in England. Characters from the novel also appeared in street processions, festivals, wedding celebrations, and the like, as far afield as Peru. In France, there were plays, ballets, masquerades at the Louvre, and paintings devoted to Quixotic themes. The mysterious Shakespeare/Fletcher *Tragedy of Cardenio* of 1613 was one of these many variations.

For Chartier, this indicates that one way of reading Cervantes's great work was to treat it precisely as a collection of *novellas* like Cardenio's to be extracted and reworked. It was not the only way; no visual artist of the period seems to have focused on the Cardenio episode to anywhere near the same extent. But for playwrights, like Shakespeare, this kind of mining was par for the course (think of his reliance on Raphael Holinshed). Adaptation was a typical fact of early modern playwriting, and so too was collaboration, as in this case with Fletcher. With the resulting stage works rarely appearing in print, this could be an iterative process extending far beyond first performances. So Moseley's interest in the play may possibly have reflected a contemporary royalist tendency to treat Cervantes's story as a commentary on individuals led astray by popular madness. And Chartier posits that there may have been a Restoration adaptation (like those by John Dryden of other Shakespeare works) that formed the basis for Theobald's *Double Falshood*. This, he suggests, might explain Theobald's otherwise curious decision not to include the play in his own edition of Shakespeare.

Cardenio between Cervantes and Shakespeare: The Story of a Lost Play is inevitably something of a shaggy dog story. If *Seinfeld* was famously "a show about nothing," then this is a history of nothing. But it is not exactly *about* nothing. Its true subject becomes clear only in the epilogue and a brief three-page postscript. Here the nothing of *Cardenio*'s absence is transmuted into a suggestion, at least, of a very big thing indeed. The loss and purported recovery of the work reflect "one of the essential tensions that permeate the written culture of modern Europe" (p. 179). On the one hand, printed and manuscript texts alike are shifting, evanescent. They are always being edited and recomposed, translated and adapted. *Cardenio* helps us see this precisely because there is no original to which we might be tempted to cleave. But on the other hand, modern written culture is author-centric. So we are drawn inevitably to devise and solve mysteries of authorized works, especially those by the greatest authors of all. If the lost Shakespeare play had not existed, modern culture would have had to invent it. That is the point.

Adrian Johns
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Christopher Reid. *Imprison'd Wranglers: The Rhetorical Culture of the House of Commons, 1760–1800*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 270. $110.00.

Christopher Reid's extremely insightful book might with profit be read as a companion piece to the magisterial fifteen volumes of *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons*, published between 1964 and 2002, and encompassing the period between the Glorious Revolution and the death of George III. The dates in the subtitle of Reid's book, *1760–1800*, are decidedly imprecise, as Reid wanders throughout the long eighteenth century, from as early as the reign of George I to as late as the Regency, to tease out his many examples of speakers and speeches. Reid is situated in an English department, but there is little here of the theoretical analysis of eighteenth-century life that has either bedeviled or uplifted (depending upon one's point of view) much of the modern English cultural debate. Given, however, that he thoroughly examines at least the first decade of the nineteenth century, it might have been informative for him to discuss the rhetorical impact on the *British* Commons by the arrival of one hundred *Irish* MPs from the Dublin Parliament after the 1801 Union.

Gilbert Murray long ago described the ancient democratic Greek polis not exactly as a place but as the community acting together. Similarly, when Clement Attlee laid the foundation stone of the new House of Commons in 1948, he called it not a building but a "living fellowship" that, unlike the bombed-out Palace of Westminster, could never be destroyed (p. 24). And what, of course, this "living fellowship" did was declaim—even preen—and debate. The experience of the House of Commons for members and their supporters or opponents in the gallery could be intense. When the elder Pitt spoke, a contemporary was reminded of Virgil's comment "eo dicente [deum] alta silescit" ("as he speaks, the high house of the gods grows silent") (p. 36). An eighteenth-century elocutionist said of Pitt that "The powers of his living voice shook distant thrones, and made the extremities of the earth tremble" (p. 37). One major point of this book, however, is to inform us how the nation at large, apart from direct observers,

became aware of or even participated in such an experience.

William Cowper, in *The Task* (1785), burned "to set th' imprison'd wranglers free / And give them voice and utterance once again." His mood is one of impatience as he longs for the latest London newspaper to satisfy his penchant for parliamentary news and liberate the voices of Burke, Fox, North, and Pitt from their imprisonment in newspaper columns. He at least partially accomplishes this by reading aloud their speeches in the *Morning Chronicle* (p. 1). Reid illustrates how in taverns, coffeehouses, and debating societies, eighteenth-century men and women oversaw a dialogue between themselves out of doors and their representatives in Parliament. He thinks it is sometimes difficult to determine the relationship between the event, the speech in Parliament, and the report mediated through, say, the *Morning Post*. Officially illegal in much of the eighteenth century, parliamentary newsmen were rarely prevented from plying their trade in the gallery. Many were intrepid. William Woodfall of the *Chronicle* could reproduce sixteen columns of parliamentary speeches without taking notes. However, Reid suspects that because of their lack of familiarity with antique languages, the reporters may have underrepresented classical quotations.

The parliamentarians, of course, knew that they were speaking both for an intimate audience and for their wider public. Sometimes, as famously exemplified by Edmund Burke, they corrected their own speeches for the press. Yet to become a first-rate speaker involved a long process of preparation. Perhaps Reid's most informative chapter concerns "Educating the Orator." At their public schools, dissenting academies, and universities, fledging MPs from the landed classes and the haute bourgeoisie absorbed and declaimed relevant Latin, Greek, and English mainstays. They memorized Cicero's *Second Philippic*, Ajax's speech against Ulysses in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Antony's funeral speech from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. Trinity College, Cambridge, was the nursery of superb parliamentary speakers. Lord Althorp, the future second Earl Spencer, whose academic career Reid follows with detail, declaimed there in the 1770s on Tudor rulers and their views on liberty; William Lamb, Victoria's first prime minister, gave a commemoration speech there in 1789 on "the progressive improvement of mankind"; Charles Grey and Spencer Perceval, both future prime ministers, won declamation prizes there in the 1780s (p. 139).

Historians of eighteenth-century masculinity will profit from Reid's analysis. He subtly weaves together the qualities of both manliness and personal character in his parliamentary performers and even shows how tears, if shed by manly men like the elder Pitt (though not the younger) or Lord Clive ("Leave me my honour, and take away my fortune"), could greatly aid the parliamentary cause for which they advocated. Tears shed by a less than manly character, such as Lord North, could lead to charges of effeminacy (p. 213).

As the Atlantic revolutions gathered steam, first Fox, after 1779, and subsequently Canning and Brougham, in the early nineteenth century, played not only the Commons card but also, in their extra-parliamentary lecturing, the out-of-doors card. These three MPs, especially, prefigured the age of John Bright and W. E. Gladstone. The new journalism of the 1880s converted public interest increasingly from political debate to concerns for sports, sex, crime, and the melodrama of empire.

James J. Sack
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Ciaran Brady. *James Anthony Froude: An Intellectual Biography of a Victorian Prophet*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 500. $65.00.

This fine new intellectual biography of the Victorian historian James Anthony Froude (1818–1894) raises acute questions, not only about Froude's role as a prophet but also about the role of his academic successors as moral critics. For example, is Froude's failure to provide moral and spiritual guidance free of personal and ideological prejudice a judgment on him alone or on the wider enterprise of "sustain[ing] a spirit of independent moral criticism in a secularised world"? (p. 27).

In seeking to answer this question, Ciaran Brady embarks on a substantial reassessment of Froude as a historian, editor, essayist, biographer, travel writer, and writer of fiction. Froude is remembered mostly for his histories of Britain and Ireland, and it has long been recognized that these and some of his later writings were compromised by religious, racial, and nationalist bias. But in the context of his full literary output, the works acquire new resonances. From his first, anonymously published novel, *Shadows of the Clouds* (1847), to the essays he wrote after he was appointed late in life to the Regius Chair in Modern History at Oxford, Froude brought his prophetic voice to bear on a society beset by religious doubt. At many points, Brady challenges Froude's own account of his life in a fragment of autobiography written after his controversial biography of Carlyle in the 1880s. Far from being an isolated retrospective view of Froude's early life—it ends in 1856—the autobiography sealed a lifelong process of self-liberation from moral and psychological defects as well as childhood sufferings, particularly abuse at the hands of his elder brother Hurrell, a stalwart of the Oxford Movement.

Brady painstakingly outlines Froude's self-reconstruction from the time of his earliest writings, emphasizing the multiple "voices" that Froude assumed to this end. Froude confirmed the independent path he had taken in renouncing Holy Orders following the scandal that greeted his second novel, *The Nemesis of Faith*, in 1849. For Brady this was a determined attempt to work through the religious and ethical problems raised by contemporary biblical criticism, and in new aesthetic forms. He persuasively argues that the crisis of religious

faith for Froude was theological and ecclesiastical in form, leaving his faith in Christianity intact (p. 114).

Brady also emphasizes how Froude made the readers of his fiction work hard to make sense of events in the face of the narrator's unreliability. It was a literary habit he was to retain in his twelve-volume *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (1856–1870). In placing the onus on readers to enter into his imaginative world (pp. 219–220) and undergo change themselves in the process, Froude's medium reflected his message: the need to act in order to serve the purposes of creation and affirm one's place in it (p. 463).

One of the many strengths of this work is its emphasis on the role of Thomas Carlyle in transforming Froude's understanding of the world. He began reading Carlyle after he was elected a Fellow of Exeter College in 1842 and became a convert to the view that God's plan was revealed in history rather than in the Bible. Brady also explores the principal motive that led Froude to risk his reputation in agreeing to Carlyle's request that Froude write a candid biography of him for publication after his death. For perceptive critics of the resulting two-volume work, a prophet Carlyle was not. But Froude perceived in Carlyle's message a clear gospel, one that shaped his early interest in the saints as Carlylean heroes rather than models of piety. In a wayward contribution to John Henry Newman's *Lives of the English Saints* in 1844 (p. 104), he combined the voices of the hagiographer and the epic historian—Newman and Carlyle, respectively. This set the tone for his *History of England*.

Brady shows that Froude's interest in the Reformation was sparked by essays on the sixteenth century he was commissioned to write in 1852. The strong nationalist and Protestant sympathies that became his trademark first become evident then (p. 191). Brady also makes Froude bear some responsibility for the Irish debacle of the twentieth century in denigrating the Irish as a people destined to be ruled by England and advocating repression and coercion to maintain the Union.

Nonetheless, Brady is generous in his praise of Froude's courage in responding to the moral challenges of his times, however disquietingly in places. Moreover, he cautions modern intellectuals against hubris in believing that their values will prove any more enduring. As the pressure on academics to achieve "impact" increases, this book could not be more timely, or more useful in elucidating the roots of a prophetic vocation that still has some purchase, if along more modest lines than in Froude's age.

Julia Stapleton
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Timothy Larsen. *A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians*. Paperback ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. 326. Cloth $55.00, paper $35.00.

John Wesley's description of himself as "a man of one book" provides Timothy Larsen with the inspiration for his title. *A People of One Book* seeks to demonstrate the centrality of the Bible in the Victorian Age. Larsen asserts that Scripture was a crucial point of reference across a broad spectrum of different groups of English Christians and unbelievers alike in the period. It is somewhat puzzling, though, that he feels that this "corrective" is needed. Such a thesis would seem patent to most scholars of the period.

That said, this book provides some fascinating case studies of individuals representing a wide range of traditions. Larsen's studies are at once rich in detail and highly readable. Despite his concession that selecting individuals who are "representative" is "problematic and contestable," he makes a laudable effort in each case to explain his choice. There will be some who will take issue with his selection of particular individuals. In part, his choices are informed by a desire to provide equal representation of women; this creates an inevitable tension between inclusivity and the desire to be representative.

The case studies are presented in no particular order so as to avoid associations between different traditions or a prioritizing of one over another. E. B. Pusey serves as a fitting exemplar of Anglo-Catholicism. Pusey believed that one must rely upon the collective interpretation of the patristic fathers for a sound understanding of Scripture. This belief has to some degree, in Larsen's view, obscured Pusey's deep and profound commitment to biblical authority. Larsen's chapter on Pusey helps to draw this commitment into clearer focus, which is underscored by Pusey's extensive work on biblical commentaries. In a similar vein, Larsen examines the first archbishop of Westminster, Nicholas Wiseman, in his chapter on Roman Catholicism. Extensive focus by scholars on the Catholic revival and anti-Catholic agitation associated with the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy has meant that Wiseman's deep reverence for Scripture has been overlooked. Larsen firmly reasserts that a strengthening of the Catholic tradition was in no way at the expense of the centrality of the Bible in English life during this period. It was not only in the Anglo-Catholic and Catholic traditions that a "Scripture plus" approach was taken. Larsen selects Catherine Booth for consideration of the place of the Bible in the Methodist and Holiness traditions. She felt that error was to be avoided by ensuring that Scripture was read in the context of "the Spirit." She urged people to study the Bible but reminded them to "use the letter [Scripture] to get at the Spirit, for the letter will not save you—it is the Spirit that saves you" (p. 109).

For his discussion of atheists, Larsen focuses on Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, the co-editors and co-proprietors of the *National Reformer*. He describes their personal journeys toward free thought as laden with considerations of Scripture to which they could not assent. It is in relaying their continual references to Scripture (even if negative) that Larsen again asserts his thesis that Victorians relied upon Scripture as a constant reference and point of cultural unity. A study of Thomas Huxley is a fitting choice for

a consideration of agnosticism. After all, it was Huxley who coined the term in an effort to stress that his views were distinct from those held by atheists. Despite Huxley's skepticism of parts of Scripture, he acknowledged its central position in Victorian life and was among those who argued for its use in state schools. Mary Carpenter was selected for Larsen's consideration of Unitarians. He is emphatic in asserting that the biblicist strand within Unitarianism was foremost well into the nineteenth century and yet has been continuously ignored or minimized. While Carpenter proudly declared that Unitarians were not held captive to dogmas or articles of religion, the Scriptures were another matter. They were absolutely central to her life.

The largest Anglican groups are represented by figures who do not immediately strike one as obvious exemplars of their traditions. A study of Florence Nightingale is presented in the context of the Broad Church tradition. Her unconventional religiosity makes her all the more intriguing to Larsen. He argues that since she had no official position within the church and wrote only for herself and close friends, the expression of her views was more forthright and revealing. He also feels that since the Broad Church tradition was so preoccupied by Scripture, there is little danger of choosing a figure who might be considered unusual for their attention in this regard. Josephine Butler is Larsen's choice for discussion of Evangelical Anglicans. Perhaps best known as an advocate of women's rights and for her campaign against the Contagious Diseases Act, Butler stressed her evangelical identity (if not her Anglican one), and biblical language and imperative infused her work. More predictable choices for the Quaker tradition in Elizabeth Fry and Old Orthodox Dissent in C. H. Spurgeon round out the volume. In all of these cases, Larsen is successful in substantiating his thesis.

These case studies provide a welcome addition to the scholarship of the period. Greater contextualization of each tradition within English life would have been helpful. Larsen appears almost willfully disengaged with the demographics of the traditions he considers. The presentation of the case studies simply in the order in which they were researched is not wholly satisfying. However, Larsen's careful research and accessible style will make this one of the classic works on the period for many years to come.

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Emma Macleod. *British Visions of America, 1775–1820: Republican Realities*. (The Enlightenment World: Political and Intellectual History of the Long Eighteenth Century, number 27.) London: Pickering & Chatto Publishers. 2013. Pp. x, 251. $99.00.

British attitudes toward the United States are complex. Opinions ranging across the political spectrum, at least as reflected in the news media, show that there is much to both criticize and admire about the United States—though what the Left admires, the Right often criticizes, and vice versa. International events often complicate the situation. The debate over British participation in the 2003 invasion of Iraq was shaped in part by British attitudes toward the United States in general, and toward President George W. Bush in particular. Emma Macleod's excellent book demonstrates that Britain's complicated relationship with the United States has long historical roots, stretching back to the creation of the republic in opposition to the British Empire.

Macleod surveys British opinion from the outbreak of hostilities in North America in 1775 until 1820. In the process she highlights three different political perspectives—conservative, liberal, and radical—and considers what representative thinkers from each group thought about the United States. Macleod defines "radicals" as people who supported American independence and saw the creation of the American republic as a model for constitutional reform in Britain. "Liberals," by contrast, were sympathetic to the rebellious American colonists and eventually accepted the independent American republic. They sought reform of the British constitutional and political system. Unsurprisingly, "conservatives" opposed American independence. Indeed, they could not understand why the American colonists sought to rebel against British rule, which they believed was beneficent. They had difficulty accepting American independence, believed that the United States would fail, and saw little need to change the British constitution.

The book is divided into two parts. The first covers the period from 1775 to 1791, the second the period from 1791 to 1820. There is a chapter devoted to each of the three groups of thinkers in each part, making for an elegant and clear structure. In Part I, Macleod's focus is not so much on the War of Independence itself—she rightly acknowledges that it has been well covered by other scholars—but on how politicians and writers from across the political spectrum reconciled themselves to American independence. Part II considers the more vexing question of Britain's relationship with the independent United States during the era of the French Revolution. Macleod chose 1792 as the dividing line in her study because of the ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1788 (not 1790, as identified in the text) and the inauguration of the new federal government in 1789. More important, however, was the publication in 1792 of the second part of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, which introduced the United States to the British debate over the French Revolution.

Macleod's main thesis is that what each of the groups of politicians and writers that she considers had to say about the United States was really commentary about Britain. While some of her figures, such as Paine, William Cobbett, Joseph Priestley, and Catherine Macaulay, had visited or lived in the United States, most had never been there. Rather, they projected their hopes and fears about Britain onto the new American republic. Their writings on the United States reflected their criticisms of or admiration for the British constitution and political system. In contrast to British atti-

tudes toward the United States today, the men and women of the Left at the time tended to admire America, while the conservatives disdained, resented, and feared the new republic. Macleod's radicals placed great faith in the American experiment with republican government. They tended to ignore slavery, which complicated the story of liberty's success on the western shore of the Atlantic. It remained for the conservatives—a generally dyspeptic and grumpy group (and all the more fascinating to read about for that)—to point out that slavery was a major flaw in American society. This criticism became more pointed after Britain abolished the transatlantic slave trade. (In fairness, few of Macleod's commentators had much to say about slavery one way or the other.)

British Visions of America is a fine work of intellectual history. It is clearly structured, well argued, deeply researched, and informative. While Macleod is correct that British opinion of America during the War of Independence is well-trodden historiographical ground, the same cannot be said of the second British-American war. Although it was a relatively brief conflict, lasting from 1812 to 1815, it would have been interesting to read more about how it affected the evolution of British opinion of the United States. While this is touched on in passing, I think it warrants greater attention. This is a minor quibble about an excellent book that students of British and eighteenth-century intellectual history will profit from reading.

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Tony Kushner. *The Battle of Britishness: Migrant Journeys, 1685 to the Present*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 318. $105.00.

This book looks at a number of migrant journeys to Britain—three of them very well known (seventeenth-century Huguenots, the *Kindertransport* in 1939, and the SS *Empire Windrush* in 1948) and two less well known (the Volga Germans on the *Minho* in 1879, and Jewish refugees on the *St. Louis* in 1939). It also contains a chapter devoted to stowaways. They are all united by the twin promise of liberation and redemption that so often accompanied migration.

Unfortunately, unlike its subjects, this book is not sure where it wants to go. It is not a history of immigration to Britain, and it is still less what its title claims—"The Battle of Britishness." Sometimes we are told about "iconic" migrations; sometimes we are told about journeying in general, sometimes receptions, sometimes migrant perceptions from the bottom up, and sometimes migrant perceptions from the top down—as Kushner has it, "utilizing the concept of 'memory work' as self conscious praxis" (p. 81). Certainly there is an arbitrary quality to the six journeys he has chosen. None come anywhere near Britain's most recent phase of mass immigration that has propelled the subject to the forefront of British politics. Fifteen families languishing in Southampton docks in 1879, say, or 20,000 French Protestants settling in early Georgian London in 1720 does not compare to the current situation, where one in every four children in England is born to a foreign mother.

Insofar as Kushner does address belonging, he offers only a migrant point of view against a parody of what he sees as a British taste for intolerance, abuse, neglect, discrimination, condescension, and violence. We are told about immigrants who have died trying to make the journey into Britain. We are told about immigrants who have died falling out of airplanes over Heathrow. We are told that the British see immigrants only as a "faceless menace" or a threatening "other." Kushner turns what most British people see as a *story* (of who they are) into a *system* that is both agoraphobic and xenophobic. At the heart of his thesis, however, is the idea that the British, not being homogeneous, are all immigrants anyway, and that the only thing that is indisputably British about them is the rock in the sea on which they all live. He quotes with approval a Home Office document of 2006, *Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship*: " 'We are a nation of immigrants—able to trace our roots to countries throughout Europe, Russia, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean.' Such an acknowledgement has been a long time coming" (p. 13).

It has been a long time coming, because it is nonsense. If we are what the Home Office says "we" are, we might as well give up on all that makes us historic, and reduce our histories to different rocks and the inherited traits of the people who sit on them. Indeed, if it is true that all the British are immigrants, then all the people of the world are immigrants—a theory which, like the theory of otherness that so often accompanies it, has little intellectual and no practical political usefulness.

I am puzzled by Kushner's refusal to try harder. He does Jewish history. He *must* know that a people can continue to see themselves as one people without for a moment supposing that everyone is the same or, as he puts it, "homogeneous." And even if they do not see themselves as one people, he must know that that does not make them all immigrants. And even if they are, is that all they are? In Israeli eyes, is Israel nothing more than a land of immigrants? In Palestinian eyes, is Palestine? How is it that an argument that would be a travesty for understanding a Palestinian or an Israeli sense of belonging can be made for the British?

Under the "rock" thesis, even the most sympathetic and sensitive observers are denied entry to Kushner's *über*-liberal camp: Stuart Maconie for daring to note that parts of Slough do not look "English"; Bob Rowthorn for daring to suggest that mass immigration disturbed existing identities; David Goodhart for daring to suppose that increased diversity led to decreased solidarity; Tony Blair for making it extremely difficult for migrants to get in (apparently); and Billy Bragg—the famous "left wing folk singer and veteran anti-fascist and anti-racist" (p. 27)—for expressing pride in his part-Anglo-Saxon descent. When Bragg is denied entry

for not being politically correct, then you know something is wrong.

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Matthew Kadane. *The Watchful Clothier: The Life of an Eighteenth-Century Protestant Capitalist*. (The Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. vii, 302. $45.00.

For an academy seized with the interpretive possibilities of "the global turn," it is instructive to be reminded that most of early modern life was experienced in very small places by very ordinary, certainly obscure if not wholly unknown men and women whose feelings and doings vanished like vapor. Matthew Kadane's superb new study of a middling Leeds clothier, Joseph Ryder (1695–1768), challenges the current macro-cosmic fixation. His book attempts "to show what Ryder was, hand-wringing and all, at the expense of where he leads" (p. 193). In this it succeeds quite admirably, never drifting, even if Ryder may have.

The Watchful Clothier is a close analysis of the diary kept by Ryder from May 25, 1733, when he was thirty-eight years old, to January 3, 1768, five days before his death at the age of seventy-three. In a consistently sized hand, he recorded daily events and thoughts—nearly two and a half million words spilling onto more than twelve thousand pages—in forty bound volumes, now housed at the University of Manchester's John Rylands Library. While we knew little of Ryder's life before the publication of this study—any corroborative external evidence is thin—we now know a great deal more about this ambivalent religious enterpriser, and much of it is worth knowing.

Joseph Ryder was an only child, born to a widowed mother in Leeds on March 25, 1695, and was baptized in the dissenting Mill Hill Chapel. He appears to have been educated, given his subsequent literacy, and apprenticed, for that was the normal route of anyone rising through the cloth-making ranks. Whatever else he did is unclear, although he repeatedly notes in his diary that he misspent his first thirty-eight years. Thereafter, he constructed and conducted a vigorous business as a master dyer in Leeds, "the most urbanized, specialized, and capitalized area in the West Riding [of Yorkshire]," whose "merchants were connected to a vast network of markets stretching to cloth houses in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, with steadily increasing traffic to London" (p. 93). Work had him traveling into the nearby countryside to pick up cloth from spinners.

While work consumed most of Ryder's time, he was not averse to relaxation. One finds reference to occasional breaks from the routine—visiting relatives and friends in London, going to feasts, attending meetings of co-religionists, going to a spa town to take the waters. Yet, despite such moments, Ryder was depressed, Kadane concludes in a long, careful treatment, brought on by "a spiritually watchful awareness of his sins," "wavering health," "finding himself . . . living in a precarious world," and "sermonic and scriptural prescriptions that . . . were spiritual depressants" (p. 151). But in good Puritan fashion, even success disturbed him. From the time he began the first diary, he probably earned £75 per annum on average. By pursuing the work of a dyer, he accumulated a fortune that would have been considered comfortable at the time of his death: £250 sterling, as well as "a Freehold Estate . . . consisting of several Messuages, a Dye-House with a Dying Lead fixed therein, a Tenter Garth [a yard for drying and stretching frames], containing half an acre of land, and Tenters" (p. 20).

The most important contribution made by Kadane's study is its exploration of the relationship between capitalism and Christianity, made famous by the debate over Max Weber's "Protestant ethic" thesis, but still today somewhat vague and misunderstood. Conveniently, Ryder pursued "the very occupation and transitional mode that Weber highlighted among the destroyers of economic traditionalism"—cloth-making (p. 87). In plying an increasingly successful trade, Ryder frequently worried about his own advancing materialism. For him, the watchword was "watchful." Men and women of the Dissenter community "needed to be watchful of themselves and the outside world as various personal, political, economic, social, psychological, natural, and supernatural forces conspired to disrupt their spiritual courses. Spiritual watchfulness needed to be as constant and comprehensive as God's providential interventions" (p. 47). Seeing signs of waning godliness and increasing worldliness all around him, Ryder started and then religiously detailed a daily record of his own behavior. His attitudes can best be summed up as ambivalent, as he struggled to maintain a balance between success and excess in work, as well as a watch for the incursions of success on true faith. Throughout this extensive memorial, Ryder exhibited a "double mindedness." His nearly constant hand-wringing and soul-searching certainly calls us to question and complicate (if not repudiate) the notions that "a thriving economy brings happiness to those who materially benefit from it," "profit maximization was an unquestioned goal even for entrepreneurs," and "everyone wants financial security" (p. 107).

Strewn throughout Kadane's biography are innumerable sensible and thoughtful insights into the work of cloth-making, the organization of family, the conduct of charity, the writing of journals and autobiographies, the difficulty of interpreting them, and the challenge of writing about men and women who have left few or spare records of themselves. Especially illuminating are discussions of the causes of melancholy or depression, as attested to by Ryder, and the shift to heterodoxy in the Dissent community, as seen in the changes experienced by the two churches he simultaneously attended. All in all, this is a remarkable book that no review can do justice to. It is worth reading by anyone

interested in early modern business, religion, or the art of writing about the obscure.

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Scott Sowerby. *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 181.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 404. $49.95.

The English revolution of 1688 has become interesting again, with a lively historiographical debate to which Scott Sowerby's book makes an important contribution. Steve Pincus's *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (2009) suggested that Britons faced a fundamental choice between two competing models of modernization: one a catholicizing authoritarian regime with a land-based political economy, the other a religiously tolerant, consensual, and labor-based economy. Sowerby argues instead that the two pathways were offered not simultaneously but sequentially. In other words, King James made a concerted effort to galvanize the nation behind a movement for the repeal of the laws restricting religious toleration; it was only when that failed (and it did so in part because James's radical overturning of the status quo opened up all sorts of opportunities for his enemies) that an alternative path was pursued by the revolutionaries. James's policies—lifting the lid off the religious repression that had characterized much of the Restoration era—thus provoked a counter-revolution. And since the counter-revolutionaries won, and then themselves instituted religious toleration, largely on the back of James's efforts, the fact that many Dissenters had joined James's campaign for the repeal of penal legislation was conveniently written out of history. We thus now have two different models for why and how revolution happened. The Pincus model stresses contesting visions of reform. The Sowerby model (building on earlier contributions by Mark Goldie, Robert Beddard, and others) emphasizes James's own contribution to a religiously tolerant and pro-trade agenda, scuppered primarily by the power of anti-Catholicism, entrenched church interests, and Dutch intervention. In this version, reform provoked counter-reform.

Sowerby's book was meticulously researched in an impressive number of local record offices, since he is keen to show that responses to governmental policy were not universal and that local individuals and cultures shaped reactions in important ways. He also has an excellent eye for significant case studies, and he tells stories well. When combined, this approach produces some terrific history. Sowerby thus revels in the bold stance of ex-Cromwellian colonel Baptist Roger Sawrey, who abandoned reservations about joining with the Catholic king's policy when he announced that he would "cut off" the penal laws that had restricted his religious life since the Restoration. Similarly, Sowerby's reconstruction of the overlap between cloth-producing districts and support for James's policy of repeal is highly illuminating. By focusing on what was a fairly short-lived campaign, lasting just eighteen months between 1687 and 1688, Sowerby is able to show that there was a reasonable amount of support for James's policies, drawn from an unholy alliance of churchmen, Catholics, and Dissenters. They produced a periodical, eighty tracts, and a flood of addresses of loyalty to the monarch, and captured at least twenty-seven town councils. This, it is argued, shows a king who was not interested in ruling in a repressive, authoritarian way, but rather one who sought to woo popular support. Nor was he doomed to fail. He created a genuine, if temporary, "movement" for reform.

Sowerby's analysis of a sequential rather than simultaneous set of choices is nevertheless problematized by his own meticulous research. He shows again and again the dilemmas that individuals and local communities found themselves facing, having to make choices between joining or rejecting the king's policies. He shows the splits among all religious groups, the extent of the opposition that existed to James's policies, and the success of the campaign, even during 1687–1688, waged by James's critics to win support. So while Sowerby's evidence shows that Pincus may have overdrawn the boundaries between the two sides—and that is itself an important achievement—it does not invalidate the notion of a contest between different visions of authority. Moreover, the consensual populist King James was to many contemporaries a wolf in sheep's clothing: as the Duke of York, and even in the first years of his reign, James *did* appear authoritarian and intolerant. The book is frustrating in other ways. All too often Sowerby refers to historians and social scientists obliquely, or buries their names in footnotes, so that his differences with (but also, just as importantly, his debts to) other scholars are obscured. Also, the claim that James was an innovator in linking race and religious toleration by saying that persecution was as unreasonable as imprisoning all "black men" (p. 42) seems to confuse skin color and complexion. James, governor of the slave-trading Royal African Company, was almost certainly referring to European men of "swarthy" or "dark" complexion, in the same way that his brother Charles II was called "black." There is no bibliography, and the index is poor (even Sowerby's hero Sawrey is absent from it). And for all the stress on the importance of a non-London perspective, the focus is solely on England (Tim Harris's *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685–1720* [2007] is virtually ignored). Yet, caveats aside, this is a first book that makes an important intervention in an ongoing debate.

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Patrick Joyce. *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 376. $32.99.

Patrick Joyce is among the most influential modern British historians of his generation. He has consistently set intellectual agendas rather than followed them.

Having taken the linguistic turn and embraced postmodern theory, here he returns to social history, with invigorated attention to the dynamics of power and materiality. The state that Joyce puts in question will be unfamiliar to most readers; it is the ordinary things that the state does and through which the state operates—the "mundane state"—that interest him. The long, theory-laden introduction argues that by the mid-nineteenth century, the embedded technologies and hardwired infrastructure of the everyday state had generated the "technostate," which facilitated enhanced modes of liberal governance. *The State of Freedom* is a companion volume to Joyce's book *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (2003), as well as a promised third volume, *The Children of Freedom*. Joyce's ambition is to recast the terms for understanding liberal Britain. "Liberal" here refers not to party labels or formal political thought, but to those processes aimed at cultivating liberal self-governance among citizens. To avoid confusion, Joyce employs the term "organized freedom" to suggest a political regime that rules through a freedom inextricably bound to power and constraint.

The State of Freedom surveys the long nineteenth century, with a trenchant final chapter on the "legacies of the liberal Leviathan." Divided into two parts, the book first deals with "the state of things," the networks that connect and hold together the central state. Joyce chose the post office and the India Office in London for case studies. Without a great army, Britain's post office system constituted the largest institution of the central state. But as with running water and electric light, people came to take the postal service for granted. Its dense connectivity—including the eventual incorporation of telecommunications—generated a free society in which subjects came to know themselves and others. A new, predominantly middle-class writing public came into existence, and the act of letter-writing itself cultivated a particular kind of liberal subjectivity based on codes of self-mastery. Joyce is keen to show not only the system's human face but how things like letter boxes, stamps, envelopes, maps, and weighing machines mediated the workings of the system. Simply put, things do things. In turn, the ubiquitous uniformed postal carrier symbolized the universal order of the state and the "postal society" brought daily to the door.

If the postal system brought coherence to the domestic state, Joyce asks, "how, then, did the empire cohere," given the local demands of colonialism on the ground? "Paper is the short answer" (p. 150), given the size and extent of empire and the available technologies of rule. At the outset of the chapter titled "Filing the Raj," Joyce chastises postcolonial scholars for having "forgotten the centre." His point is not that India was *actually* ruled from the center, but rather that the vast system of written correspondence and recordkeeping produced the fictions as well as the facts of government. The "authority" of the file derived from its reiteration, rules, and regularity, an authority closely connected to an ideal of bureaucratic neutrality and objectivity. In this way, governance at a distance assumed a palpable administrative reality and legitimacy. As Lord Curzon observed, maintaining a concise and permanent record "of what may be styled the *inner history of the case*" (p. 164) was a necessary building block for setting imperial policy.

The second part of the book, titled "The State of Men," turns to those who governed, and how they were habituated to the practice of liberal rule. Readers will no doubt feel themselves on more familiar ground here, although Joyce has arresting things to say about the public school, Oxbridge, and the high civil service. The author is concerned about uncovering the personhood and authority of the elite bureaucrat in post-aristocratic society, the remodeled gentleman caught between an older regime based on patronage and one based on the examination. According to Joyce, the organized freedom of the public school—student self-government, the rituals of hierarchy and subordination, the rigors of classical learning, and daily routines of time and space—constituted "miniature universes of the state" (p. 265), preparing disciplined minds and bodies to govern themselves and others. He identifies a corresponding "domiciliary power" or "regime of the house," an experience and form uniting school and Oxbridge college and extending to the offices and homes of the wealthy. As Joyce argues, the authority of this patriarchal elite carried deep into Britain's twentieth century.

The State of Freedom brings provocative originality to the study of the modern state and society; it counters the commonly held belief that pre-1945 Britain was lightly governed. Questions remain. We might ask, for example, how to make the "organized unfreedom" of the state—the prison, the workhouse, the asylum, as well as India's garrison rule—part of the same story of liberal modernity.

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Esme Cleall. *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840–1900.* (Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xi, 243. $85.00.

The nineteenth-century British missionary enterprise relied on a precarious balance: it required that enough distance be maintained from indigenous subjects to justify the project of conversion, while creating enough common ground to carry it out. Esme Cleall's study shows the formidable challenges missionaries faced in reconciling that balance. Using an institutional focus on the London Missionary Society, Cleall explores how notions of difference were exported, challenged, and reconstructed in the course of mission work in the field. The study encompasses South Asia and southern Africa, providing a welcome comparative approach to two regions that are usually treated discretely by historians of missions in general and by those of the London Missionary Society in particular.

Cleall uses the thematic lenses of home and family,

health and illness, and violence and war to explore a persistent tension in missionary discourse and practice: that "while principally articulating itself in terms of spirituality, difference was also understood by missionaries through the body" (p. 24). In this way she adds to the historical literature that has considered the dialectics of missionary discourse as everyday practice on the nineteenth-century imperial frontier. In prioritizing bodily and cultural indices of conversion over theological ones, and showing the ways in which evangelical discourses of modernity intrinsically had the upper hand in these negotiations, Cleall aligns herself rather more with Jean and John Comaroff than with her supervisor Catherine Hall, whose work has shown that the unraveling of the missionary dream of the "great family of man" was an unintended discursive consequence of particular circumstances of human interaction. But like Hall, Cleall also approaches missionaries as the subjects of this encounter, offering further evidence of Edward Said's truism that "self" and "other" are always formed in relational meaning.

The most provocative aspect of Cleall's story is that missionaries seemed surprisingly more comfortable with the other than they were with the self. The structure of the book considers each ordering principle of difference, followed by threats to that paradigm. Missionaries represented normative lines of gender and family as a measure of Christianization, but also discovered that the actual households and relationships that comprised mission and indigenous Christian communities constituted sites of significant transgression. They confidently defined those boundaries in establishing health and healing as a gauge of Christian transformation, but found that their own numbers proved equally susceptible to the human condition when facing illness and death in the field. Finally, missionary writings assumed that violence reliably characterized non-Christian peoples, and yet had to contend with the perpetration of violence by the representatives of supposedly more civilized European communities, and its attending disruption to mission work. These challenges proved so unsettling that constant effort was required to reorient and stabilize the terms of the mission project.

Although these realities always had the potential to undermine missionary ideals, Cleall ultimately emphasizes how they reinscribed rather than complicated the premise of difference. This recurring explanation lends an uncomfortable air of inevitability to a historical project that was in fact always subject to the contingencies of the social and political context in which it developed, and negates some of the geographic and historical specificity the book aims to uncover. A related issue is the author's conflation of missionary with colonial discourses. Although Cleall compares missionaries with other European agents, and qualifies their different theorizations of race, she also positions the mission project squarely within, rather than alongside, a broader trend of nineteenth-century "expansionist imperialism" (p. 169). Yet missionaries' humanitarian and universalist aspirations—fragile though they may have been—often made them identify more strongly with subalterns than with elites, or with black elites over white colonials. The author's own evidence points to some of these insurmountable ruptures, such as the Ndebele wars, when missionaries increasingly had to distance themselves from colonial social and political structures. But apparently "whilst the naming of the perpetrators of violence shifted, a metamorphosis did not occur in missionary attitudes to race as a marker of difference" (p. 159). Cleall does not credit missionaries with much cognizance of the changes she maps over time or across space, but one is left to wonder whether missionaries really demonstrated such an ironic lack of self-awareness. Part of the challenge here lies in sources: although Cleall does make use of archival material and personal communications, the heaviest weight of her evidence is derived from missionary periodicals and published accounts intended for the metropolitan public. Any challenge to the certainty of the missionary enterprise had to be justified and reconciled with the expectations of its metropolitan patrons, supporters, and consumers. However, holding the public up against more private reflections would have revealed a very different representation of, for example, Robert Moffet's intimate and complex relationship with Mzilikazi.

Cleall's version of these encounters presents not a dialectic so much as a persistent thesis dominating its antithesis. The purpose of the book is to show the workings of difference in the production of missionary knowledge and self-knowledge, and in this objective it succeeds. But homogenized discourses of difference remain the starting and ending point of the story, regardless of the extent of negotiation and unsettling that happened in the process.

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Richard Scully. *British Images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence, 1860–1914.* (Britain and the World.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xx, 375. $95.00.

This well-researched and generously illustrated study adds further nuance to the extensive literature on Anglo-German images and perceptions in the second half of the nineteenth century. Much of the recent scholarship has argued that British views of Germany in this period were more complex and ambivalent than a linear narrative about the "rise of antagonism" may suggest. Scully agrees with this assessment. British representations of the kaiser and the *Kaiserreich* did not identify Germany as a clear-cut enemy, but rather expressed a widely felt tension: Germany was both monster and model, friend and foe.

Scully traces this ambivalence in four different sets of sources: maps, travel literature, novels, and cartoons. Although the first of these takes up the smallest of the four parts of the book, it is perhaps the most original, providing some intriguing insight into the cooperation

and exchange that existed between British and German cartographers in the second half of the nineteenth century. As in so many other professions, this Anglo-German network was based on shared values and expertise as much as economic interdependence. German maps were considered superior to British in both countries, but while this implied competition, it did not preclude cooperation and exchange, which had financial as well as intellectual benefits for both sides. In academia in particular, a strong culture of collaboration continued until the outbreak of the war. When the German geographer Albrecht Penck was awarded the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society in May 1914, he spoke of the unity of vision that existed on both sides of the North Sea.

The other sources analyzed in *British Images of Germany* have been used extensively before, although Scully has unearthed some additions and brings together genres that are not always interpreted in the same context. The canonical examples of popular fiction that make an appearance—from George Tomkyns Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking: Reminiscences of a Volunteer* (1871) to Erskine Childers's *The Riddle of the Sands: A Record of Secret Service* (1915)—are read alongside the ideas of Germany evoked by authors such as George Meredith, George Gissing, and E. M. Forster. What characterized these and other literary representations of the *Kaiserreich* was debate rather than consensus. The decades before 1914 should therefore not "be characterised simplistically as a period in which depictions of Germany underwent an inevitable decline" (p. 109).

Scully comes to a similar conclusion in his analysis of British caricatures of the kaiser and his Reich. This, the largest part of the book, is perhaps inevitably dominated by the magazines *Punch* and *Judy*, but it also includes examples taken from other publications, such as *Fun* and *John Bull*. The time span covered reaches farther back than most existing studies of British caricatures of Germany, including Jost *Rebentisch's* Die vielen *Gesichter des Kaisers: Wilhelm II. in der deutschen und britischen Karikatur (1888–1918)* (2000) and Lothar Reinermann's *Der Kaiser in England: Wilhelm II. und sein Bild in der britischen Öffentlichkeit* (2001). By and large, though, the main finding confirms the recent scholarship: "Germany was not represented simply as a nation which inspired increasingly negative caricatures as Anglo-German relations underwent considerable stresses and strains between 1860 and 1914" (p. 136).

British Images of Germany does not burden the reader with a lengthy theory chapter about national stereotypes, mental maps, and the historical relevance of "images of the other." While this may be welcome, the absence of a broader theoretical framework means that Scully's sources remain disconnected from other contexts that scholars working in this field have been interested in. He rarely spells out clearly how we should understand the relationship between the many different ideas of Germany, on the one hand, and the politics and economics of the Anglo-German relationship, on the other. As a result, the main argument remains restricted to the level of images: These, Scully demonstrates comprehensively, continued to be ambivalent and contested until the outbreak of the war.

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Mark Roodhouse. *Black Market Britain, 1939–1955*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 276. $125.00.

There are many studies of criminality in which the focus ends with the start of either World War I or World War II, and there have been some published studies on postwar crime and policing. Very few studies of criminal offending run across wartime periods, however, because conditions in those extraordinary periods are just so different from peacetime situations. For example, in World War II the number of police available for duty shrank dramatically, so the conditions of war created new opportunities for criminal behavior—the looting of bombed-out houses, increased levels of prostitution, and, not least, more property crime due to the darkness created by blackout restrictions. For the notorious East End criminal "Mad" Frankie Fraser, the wartime lootings after bombing raids were some of the best times of his life. The war also saw the creation of a raft of regulations to govern civilian behavior—rationing, of course, was introduced to ensure the equitable distribution of food supplies, petrol, and other commodities.

Clive Emsley has recently published a study of crimes committed by military personnel (*Soldier, Sailor, Beggarman, Thief: Crime and the British Armed Services since 1914* [2013]), which explores the illegal trade between soldiers and civilians, as well as thefts and looting by soldiers abroad. Donald Thomas (*An Underworld at War: Spivs, Deserters, Racketeers, and Civilians in the Second World War* [2003]) revealed a similar world to that comprehensively studied and explored here by Mark Roodhouse, although *Black Market Britain* is a much more meticulously researched book—indeed, the author should be congratulated for the depth and scale of his archival investigation.

Roodhouse's focus is on the commission and control of normal crimes in abnormal times. "Black markets were everywhere and nowhere in austerity Britain," he states, but why they flourished yet never reached the same proportions as in other war-involved countries, as well as why some people participated in the black market and why some did not, are questions that have been under-researched. Why people cross the participatory edge into criminality has long been debated by criminologists. Did the particular social and economic conditions created by the war alter behavior sufficiently to cause law-abiding citizens to risk arrest? Did rational thinkers weigh the benefits and pitfalls of "unethical consumerism" (as Roodhouse terms it), or did a prevailing social climate of respectable fiddling create a permissive culture that enabled a new moral code to emerge during wartime?

In order to answer these questions, this study explores the whole period during which rationing was in force (the system was not abolished until a decade after World War II had ended) to reveal a complex regulatory system; a mass of contested moralities around entitlement, need, and greed; a raft of questions about rational offending; and insight into how the illegal market was grown, sustained, and combated. Roodhouse's conclusions clarify how this study contributes to our understanding of public sensibilities during times of austerity and resource scarcity.

The book is organized in three parts: a section that explores the scale of noncompliance with rationing regulations in the "grey" and the "black" markets; a section that considers the police and judicial response; and a final section that explores wider issues of how the black market was situated in its local context and how the "spiv" became a comic cultural figure in the 1950s. On that score, the *Spiv's Gazette* is a marvelous source that Roodhouse uses to good effect.

Historians of crime will also welcome more information about characters whose criminal offending transcended black market activities. "Mad" Frankie Fraser and Arthur Harding were well-known offenders who took advantage of wartime conditions to increase the scope of their offending. As Roodhouse points out, however, the black market was open not only to the established criminal fraternity, but also to "casual" offenders (those who would never have included themselves in the same bracket as Arthur Harding, in any respect). This is therefore a useful look at the middle-class offender, who is often left out of crime debates (other than the regulation of motoring). The police disliked enforcing regulations against middle-class offenders, who could be high-handed and contentious and might well have had connections to superior officers (pp. 151–152). In Birkenhead and Liverpool, blackout regulations were enforced mainly in working-class areas that did not experience heavy bombing, and for years after the last bomber had flown overhead. It would be interesting to know how the policing of black market activities overlapped with the control of other wartime regulatory breaches. The book could also have debated contemporary parallels. Britain is again experiencing austerity, and a historical commentary could have helped contextualize the renewed focus on "dole-fiddling" by the poor versus tax evasion by the rich.

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Helene von Bismarck. *British Policy in the Persian Gulf, 1961–1968: Conceptions of Informal Empire*. (Britain and the World.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. xx, 269. $85.00.

The historiography of Britain's twentieth-century empire is strikingly uneven in its geographical coverage, and the reasons for this unevenness need to be distinguished. It is easy to see why books and articles about the events leading to Indian independence and partition, which reshaped South Asian politics and history, are now piled so high that they overshadow the literature dealing with later instances of decolonization. Elsewhere, some combination of chronological precedence, the charismatic appeal of particular nationalist leaders, resonance in metropolitan debates, and Cold War saliency may explain why Ghana, Kenya, and Guyana proved more attractive to scholars of decolonization than regionally influential countries such as Nigeria, Tanzania, and Jamaica. In the case of Britain's informal empire in Arabia, the eastern territories on the Persian Gulf have garnered more attention than Britain's ramshackle South Arabian patrimony on the Indian Ocean, even though the latter hinged on Britain's only formal colony, the city port of Aden. The reason for this disparity is easy to identify: During the 1950s and 1960s, the export of oil from Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and Abu Dhabi to the industrial societies of Western Europe and East Asia became an integral feature of the global capitalist economy. It also sustained the sterling area, the maintenance of which was an essential feature of the British government's strategy for managing imperial decline.

Helene von Bismarck's book is the third in the last decade to examine the final years of British influence in the gulf. Whereas Simon C. Smith's *Britain's Revival and Fall in the Gulf: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the Trucial States, 1950–71* (2004) was written from the point of view of a specialist in British decolonization, and W. Taylor Fain's *American Ascendance and British Retreat in the Persian Gulf Region* (2008) was, as the title indicates, preoccupied with analyzing the transatlantic diplomacy that accompanied British withdrawal, von Bismarck is much more concerned with the mechanisms by which British influence was sustained during the 1960s. Only six pages toward the end of the book are devoted to the impact of Britain's decision to withdraw, and this seems entirely justified on the basis that so much of the extensive literature on Britain's east-of-Suez policy has already catalogued the Wilson government's abandonment of a substantial role in the Middle East. What does interest von Bismarck is the means by which Britain was able to shape events in the region, even as the economic and political circumstances that would lead to an early exit from the Persian Gulf were gathering in ominous alignment. Despite the continuing refusal of the British government to release all the documents relating to these events, she provides the fullest and most persuasive account yet offered of British involvement in the ousting first of Sheikh Saqr of Sharjah in 1965, and then of Sheikh Shakhbut of Abu Dhabi in 1966. A propensity for overthrowing inconvenient Arabian potentates was one of the distinctive features of British postwar diplomacy on the peninsula, and von Bismarck's shrewd discussion opens the possibility for further systematic comparison between the removal of Saqr and Shakhbut and the other British-organized palace coups that disposed of Haidera of Dhala and Ali of Lahj in South Arabia in the 1940s and 1950s and ejected Sultan Said from Oman in 1970.

Von Bismarck is particularly successful in illuminating the endless dilemmas that the affairs of the gulf principalities generated for the British. In one of the most interesting chapters of the book, she details the bureaucratic tangles that ensued as the Foreign Office attempted to modernize its image. Even the apparently straightforward goal of retitling its representatives in the region in order to wash away the colonial tinge of "agents" and "residents" proved surprisingly difficult to accomplish. The analysis of these developments could have been sharpened further by consideration of the broader context offered by the growing literature in the fields of development, intelligence, and diplomatic studies. In addition, von Bismarck's fidelity to the diplomatic record sometimes diverts her from the task of conveying a broader interpretation of events and locating her new findings in the existing historiography. In some respects, these caveats are a corollary of the great strengths of the monograph, which are that it is the product of meticulous research and demonstrates how effective careful exposition can be in re-creating the circumstances that shaped British policy. Although von Bismarck remarks at the outset on the difficulties of writing in a language not her own, the resulting unembellished prose is lucid and persuasive. As a whole, her book provides an admirable overview of the operations of informal empire in the Persian Gulf during the 1960s. Her decision to reexamine some familiar historiographical terrain proves to be fully justified.

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Jeffrey Freedman. *Books without Borders in Enlightenment Europe: French Cosmopolitanism and German Literary Markets*. (Material Texts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 382. $79.95.

During the past forty years, the field of the history of the book has been transformed by a series of important studies based on the extraordinarily rich archives of the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel (STN), most notably those of Robert Darnton. This Swiss publishing company, which specialized in inexpensive pirated editions, supplied booksellers in late-eighteenth-century France and francophone Europe with works that ranged from the *Encyclopédie* to the Bible to pornography. In *Books without Borders*, Jeffrey Freedman has returned to these archives to pose a new set of questions, asking how French-language books were sold in German markets, which books, and with what consequences.

Arguing for the importance of transnational scholarship, *Books without Borders* is framed as a challenge to the nationally bounded studies that have predominated scholarship on the book trade. Books as well as booksellers, Freedman argues, "moved back and forth across national borders" (p. 1). If the novelty of this approach is perhaps diminished by the fact that Darnton's studies of STN sales in France are similarly transnational, Freedman's point is no less valid. Moreover, its value is especially evident for late-eighteenth-century "Germany," a term Freedman uses to designate German-speaking lands in Europe, including those in the Habsburg Empire but excluding Switzerland. During this era, books in the French language made up a larger share of the German literary market than at any point before or since—nearly 10 percent of books sold, not including the many hundreds of French works translated into German. The literary exchange, he argues, was almost exclusively one-sided, and the very intensity of French literary dominance would help to catalyze a nascent German cultural nationalism.

Books without Borders is defined as much by the richness of the STN archives as by the limitations imposed by building a study around these unique sources alone. The book straddles two different registers. On the one hand, Freedman uses the firm's correspondence with retail booksellers throughout Germany and Switzerland as a window onto the German book trade as a whole. The fact that the STN's directors entered the German market around 1770 as novices who required instruction, and learned from their mistakes, enables Freedman to reconstruct the company's German operations, from the choice of texts and the selection of paper to the methods of delivery and payment. Freedman also uses the orders for more than 6,000 books placed by the STN's six principal German booksellers between 1774 and 1785 to gauge German demand for French books, analyzing the most-sought-after genres and authors. This illuminating contribution, presented in chapter four, will undoubtedly prove of interest to intellectual and cultural historians as well as literary scholars.

On the other hand, much of the book adopts what Freedman modestly describes as a "worm's eye perspective" (p. 63) of the retail book trade, presented through numerous case studies of the colorful swindlers, earnest failures, and others with whom the STN did business. "To do justice to the documentary riches in the Neuchâtel archives," he argues, they must be studied "both as a representative slice of the French book trade in eighteenth-century Germany and as an ensemble of individual life stories" (p. 12). Drawing on booksellers' letters, *Books without Borders* highlights the diversity of their experiences operating in various locales. It also closely follows the fate of several editions. The firm's disastrous attempt to offload expensive folio French Bibles in Germany using Protestant pastors as salesmen provides an opportunity to reflect on the challenges of selling religious texts across linguistic and religious boundaries. Because the STN, unlike most other firms, also engaged in several German-to-French translations, the more successful sales of a French edition of Friedrich Nicolai's popular German novel *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker* allow Freedman to consider how the French were exposed to the texts of the German Enlightenment.

Although engagingly written, *Books without Borders* squeezes this documentary trove so thoroughly that it

tends at times toward the anecdotal, while raising questions of representativeness. The STN, after all, was only one of a number of firms publishing French books for the German market. Moreover, the profitability of this branch of its operations is unclear. The challenges of identifying solvent retail partners were such that the firm "conducted its trade in Germany at great financial peril" (p. 61). Freedman argues that the STN's book sales can be seen as representative, explaining that it shipped not only its own books but also those from other publisher-wholesalers, so its stock was typical of other Swiss publishers. Yet given that the STN's practices diverged from industry norms in the company's refusal to participate (either directly or through agents) in the defining event of the German book trade—the annual Easter fair at Leipzig, where wholesalers and retailers met to buy and trade books—questions remain about how this choice impacted its operations.

The silences of the archive mean that the consumers of these books, almost undoubtedly a rather narrow educated elite, remain mostly in the shadows. Freedman speculates about their demographics, their tastes, and whether they intended to read or simply display their purchases. This analysis would have been enriched had it been more deeply embedded within a broader context of German literary and consumer practices, including the sale and consumption of other French goods. Nonetheless, *Books without Borders* makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the early modern book trade, while raising important questions about the role of commerce in mediating cultural relationships and in facilitating France's cultural dominance in eighteenth-century Europe.

Lauren R. Clay
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Kathleen Wellman. *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 433. $45.00.

A mere five years after the publication of Robert J. Knecht's authoritative study *The French Renaissance Court* (2008), the same publishing house has brought out a new book dealing with women at the French Renaissance courts. Kathleen Wellman's series of biographical sketches does not explicitly challenge any of Knecht's interpretations; rather, this book is aimed at a different, non-specialist readership. Its principal objective is to highlight the political role played by the women closest to the throne. This book also spans a slightly longer period of time than Knecht's: from Agnès Sorel, Charles VII's official mistress, to Gabrielle d'Estrées, titular mistress of Henry IV, or roughly from the 1440s to 1599. The political impact of these two women in particular has attracted much less scholarship than others in this book, such as Anne of Brittany, queen to both Charles VIII and Louis XII, for example, or the much-maligned Catherine de Medici. In the case of the latter, Wellman may cover well-trodden ground, but she manages to summarize complex dynastic and diplomatic matters in a few perspicacious sentences. The book also recounts the lives of women known for their artistic patronage (Diane de Poitiers) and intellectual achievement (Marguerite d'Angoulême) or their scandalous mores (Marguerite de Valois), but the originality of Wellman's approach lies in focusing on their diplomatic maneuvers, their extended networks, and their active role in political factions, which are often dismissed by historians as female squabbles and petty court intrigues. The book is concerned not only with queens and mistresses, as the title suggests, but also with sisters and mothers of kings, such as Anne de Beaujeu, regent for her brother Charles VII, or Louise of Savoy, regent for her son Francis I, who wielded much more influence than his queens (Claude of France and Eleanor of Austria) or mistresses (Françoise de Foix and Anne de Pisseleu). Anne de Pisseleu also appears to have played a much more important role than that with which she is often credited.

Unlike Fanny Cosandey in her seminal study *La reine de France: Symbole et pouvoir, XVe–XVIIIe siècle* (2000), Wellman does not offer a profound analysis of the queen as an institution, but compares her role to that of the "other woman" at court, the mistress, whose status often appears closer to the modern notion of a "wife" (based on a romantic attachment, even a partnership in some cases) than that of the queen. This culminates in the relationship between Henry IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées, who died shortly before her announced marriage to the king and was thus on the verge of blurring the boundaries between mistress and queen. Making use of the most recent scholarship, Wellman offers a hugely readable account of these women's lives, though without offering any entirely new insights. No archival research informs this study. Nevertheless, many elements were derived from a close reading of primary (printed) sources. All things considered, Wellman presents an excellent introduction to the period and to this topic in particular: each chapter is preceded by a chronological overview, and seemingly obvious terms, such as "dauphin" and "regent," are explained. The "foreignness" of the past is consistently highlighted and expounded, while at the same time an effort is made to put individual experiences into a more general context. The volume's potential use as a textbook is buttressed by the insertion of a simplified historical map of France and several family trees. The index is detailed and allows one to use this book as a tool of reference. A drawback—whether an editorial policy or a choice of the author—is the absence of a bibliography, which can only be found online. The reproductions of contemporary paintings and tapestry constitute to a certain extent a missed opportunity. Although the selection is judicious, the analysis is too succinct and lacks serious source criticism and contextualization. The choice of the cover illustration, a ball at the court of Henry III, can only be seen as an ironic statement, as this was the only court where women were quasi-excluded from the circle of the king, who preferred to

surround himself with *mignons*—as the author underlines herself. Henry III's queen even remains unnamed.

The approach is resolutely biographical, but Wellman largely avoids the various traps of the genre, as described by François Dosse in *Le pari biographique: Écrire une vie* (2005). She does not seek to whitewash or heroize any of the protagonists, no matter how sullied their popular image. Instead, she confronts different testimonies of contemporaries and diverging interpretations by historians. In particular, she deconstructs the versions of nineteenth-century French historians such as Jules Michelet, François Guizot, and Ernest Lavisse. This well-researched synopsis succeeds in showing that some women did have a Renaissance (*pace* Joan Kelly), and that they even defined what the Renaissance meant in France.

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Jennifer J. Davis. *Defining Culinary Authority: The Transformation of Cooking in France, 1650–1830*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 246. $47.50.

The study of cooking has offered an attractive way to approach the history of food for many decades. With the guidance of menus and cookbooks to spell out the ingredients and the preparation and presentation of meals, at least in elite households, the history of cuisine can tell us much about what and how people ate and may reveal deeper meanings about why they ate the way they did. But if we now know much more about what was eaten and how it was prepared, we seem to have exhausted the returns on studying cookbooks and analyzing national cuisines. So it is a pleasure to welcome a new generation of historians who, like Jennifer J. Davis, are bringing new materials and new questions to the study of cuisine. Davis's book is a triumph of archival research as well as a fresh injection of conceptualization and theory.

Rather than dwelling on cookbooks, although she uses them occasionally, Davis focuses on the cooks. Unlike Sean Takats (*The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France* [2011]), who has written about private cooks, she writes principally about the "public" cooks, or caterers, who maintained an important guild in Paris and elsewhere in France throughout the eighteenth century. Like other guilds, that of the caterers kept an eye on internal policies of employment, production, and membership, as well as on the rivalries with neighboring trades. The caterers' regular recourse to police agents for assistance in disciplining these activities means that the police archives can partially redeem the loss of their corporate records in the nineteenth century and help us understand their business practices. Patient research in the hugely rich archives of the Parisian police has enabled Davis to uncover many aspects of the guild's role in purveying cooked food and, more widely, to address a range of larger questions. Like other historians studying various guilds, she weighs its treatment of women, illegal workers, and economic monopoly, and she has useful insights into the guild's function in the Old Regime. But it is the caterers' claim to a monopoly of taste, of the right to define cuisine for a larger audience, that really interests Davis and gives this book much of its focus.

Like art and literature, cuisine slowly freed itself from elite norms and patronage during the eighteenth century and opened itself to a wider audience. People from every walk of urban life dined out or otherwise availed themselves of catering services well before the advent of the particular institution called the "restaurant." Thus, like art and literature, cuisine became the site of wider debates about taste and judgment. Backed by the state and its police (though it must be pointed out that Nicolas Delamare was never the lieutenant general of police), the caterers' guild aspired to impose standards of taste, as well as of hygiene, religious observation, and professional training. Yet their authority was challenged, Davis argues, by cookbook writers. In so doing, she transcends the traditional reliance on cookbooks as a primary and privileged source and transforms the analysis of the cookbooks themselves. Rather than assuming that they provide a transparent window into culinary tastes and experiences, Davis interrogates their role in the larger creation of a critical public sphere. Their evolving claims to authority, from associations with elite patrons to more general standards of expertise and more "egalitarian rhetoric" (p. 71), worked to expand the public addressed by these books and to involve it in judgments of taste and culinary experience.

With the suppression of the guild during the Revolution and the end of its supervisory role, the archival basis of this study thins out and the analysis becomes less rich. The cooks cede center stage in this part of the analysis to a more amorphous question of authority, since the end of the guild also left questions of authority up for grabs. A long chapter devoted to gastronomy and *gourmandise* in the early decades of the nineteenth century relies on a few well-known authors like Alexandre Balthazar Laurent Grimod de la Reynière and Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, who tried to claim authority on matters of food preparation, dining, and taste. But Davis points out that their authorial claims were contested by those being judged and that "the very ideal of the critical public forum in gastronomy first revealed its fault lines" (p. 141). She floats the idea that a more scientific gastronomy, harnessed to the needs of the state, could have substituted a different kind of authority, and she discusses the inventions of the early pioneer of canning, Nicolas Appert. But she admits that the initiative faltered, and the discussion feels tacked on.

In a conclusion that is more of a coda, she sees the periodic retelling of François Vatel's suicide as a way to illustrate the image of the chef through the centuries. The discussion is interesting but awkward, in that Vatel exemplified private domestic service, which was distinct from the public cooks she focuses on throughout. Nevertheless, this is an ambitious book that raises cuisine

to the level of art and literature as an important way to understand French society.

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PIERRE BIRNBAUM. *A Tale of Ritual Murder in the Age of Louis XIV: The Trial of Raphaël Lévy, 1669*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2012. Pp. 178. $60.00.

Making sense of the seventeenth century has occupied some of the greatest minds of French history, and probably brought untold others to their knees. With its large-scale wars and petty rebellions, fragmented allegiances and ruthless state-building, science and witch-hunts, the period is one of the most dynamic and confounding to fall under the historian's gaze. Here a successful practitioner of that Sisyphean task looks at one of the era's smaller but still deadly events—the ritual murder trial, and execution, of a single Jewish victim. Dissecting the case of Raphaël Lévy, and its treatment by commentators and scholars, Pierre Birnbaum shows how it has repeatedly served as a bellwether in times of cultural transition. The original accusation occurred against a backdrop of deep change, and various writers, some antisemitic and some sympathetic to Lévy, have repeatedly rediscovered the case. For Birnbaum, the case serves not only to illuminate the French past, but also to warn us of contemporary perils.

This work is a deft and readable translation by the distinguished Arthur Goldhammer of Birnbaum's 2008 original, *Un récit de meurtre rituel au grand siècle: L'affaire Raphaël Lévy, Metz, 1669*. In eight brief chapters, Birnbaum sets the stage, reexamines the trial, considers scholarly and not-so-scholarly views, and offers his own argument about its importance. For him, the Lévy case and a linked case of host desecration "turn out to be singular events in the history of modern France . . . It is as if the Counterreformation needed an Other, hostile to its idea of order, alien to its faith, and standing outside of Christian tradition" (p. 154).

Birnbaum lays out a rich mental topography of the era, while considering the local realities and political rivalries of the city of Metz, in Lorraine. Given the scope of his study—which he points toward the crucible of the Dreyfus Affair—consideration of local conditions necessarily moves at a rapid clip in early chapters. Scholars will appreciate the useful and extensive notes, which somewhat compensate American readers for the lack of a formal bibliography and index. Birnbaum links his case to work on earlier ritual murder trials, most notably R. Po-Chia Hsia's *Trent 1475: Stories of a Ritual Murder Trial* (1996), and he incorporates recent work on the Lévy case, including this reviewer's own *One King, One Law, Three Faiths: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Metz* (2002). He also moves beyond these works, considering Lévy's home village, and that of the bereaved parents, in addition to Metz, the trial site. Birnbaum's addition of an anonymous contemporary Yiddish chronicle provides a deeper picture of Lévy and his Jewish religiosity. He appears not as hapless victim or passive martyr, but as a man who was willing to surrender himself to authorities to save his community, who was actively involved in his own case, and who was remarkably sophisticated, if unsuccessful, in his arguments. Lévy asserted his innocence using reason, pointing out the dissonance between his known Jewish piety and the horrific criminal act assumed by his Christian accusers.

These and other details emerge and allow Birnbaum to refute the argument put forth by some scholars, particularly Bernhard Blumenkranz, that the Jewish community did little to help Lévy. He considers the political aspects of the case, including the vertical ties between Jews and the Crown that may have set local officials against Lévy and his co-religionists, but which also motivated Louis XIV to save other Jews of Metz who had been arrested by local officials as supposed accomplices. The state could not uproot traditional anti-Jewish myths, but it could, if mobilized quickly, mitigate the worst outcomes.

It is Birnbaum's command of the sweep of history that truly distinguishes his treatment, and the heart of the book is its fourth chapter. Here he explores the chronology of the case, and how others have viewed it since. Though never as famous as the Calas affair, which involved a falsely accused Protestant who was also executed, the Lévy case nonetheless periodically attracted notice. Writers as varied as the Christian Hebraist Richard Simon, the revolutionary Abbé Grégoire, the antisemitic polemicist Édouard Drumont, and the Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz all studied this case. The timing of their reexaminations, according to Birnbaum, is not random. Lévy's trial resurfaced whenever Jewish-gentile tensions flared. Commentators typically fell into two camps: those who believed Lévy guilty and insisted that his story belonged in a catalogue of Jewish evil, and those who defended Lévy, attaching his story to the Enlightenment assault on religious fanaticism. Birnbaum thus lays bare two important and conflicting strains of French identity and concepts of citizenship: Catholic nationalist homogeneity and Enlightenment rationalism.

There are some organizational oddities. The author waits until chapters three and four to really offer a cohesive chronology, even though he examines the personal relationships among the neighbor-witnesses earlier. This may cause confusion. He also regularly frames interesting analyses as questions. Still, his careful use of evidence, combined with his wide knowledge, makes for a fascinating study. Ingeniously, Birnbaum has succeeded in historicizing all of us who have looked at this case, and therefore he has historicized himself as well. His final comment hints at his own interest at this particular time. "Perhaps it is the contemporary retreat of the state," he writes, "accompanied by an explosion of prejudice and a return to violence and even murder,

that once again makes it important to discuss the tragic fate of Raphaël Lévy" (p. 155).

Patricia Behre
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Aurelian Craiutu. *A Virtue for Courageous Minds: Moderation in French Political Thought, 1748–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2012. Pp. xix, 338. $49.50.

Aurelian Craiutu's book is a fine study of a neglected subject. Unlike so many studies that, in our age of academic specialization, restrict themselves to limited timeframes such as the Old Regime or the Revolution or Napoleon or the Restoration, Craiutu's book covers all of these. It also includes a sketch of its subject going back to the beginnings of Western political thought with the Greeks, its place in Christian thought, and in the early modern period (pp. 19–32). While Craiutu devotes a chapter to Montesquieu and makes frequent reference to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the Abbé Sieyès, and other well-known figures, the bulk of his book is devoted to politicians and thinkers about whom less has been written. These include Jean-Joseph Mounier and the *monarchiens*; Jacques Necker, who played a key role in the finance and politics of the late Old Regime and early Revolution; his daughter, Madame de Staël, a thinker, writer, and salon hostess; and Benjamin Constant, a prolific author and political activist of the later Revolution, Napoleonic period, and Restoration. One cannot but admire the extent of the research that Craiutu has carried out in preparing this study. There is little relevant scholarship that he does not cite. Unfortunately, the publisher has omitted a bibliography and relegated the author's notes, which often amplify his exposition, to the back of the book, where they are less convenient to consult.

Craiutu identifies four main theses or lines of investigation. The first is the development of moderation from a personal or individual virtue into a political attitude that sought a set of institutions whose purpose was to safeguard not only order and stability, but also the liberty of the individual. His second theme is that moderation implies complexity. Those whom he identifies as moderates, from Montesquieu on, sought to prevent excessive concentration of power in the hands of any one individual or body, fearing the loss of personal liberty that followed from Old Regime absolutism, the policies of the Terror, and, in the case of Madame de Staël though not Benjamin Constant, the Napoleonic regime. Some version of a separation of powers and division of sovereignty was advocated by all moderates. They were concerned, though to different degrees, with the threat of gridlock resulting from an overly sharp division of powers, and sought ways to avoid it. They also regarded government as complex, and it was in institutional complexity that they saw the best safeguard of individual liberty.

The third theme treated by Craiutu is that in practice, moderation often required "trimming." He rehabilitates this often denigrated tactic that is frequently associated with opportunism by pointing out that avoiding extremes and keeping to a center-oriented course was an integral part of the moderate political outlook. The fourth main theme concerns the eclecticism of moderation, which reflects both the difficulty of adequately analyzing it in the usual political terms, and the fact that moderation could have conservative or radical connotations depending on circumstances (pp. 3, 240). Montesquieu and Constant, for example, countenanced the use of extra-constitutional means in crisis situations (pp. 59, 205). This is a pragmatic position, but it is also one that can be used to justify the Terror, though not by Craiutu's moderates, who took a dim view of it. Moderation is also characterized by admiration for the British constitution, bicameralism, recognition of the need for a strong executive, an assumption of "the indeterminacy of the political good" (p. 55), pluralism, gradualism, toleration, and mistrust of abstraction.

Craiutu's study would seem to belong to the historiographical approach of François Furet and Mona Ozouf, which is to say that it deals primarily with ideas and is light on the circumstances in which those ideas were developed. As a political scientist, Craiutu is no doubt most interested in the ideas expressed in the vast array of books and pamphlets that he examines, as well as the constitutions of 1791, 1795, and 1799. At times it is difficult to tell whether he is speaking in his own voice or restating the views of the thinkers whose work he discusses. He seems to accept the importance attached to public opinion by Furet and similarly minded revisionists as a "universal tribunal" (p. 118), but he also notes that Mounier held that as bearers of opinion, the sovereign nation should not be confused with the working population (pp. 74–75); that Necker distinguished between "real" public opinion and the "whims of the people" (p. 118); and that Constant saw public opinion not so much as a principle of authority, but as something that must be formed by those, himself among them, who knew better (pp. 205–206).

Craiutu does not much discuss the social conservatism of his moderates and how their social views and fears influenced their political theories and choices. The Coppet Group especially thought that natural inequalities should be respected, and feared too much emphasis on equality (pp. 131–132, 166–167, 179, 208). They viewed property as a necessary condition for participation in political life, and favored an ever-narrowing franchise (pp. 157, 173, 178–179, 229). The moderates were indeed liberal in their advocacy of individual rights and concern about government abuses of power, but they were hardly democrats in the modern sense.

Aurelian Craiutu has produced a well-researched and clearly written study of an important subject. His first citation in the front matter is from Montesquieu, which in rough translation reads: "It is not a matter of getting people to read, but of getting them to think."

One of the many virtues of this book is that it does get one thinking.

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Allan Potofsky. *Constructing Paris in the Age of Revolution*. Paperback ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xvii, 345. $32.00.

The themes of "corporatism," "statism," and "liberalism" drawn from Jean-Pierre Hirsch's *Les deux rêves du commerce: Entreprise et institution dans la région lilloise, 1780–1860* (1991) guide Allan Potofsky's way of thinking about the transition from old regime to new in *Constructing Paris in the Age of Revolution*. The three themes are not mutually exclusive for Potofsky, but rather mostly come together to explain France's exceptional path toward industrialization and "democratic capitalism" in the revolutionary era from 1763 to 1815. By examining the full scope, from bottom to top, of Parisian construction, Potofsky builds a detailed social and administrative history that undermines the "myth" of unrestrained liberalism at the start of the French Revolution, as it also seeks to explain the origins of a French model of modernization. The guilds may have been abolished in 1791, but the "corporate idea" persisted.

The book is organized with a preface, an introduction, six chapters, and a combined conclusion and epilogue. The introduction situates the themes ("dreams") of corporatism, statism, and liberalism in the historiography of eighteenth-century Paris, as it also looks back from the perspective of what Paris would become in the nineteenth century. As others have noted, urban reform—plans and reality—predated the massive projects undertaken by Georges-Eugène Haussmann during the Second Empire. *Constructing Paris* is distinguished by a deep exploration of the social and administrative "world of work" in Paris for the revolutionary era, a topic that has not drawn its rightful share of scholarship.

Chapter one describes the crises—some real, some the product of perception—that undermined the building trades and guilds before 1789. Chapters two through four cover the Revolution from its start in 1789 through the first year of the Directory in 1795. Construction of Paris's Panthéon began in 1791 during a small "boom" in the building industry and as good wages drew building workers to the city. The Panthéon building site became a "crucible of competing authorities" (p. 24), and thus emblematic for Potofsky, as contests among workers, entrepreneurs, and state officials played out. Here a new "organization of labor" emerged, with "citizen-builders" hired in a sometimes "deeply politicized" way (p. 117). The administration favored engineers over architects, and with the start of the Terror in 1793 exercised more policing over working-class settings like this. *Constructing Paris* is based upon a thorough command of the primary sources, with the result that these central chapters provide a fascinating and much-needed look at the Paris world of work during the radical phase of the Revolution; this includes a brief take on the question of "What is a sans-culotte?"

The last two chapters cover the Directory and the Napoleonic era through 1815. This was the period when the economic "liberalism" of 1789–1791 was undermined by the social "anarchy" it introduced. The response was a revived "corporatism" in construction with the creation in 1811 of the *Chambre syndicale*. For Potofsky, this revival and the founding of the *Chambre* stand for a kind of pragmatic "statism" that came naturally to Napoleonic officials like the police prefect of Paris, Louis-Nicolas Dubois. For building workers in Paris, including the *maçons de la Creuse*, who are an ongoing presence in the story, this meant more oversight by state officials as the masons migrated from rural homes to the capital, resided at the *chambres garnies* while working in Paris, and looked for jobs at the placement offices and the hiring fair at the central Place de Grève. The "statist" dream seems stronger in 1815 than the "liberal" or "corporate" dream, even as in the conclusion and epilogue the author briefly traces the combined threads of all three through the Paris Commune of 1871. There are numerous prints and maps, and the text is well-written and engaging. However, there are many editing errors that distract from the overall quality.

Midway through the book, Potofsky writes that "The French exception of industrial development would eventually be modelled on a complex synergy between administrative state interventionism, technical expertise, and the well-policed labor force, as well as private entrepreneurship *and* corporate organization" (p. 182). *Constructing Paris in the Age of Revolution* describes the origins of the "French exception" as it also fills a gap in the social history of the revolutionary era.

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Marisa Linton. *Choosing Terror: Virtue, Friendship, and Authenticity in the French Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 323. $99.00.

In November 1793, Jean-Marie Roland, the ex-Girondin minister of interior, was on the run from his Jacobin pursuers. His wife already dead, he scribbled a short note before he took his own life, reminding the living that he was "a man who has died as he has lived, virtuous and honest" (p. 272). In this important book, Marisa Linton shows with insight and care how Roland's self-image as a man of virtue and honesty was shared among nearly all revolutionary politicians on the Left, who dominated the French Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, and the Convention. Linton's core argument is that this ideology of virtue served both to unite and then to divide the political leadership, culminating in "The Politicians' Terror" (p. 174), an eruption of violence that paralleled the Terror simultaneously gripping the nation.

Choosing Terror charts how various factions competed for control of the Paris Jacobin Club, each styling themselves Jacobins until they too fell from power. Linton artfully shows how the vocabulary used by politicians during the ascent to power revolved around virtue, transparency, and self-sacrifice, until almost inevitably, their fall was hastened by enemies accusing them of ambition, overt self-interest, and corruption. Hence Roland's defensive posture.

Jacobin politicians chose a tragic cul-de-sac. Given the reality of political life anywhere, but especially in France at the end of the eighteenth century, it was impossible to behave from any pure sense of virtue, and yet, that is what they demanded of one another. At the end of the day, Linton argues that it was friendship, not ideology or even external circumstances, that accounted for recycled factional violence. "Part of the unwritten story of the split between Girondin and Jacobin is one of how erstwhile friends became enemies," she writes (p. 142). Behind virtue lay fiercely loyal friends who suddenly turned on each other.

The most important finding of this focused and clear investigation of political behavior and ideology is its startling new view of Girondin political behavior. For decades historians have been under the influence of M. J. Sydenham's *The Girondins* (1961) and Alison Patrick's *The Men of the First Republic: Political Alignments in the National Convention of 1792* (1972), in which the Girondins come off as a disunited group of political amateurs, no match for their more aggressive and disciplined Jacobin opponents. Linton demonstrates better than any other recent historian that it was the Girondins—Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville and his allies—who first used slander and denunciation to attack political opponents during 1791–1792. By the time of the purging of the Girondin leadership in 1793 by the Jacobins, the use of such character assassination had become commonplace. She argues that "the battle between Jacobins and Girondins had little to do with ideology and principles, and everything to do with political tactics and personal relationships of friendship and enmity" (p. 146). There are no virtuous statesmen in Linton's dark account of the French Revolution.

The book nonetheless contains weaknesses that sometimes affect its main arguments. Linton tells us that Brissot began his political career with "the elections to the Legislative Assembly" (p. 103) in 1791. This ignores the fact that by 1791 Brissot had already been a political leader of some influence for at least two years within the Paris municipality. The reason that this is so crucial for Linton's book is that it was in the Paris districts where Brissot first worked out political alliances and controversies with men such as Georges Danton and Jean-Paul Marat, who would later oppose him in the Convention. As R. B. Rose showed in *The Making of the Sans-Culottes: Democratic Ideas and Institutions in Paris, 1789–92* (1983), no definitive account of revolutionary factionalism can ignore the sixty Paris districts that operated early in the Revolution.

Another weakness is perhaps more serious. This book purports to be about friendship. Linton early on introduces notions of friendship during the second half of the eighteenth century: "The issue of friendship would be central to the theoretical, practical, and especially the personal dimensions of Jacobin politics" (p. 42). By the time she arrives at the Revolution, we expect to learn a lot about how friendship operated in revolutionary politics. On this topic we learn very little. She neither draws on new theory nor finds compelling primary source examples showing the affective quality of particular relationships. When she writes that "a group of like-minded friends formed itself around the marquis de Lafayette," (p. 58), for example, we expect to have a richer sense of what friendship means to them. When she writes that at one time during the spring of 1791, "the radical Jacobins were on terms of friendship with the Lameths" (p. 86), and then one page later that "it was natural that people who found they had much in common politically should soon become friends" (p. 87), any argument about revolutionary friendship becomes obscure. In short, it is not clear whether Linton means for us to think of friendship as a deep affective bond or more simply as a transactional political alliance. These problems weaken what is otherwise a fascinating account based on wide reading of the extensive published scholarly literature.

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Naomi Davidson. *Only Muslim: Embodying Islam in Twentieth-Century France*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 299. Cloth $75.00, paper $25.95.

Naomi Davidson's *Only Muslim: Embodying Islam in Twentieth-Century France* begins with a quandary familiar to observers of modern French politics and culture: Given the centrality of secularism to French republican ideology and the formal separation of church and state in 1905, why are French Muslims identified primarily as members of a religious community, unlike French Catholics, Protestants, and Jews? Davidson argues that the unique position of Muslims stems from the creation of a particular brand of "French Islam" that "blended French secular republicanism with distinct embodied practices and aesthetics drawn from the French imaginary of orthodox Moroccan Islam" (p. 1). According to French observers, Islam was a "rigid and totalizing system" that required the performance of "corporeal rituals" in particular kinds of "aesthetic spaces" (p. 2).

Davidson's most powerful claim is that beginning around World War I and continuing into the present day, this "embodied religious identity" has been essentialized to such a degree that it functions as a racialized identity, despite its tenuous or nonexistent links to phenotype. Islam was "embodied" through the practice of dietary restrictions, ablutions, and the sensory experience of religious ritual; embodiment also refers to the process by which Islam's ostensibly immutable essence "saturates" the identity of its practitioners so fully that

they cannot be both Muslim and French. If these rituals permeated every aspect of Muslim life and were inseparable from Muslim personhood, they could not be confined to private life, as mandated by French understandings of secularism (*laïcité*). And if, by definition, Muslim colonial subjects could not divest themselves of their religious identity, they should not be extended French citizenship.

The example of the Paris Mosque, built in 1926 in the heart of the Latin Quarter, exemplifies the intersection of architecture with the politics of "French Islam." Unlike churches or synagogues, the mosque was constructed with state funds, as politicians and colonial administrators generally agreed that the French state should play an active role in the management of Islam. It reflected the "*hispano-mauresque*" style in vogue among colonial urbanists, elevating "French perceptions of Moroccan Muslim aesthetics and practice" above the less "civilized" forms of Islam imagined in Algeria and sub-Saharan Africa (p. 50). Most importantly, because the Paris Mosque was to demonstrate architecturally an Islam compatible with democracy and secularism, it straddled the divide between public and private while also providing Muslim subjects a space in which to carry out their rituals. There was a minaret, for example, but the call to prayer was audible only within the complex and not in the surrounding streets, an arrangement that respected the secular French public sphere, where church bells sounded nonetheless.

At the same time the Paris Mosque was constructed, the French state and its bureaucracy implemented a number of social assistance programs that catered to Muslim immigrants exclusively. The new "Franco-Muslim Hospital" included Arabic-speaking doctors, a prayer room, and halal food, and offered accommodations to its patients and staff on Ramadan and other holy days. A Muslim cemetery was attached to the hospital so that Islamic burial rituals could be respected. Davidson is careful to point out that social assistance for Muslim immigrants went hand in hand with surveillance of them. Because projects like these served as "legitimized segregation on religious grounds in the name of cultural sensitivity," they reinforced the notion that North Africans were "only Muslim," and not simply immigrant workers (p. 85).

The book's analysis of "French Islam" as both an aesthetic performance and a scheme for managing Muslim populations continues through the anti-secular and racialist Vichy regime, eruptions of anticolonial nationalism in the metropole, and the postcolonial migrations of Muslims following the Algerian War for independence. Davidson also argues that vestiges of "French Islam" persist in contemporary debates such as the controversy surrounding Muslim girls wearing headscarves to school. She is at pains to show how, throughout the long twentieth century, "French Islam" diverged from the everyday practices of "Islam in France," and that conceiving of Muslims as "only Muslim" flattened their identities by ignoring other affiliations, such as those based on region, neighborhood, and social class. At times the discussion of "embodiment" is in need of further precision: Is it a synonym for essentialization? Is it a particular kind of Orientalism? Is this the only means by which Islam was racialized? And what of individuals embodied in multiple ways, namely women and Muslim persons of color? (More detail on how West African subjects were written out of "French Islam" would have been useful.) These questions aside, Davidson's provocative account of the "parallel social world" constructed for Muslims in France reveals the simultaneously biological and cultural bases for modern racialized identities, and illuminates the provenance of an important strain of French ideas about the unassimilability of Muslims.

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Sandrine Sanos. *The Aesthetics of Hate: Far-Right Intellectuals, Antisemitism, and Gender in 1930s France*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 369. Cloth $65.00, e-book $65.00.

In this book, Sandrine Sanos seeks to overcome the divide between literary scholars and historians who have studied the French far right during the 1930s. While the former have focused on the literary works of far-right-wing intellectuals, the latter have highlighted their political activities and journalistic writings. Sanos argues that these two aspects of their careers cannot be separated. Moreover, she suggests that post–World War II efforts to dissociate the literary from the political frequently served to absolve certain individuals of guilt for their unsavory political behavior during the 1930s, especially under Vichy. She also argues that violent antisemitism was not peripheral to the nationalist ideology of the far right. Most controversially, she maintains that the views of right-wing intellectuals toward sexuality and gender, especially their drive to create a new virile masculinity, were linked to their antisemitism and racist attitudes toward colonial subjects. According to Sanos, the national crisis perceived by right-wing writers and publicists mirrored an inner crisis as well, since traditional views of masculinity were under assault during these years. She argues that what these individuals feared most was the dissolution of the French nation due to the country's porous borders, which had encouraged a massive "invasion" of immigrants, especially Jews. She similarly suggests that their greatest fear on the individual level was the dissolution of the male self brought about by the collapse of traditional gender boundaries.

Sanos does not focus on those figures who played the greatest role in French politics. She is interested in intellectuals who aspired to careers as writers and critics, particularly the Jeune Droite (Young New Right) and the intellectuals affiliated with the right-wing newspaper *Je suis partout*. While the Jeune Droite grew out of a Catholic orientation, *Je suis partout* veered toward racism and fascism. However, both groups were over-

whelmingly young and viewed themselves as representatives of a distinct generational cohort, a cultural avant-garde. They saw themselves as intellectual heirs of Charles Maurras (p. 209). Although Sanos does not say explicitly why these youths left the Action Française in the 1930s, since the newspaper *L'Action française* continued to appear even after the papal ban of 1926, it is clear that they felt the need to branch out in new directions, particularly insofar as they viewed culture rather than parliamentary politics as the terrain on which the battle for France would be fought.

According to Sanos, the central themes running through these works were "abjection" and dissolution. "Abjection," she explains, was a concept that arose in the aftermath of World War I, "a pervasive feeling of disgust and a state of being characterized by lack and ambivalence" (p. 4). Sanos furthermore claims that these right-wing intellectuals blamed the decadent and corrupt state of French society on "outsiders"—colonial subjects and immigrants, especially foreign Jews. Deemed inassimilable, they were charged with having eroded the nation's boundaries. These groups, and especially the Jews, were furthermore blamed for every ill plaguing modern society: capitalism, excessive materialism and individualism, socialism and communism, and parliamentary democracy based on universal male suffrage, which conveyed a false sense of equality among all citizens. These criticisms reached fever pitch in the spring of 1936, when the Popular Front led by Léon Blum, a socialist and Jew, came to power. As Thierry Maulnier of the Jeune Droite wrote, "We must now decide whether the France which has built the most beautiful cathedrals and won the greatest wars . . . will be transformed into a nation of crooks, eunuchs, and thugs" (p. 94).

Sanos argues that in their desire to effect radical revolutionary change through violence, these right-wing intellectuals went beyond their spiritual forefathers in the Action Française. As the editor-in-chief of *Je suis partout*, Pierre Gaxotte, exclaimed in June 1936, "France is finished; but its demise will allow [it] to be reborn." The nation, he predicted, would eventually wake up, but to achieve victory "we need to fight everywhere and all of the time . . . We are fighting for a national revolution in order to restore health, strength, and happiness to France" (p. 196). Only a radical purge of Jews and foreigners would cure the nation of this disease. In 1938–1939, Lucien Rebatet and Robert Brasillach even called for a *statut des Juifs* that would strip Jews, French and foreign alike, of their civil rights and restore their medieval status.

This sense of abjection and dissolution characterized these right-wing intellectuals' attitudes toward sexuality as well, and here Sanos suggests that many members of this group were repressed homosexuals whose sexual anxieties shaped their view that the nation, as well as French men in general, lacked a virile masculine identity. Here she points especially to the works of Louis-Ferdinand Céline, although he was affiliated with neither the Jeune Droite nor *Je suis partout*. In his scatological antisemitic pamphlet *Bagatelles pour un massacre* (1937), Céline declared that "Yid colonization" was eroding the French nation as well as the "Aryan" male body (p. 175). He furthermore linked Jews and African blacks by portraying both as instinctual and powerful forces threatening to swallow up the emasculated French: "these wandering Jews . . . empty your balls and your head, they rip you off, they suck your blood" (p. 181). The notion that an emasculated France had been assaulted by Jews, blacks, and other alien forces was widely shared by groups on the right.

Sanos's book contributes to our understanding of the French far right on the eve of World War II in several respects. First, by focusing on the Jeune Droite as well as the *Je suis partout* crowd, she highlights the enormous power that Maurras and the Action Française continued to exert into the 1930s and 1940s. Furthermore, by emphasizing the extreme violence of their rhetoric, which repeatedly called for a "National Revolution" and the advent of a "New Order," she illustrates the extent to which their ideology paved the way for Vichy. Finally, by arguing that their journalistic writings should not be separated from their literary works, and by emphasizing the centrality of antisemitism to their work, she demonstrates the impossibility of trying to understand far-right-wing nationalism without taking antisemitism into account. To be sure, not everyone on the right endorsed Céline's call for the "extermination" of Jews, but proposals for a *statut des Juifs* had enormous appeal across the spectrum of right-wing groups.

There are a few holes in Sanos's analysis, however. First, although she argues that a major difference between the intellectuals affiliated with the Jeune Droite and those affiliated with *Je suis partout* was the strong Catholic identity of the former, she never clarifies how Catholicism influenced their views. More significantly, she never explores the question of how these far-right revues and individuals were funded, despite widespread suspicions in liberal and left-wing circles that they were receiving Nazi subsidies. Here, some use of archival sources at the Archives Nationales and the Paris Police Archives would have been informative. The most glaring omission, however, is the author's failure to examine the activities of these individuals during the Vichy era. Although she looks briefly at the post-1945 careers of some of these writers, most notably Maurice Blanchot, there is no sustained discussion of their collaboration with the Germans during the Occupation, and especially their avid support for Nazi antisemitism.

Moreover, not all of Sanos's arguments are equally convincing. Aside from Céline, who in many respects is *sui generis*, the evidence of a strong link between antisemitism and attitudes toward colonialism in the writings of these intellectuals seems thin. Nor was I convinced by the author's effort to link the theme of the nation under assault with the personal anxieties of these right-wing intellectuals about their own sexuality. It seems a stretch to deduce such a relationship solely on the basis of appeals for a more virile France. Here, more biographical information would have been wel-

come, and it is not clear why the author eschews this approach. Finally, Sanos repeatedly argues that the far right of the 1930s was significantly more extreme than what she calls the "traditional far right" of Maurras and the Action Française. But this claim is unproven, and in particular, her assertion that Maurras's antisemitism was more moderate than that of Brasillach and Rebatet is unsubstantiated.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, this book constitutes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the far right in France on the eve of World War II, particularly insofar as it presents a more holistic approach to their writings by joining together their literary and journalistic careers. Although some of the author's ideas are more speculative than others, this book will undoubtedly stimulate considerable debate.

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Chris Pearson. *Mobilizing Nature: The Environmental History of War and Militarization in Modern France.* (Cultural History of Modern War.) New York: Manchester University Press, distributed by Palgrave Macmillan. 2012. Pp. xiv, 336. $95.00.

As its title suggests, this book aims to link the fields of military and environmental history. *Mobilizing Nature* traces an arc of modern, militarized environments in France that begins with Emperor Napoleon III's creation of the 12,000-hectare Chalôns training camp near Belgium in 1857 and ends with clashes between environmentalists and the government over endangered species and rural landscapes at two military bases in the early 2000s. The intervening chapters examine various dimensions of military life in the trenches, environmental transformations at battlefield sites, and long-term changes in social relations and ecology at permanent base sites. Designed to be accessible to those with an interest in military environmental history, the book moves relatively quickly through major military events and across huge swaths of French countryside. It makes up for its thin coverage in some places with generous notes and a rich introduction to archival and secondary sources. Each chapter presents a brief, clear argument backed up with sufficient notes and commentary to aid future scholars.

Studies on militarization and environmental history borrow from many different areas, from military and critical geography to gender and literary theory, and Pearson stakes his approach on what he terms "more-than-human" processes. In the notes, he teases out his methodology as influenced by Actor-Network Theory but tempered by a sensitivity to inequality and power relations (p. 14). Given that state and foreign military organizations have repeatedly used war or war preparation to justify emergency seizures of resources or property from individuals, this seems appropriate. Chapter one clearly demonstrates this blending of methodological approaches. In the first section, Pearson considers the cultural dimensions of militarization, suggesting that the camp at Chalôns was a "material manifestation of the Second Empire's imperial ambitions" (p. 22). It featured a falconry, a hippodrome, and hunting grounds for officers. Drawing from works on French medical culture, Pearson also shows how the base functioned to advance the latest ideas on disease prevention through improved sanitation and environmental modifications.

Some of the most fascinating sections in the early chapters consider the roles that domesticated and wild animals played in ongoing debates about battlefield and base environments. In chapter two, describing battlefronts in the Franco-Prussian War, Pearson provides a particularly compelling account of the shifting role that horses played in cavalry charges against the latest Prussian artillery (p. 46). Chapter four, on trench warfare in World War I, includes sections on the use of animals, particularly dogs and pigeons, in the trenches as well as soldier accounts of birdsong during periods of quiet between the shelling (pp. 96–101). Animals are again at the center in later chapters. One of the most successful civil protests against military base expansion, which took place on the Larzac plateau from 1971 to 1981, prominently featured animals synonymous with local rural society such as sheep (p. 256). The book's treatment of wild animals caught up in militarized spaces ends with a paradox common to military bases in other countries: some of the best habitats for endangered plants and animals are firing ranges and weapons depots. It is increasingly common for military bases to also be biodiversity hotspots (p. 273).

The other major thread of *Mobilizing Nature* concerns long-term contests between states and individuals over competing land uses at former battlefields and in areas on or around permanent bases. We see this beginning in the Third Republic's responses to the Franco-Prussian War. Pearson traces the widespread shift in domestic military occupations from urban forts to rural camps, especially along the new German border. Chapter five, on the interwar period (1918–1940), brings out the many ways in which wartime trauma and destruction on the battlefield opened up new opportunities for the postwar French state to move into shell-shocked communities. For example, Pearson notes that the maps, photographs, and stories in a series of Michelin guidebooks to the battlefields of the western front played a role in shaping popular attitudes toward preservation of battle-scarred landscapes and popular fears or hatred toward German "crimes" rendered visible in these places (p. 129). Land-use debates also led to frequent conflicts between French foresters and powerful military interests. When the U.S. military in 1951 proposed to locate the Allied Air Forces Central Europe headquarters in the famous Fontainebleau Forest outside of Paris, foresters were among those who publicly demonstrated to prevent further U.S. incursions into such popular French destinations (p. 189).

The one thing that could have used more treatment in this accessible and largely successful foray into a large, complex topic situated in a large, complex space

is the maps. For persons not intimately familiar with French landscapes, the four small maps in the front matter are inadequate. I found myself repeatedly thumbing back to the map of French army bases, and in some cases sites discussed were not noted. This is admittedly one of those minor technical details deservedly buried at the end of a review, but it does raise a question for future researchers about cartographic representations of military spaces. Pearson even supplies a beautiful example of this cartographic imagination at work (but without the image) in the title and opening of chapter seven, describing a map found among "dusty letters" in the French military archives that depicted France in 1980 as a nation-space military base, crossed by a skull and crossbones and a tank (p. 207).

Mobilizing Nature achieves its aim as a new contribution to military and environmental history. The book invites us to expand our ideas about the environmental and cultural legacies of war. Anecdotes and rich annotation lay out clear roadmaps in each chapter that others may use to forge new theoretical paths into military archives as well as real paths into these contested landscapes. Pearson's book advances military environmental history as a relatively new line of inquiry. Students in environmental or military history courses should be able to readily argue with and build from it.

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Mary Louise Roberts. *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2013. Pp. xii, 351. $30.00.

In *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (1989), Paul Fussell reports that in World War II Europe, American soldiers were known for "Drinking Far Too Much, Copulating Too Little." In *What Soldiers Do*, Mary Louise Roberts challenges the second clause: GIs were copulating far too much as well, even in Normandy during the invasion of 1944. Not only did rates of venereal disease in the U.S. Army skyrocket, but so did complaints from local authorities about the sexual proclivities of GIs and, more seriously, accusations of rape. This book adds to a growing number of studies, like Keith Lowe's *Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II* (2012), that muddy the triumphal story of Europe's liberation. A constant image in that story has been the American GI stormed by phalanxes of grateful European girls. So pervasive is this "memory" that some commented, with disappointment, that Iraq's liberation in 2003 provided no such scenes. It is this image that Roberts explores in *What Soldiers Do*, teasing out its implications for the relationship between GIs and French civilians, and more importantly for the postwar relationship between the United States and France.

Sex between American soldiers and French women embodied a realignment of power between the two countries. First, the much-publicized romance of (white) masculine GIs rescuing French women—the GI on the tank kissing a delighted young French woman—placed the U.S. as the powerful but generous protector, France as feminine, grateful, and defenseless. The story of the GI trading cigarettes and chocolate to a French prostitute for sex positioned the U.S. as virile, dominant, and abounding with energy and goods, while France was impoverished, subservient, and debased. And finally, the reports of rape, of black GIs terrorizing French women, silenced at the time and muted ever since, were indicative of American power gone wrong, undermined and discredited by race. Together these stories configured the relationship between the U.S. and France in the postwar world, the former ascending to superpower status while suppressing its own demons, the latter declining into a third-rate nation. As American soldiers learned how to be conquering heroes, to whom nothing could reasonably be denied, the French learned humiliation. Photographs of *tondues*, French women who had their heads publicly shaved as punishment for having relations with German soldiers, were juxtaposed with photographs of French girls kissing GIs. Was this indeed liberation, French observers wondered, or was it simply another conquest? Liberation, Roberts establishes, was troublesome for the U.S. and traumatic for the French, and it had long-term consequences for both.

Roberts argues that the U.S. military controlled French women's bodies as a means and also a symbol of U.S. authority over France. However, the contradictions of the military's policies toward prostitution and the inconsistency with which those policies were applied suggest a less coherent vision. The priorities of the U.S. Army were first to protect its fighting capacity and second to guard its reputation; what happened to the French in the process was rarely its concern.

The one situation in which the American military authorities intervened decisively was in response to accusations of rape against black GIs. Roberts suggests that black soldiers may have participated disproportionately in sexual assaults because, as non-combat troops, they spent more time in close contact with French civilians. More convincingly, she explores the shared racial prejudices of both American officers and the French population that colored these accusations; both viewed blacks as hypersexual and uncivilized. She also compares the wave of rape accusations against African American GIs in the summer and fall of 1944 to the Great Fear of 1789, when fear and myths were magnified by rumors into a mass panic. In 1789, however, there were no brigands ravaging the countryside; in 1944, some American soldiers did rape French women. Disentangling reality from prejudice in poorly lit Norman farmhouses was and is not a simple matter.

Apparently the U.S. Army dealt quickly and summarily with alleged perpetrators when they were black and then imposed silence. Roberts argues that the execution of alleged black rapists was intended to demonstrate both to the soldiers and to the French population that the army was in command. However, less than one in five accusations against black soldiers led to execu-

tion (p. 195). Thus summary execution does not seem to have been the general practice. As in the attempts to control prostitution, the results of rape accusations appear to have depended upon the different reactions of commanders on the ground, rather than upon a coherent policy.

What Soldiers Do is engrossing. Even though not all the arguments are watertight, Roberts forcefully demonstrates that soldiers' sex cannot be dismissed as a trivial accompaniment of war. It embodies power, and power, after all, is what war is about.

MARGARET H. DARROW
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JOEL F. HARRINGTON. *The Faithful Executioner: Life and Death, Honor and Shame in the Turbulent Sixteenth Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2013. Pp. xxvi, 283. $28.00.

This is a wonderful book. Joel Harrington's amazing reconstruction of the life and times of Frantz Schmidt, executioner of Nuremberg, speaks to readers at every level, from specialists to students to general readers. Already known for his outstanding works of social history—most recently *The Unwanted Child: The Fate of Foundlings, Orphans, and Juvenile Criminals in Early Modern Germany* (2009)—Harrington is now addressing a still-larger audience.

I thought this would be an easy review to write: "Great book, go read it!" But it's actually hard to find adequate words of praise. The most obvious excellence is the compelling story. Harrington has shaped his seemingly grim material—the life of a man whose bloody profession was as repellent to his contemporaries as it is to modern readers—into a tale of deeply human striving and pathos. From before Schmidt's birth, when his father was unwillingly thrust into the disreputable trade of executioner, to the later fates of the Schmidt offspring, Harrington artfully weaves the story of this remarkable individual together with the social history of his time and place.

In place of the bloodthirsty caricature that readers might expect, Schmidt emerges as a serious professional and pious family man. While never minimizing the gruesome cruelties of Schmidt's job, the account reveals how his virtues of sobriety and discipline could gain grudging respect from his contemporaries. Harrington portrays Schmidt's life as a ceaseless quest for the restoration of his family's honor. The trade of executioner entailed not just intangible shame, but a legally dishonorable status that debarred Schmidt and his family from association with reputable folk. The man worked tirelessly to counter this stigma.

As the chapters move through the different stages of Schmidt's life, they also shift in perspective to illuminate various aspects of his complex relations with the society around him. Most surprising to many will be the scope of his activities as a medical practitioner. Though forced by duty into his unsavory work, Schmidt viewed healing as his true calling. Strikingly, he was consulted by clients of all social levels, who trusted in the expertise he had gained from his intimate knowledge of the human body.

Scholars will be especially impressed by the intensive and wide-ranging research on which the story is based. Starting from a single extraordinary document—the diary in which Schmidt recorded his every execution—Harrington has combed the archives thoroughly and inventively. Enriching this material with the work of other social historians, he is able to draw a detailed picture of Schmidt's life. Further, in notable feats of historical imagination, he re-creates scenes for which there is no direct record. Possibly some empirical purists may be squeamish about this, but the meticulous footnotes make clear exactly where the hard evidence ends.

Readers unfamiliar with the sixteenth century will find a vivid and engrossing portrait of early modern life. Specialists will find their understanding deepened, as Harrington probes the lived experience of historical developments both well-known and obscure. In particular, the work sheds light on issues of honor, status, sociability, and social space; poverty, crime, and disease; early modern justice and the search for order. The challenge of exploring the mental universe of Frantz Schmidt offers a unique entry point into the culture of his time. The book will be ideal for introducing students to social history through its powerful combination of narrative and analysis.

Beyond telling a great story, Harrington invites readers to reexamine their assumptions and their own relationship to history. There is no room here for smug self-congratulation on humanity's rise from the barbaric practices of former times. Instead, there is food for thought about both the continuities of human struggle and the strangeness of the past.

Reading this book has left me full of admiration. One could always nitpick if so inclined, but this would serve no good purpose. It deserves a very wide readership indeed.

JOY WILTENBURG
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TRYNTJE HELFFERICH. *The Iron Princess: Amalia Elisabeth and the Thirty Years War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. 319. $39.95.

In 1637, upon the death of Wilhelm V, the Calvinist landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, his widow, Amalia Elisabeth, became the regent, subsequently ruling this middle-sized principality in the Holy Roman Empire until 1650. Much of her regency thus overlapped with the final decade of the Thirty Years' War, when the conflict became particularly destructive. As a military entrepreneur who disposed of an army of around 10,000 soldiers, and as one of the most stubborn and demanding parties in the negotiations that produced the Peace of Westphalia, she shaped events significantly. Although German regional historians have already studied her rule rather thoroughly, Amalia Elisabeth's story, despite its enormous importance, had until now not re-

ceived much attention in English-language scholarship. The appearance of Tryntje Helfferich's fine study corrects this deficiency.

In 1637, four principal and closely interrelated challenges confronted Amalia Elisabeth. First, she needed to fend off the estates of Hesse-Cassel, which represented the territory's minor nobles, pastors, and burghers, in their occasional attempts to participate in governing the landgraviate while it faced dire wartime exigencies. Second, she needed to prevail in the rivalry and dispute over inherited territories with Georg II, the Lutheran landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. Repeatedly trying to exploit assumed weaknesses in her regency, Georg wanted to subjugate Hesse-Cassel and thus establish his family as the senior branch of the Hessian dynasty. For her part, Amalia Elisabeth wanted to regain lands, including the city of Marburg, that Hesse-Cassel's ruler had inherited in 1604 but that Hesse-Darmstadt had annexed in the 1620s with the support of the emperor and Catholic League forces. Third, she had both to demonstrate to France and Sweden the critical value of Hesse-Cassel's continued participation in their anti-imperial military coalition and to use her alliances with these two crowns to strengthen her bargaining position with the emperor. Hesse-Cassel's participation began in 1630 when Wilhelm V, embittered by both the emperor's religious policies and the loss of territory to Hesse-Darmstadt, openly sided with Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish king, who shortly before had landed in northern Germany with his army. Finally, Amalia Elisabeth wanted to obtain unassailable guarantees that her Calvinist subjects as well as her coreligionists throughout the Holy Roman Empire could practice their faith without encumbrance. Such guarantees would entail that Calvinism receive in imperial law the same official recognition that Lutheranism and Catholicism had enjoyed since 1555. These four challenges intersected in complex and multiple ways, but Helfferich's clear chronological narrative examines in detail the policies and strategic decisions by which Amalia Elisabeth relentlessly and quite successfully pursued her interests as regent.

By meticulously analyzing the landgravine's fourth challenge, Helfferich significantly recasts the standard interpretation of the final phases of the Thirty Years' War. Focusing on the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs' increasingly desperate military struggle after 1635 against Catholic France and Lutheran Sweden, this interpretation suggests that confessional politics no longer figured as a key issue. This struggle might have ended much sooner had Amalia Elisabeth, as Helfferich argues convincingly, not astutely recognized that the less-than-ironclad concessions on religious freedom that the emperor was offering her in return for Hesse-Cassel's withdrawal from the Franco-Swedish coalition would still have left Calvinists vulnerable to harassment and persecution after the cessation of hostilities. Her steadfast refusal to abandon her allies, and thus perhaps accelerate peace negotiations, showed that confessional politics still mattered. Most importantly, because of her persistence, reinforced by the efforts of the elector of Brandenburg, the Treaty of Osnabrück in 1648 included provisions for the full legalization of Calvinism in the Holy Roman Empire.

Much of *The Iron Princess* thus centers on Amalia Elisabeth's conduct of diplomacy during not just the Westphalian peace congress from 1643 to 1648, but also the considerably more limited but nevertheless important negotiations in Mainz, Goslar, and elsewhere from 1637 to 1642. The research that grounds this book is remarkable, for Helfferich has combed a vast array of Hessian, Habsburg, French, and Swedish archival and published sources to follow the sinuous pathways that eventually led the various parties to compromise and end the horrendous conflict. Included in her treatment are incisive discussions of Calvinism's precarious legal status in the empire since the mid-sixteenth century and of the competing conceptions of the imperial constitution. Less satisfactory, by contrast, is the discussion of territorial sovereignty, particularly the supposed right of each major territorial ruler in the empire to craft an independent foreign policy and decide matters of war and peace, an issue mentioned occasionally by Helfferich in relation to Amalia Elisabeth's diplomacy.

Terence McIntosh
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Moritz Föllmer. *Individuality and Modernity in Berlin: Self and Society from Weimar to the Wall.* (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 312. $99.00.

It is a beloved truism of many American undergraduates, politicians, and laypeople that modern Germans have had a peculiar tendency to relinquish their individual wills to a powerful leader. This belief has its roots in *fin-de-siècle* crowd psychology and an uncritical reading of Nazi propaganda. Another source was the Cold War theory of totalitarianism, according to which liberal democracy furthered individual rights in contrast to the oppressive collectivism forced on the people by both Nazism and communism.

Moritz Föllmer's excellent monograph lays to rest, once and for all, the stereotype of Germans willingly marching in lockstep. Föllmer argues that urban modernity broadened the experiences and expectations of the individual. In unstable Germany, individualism both shaped and was shaped by seismic economic and ideological shifts. The interplay between personal expectations, individual agency, and systemic transformations spawned semantics of "legitimate" and "illegitimate" individuality that in turn directly affected people's fates. Föllmer convinces the reader that historicizing individuality can help explain the everyday attitudes and behaviors of Berliners from the late Weimar period to the Cold War.

He begins with the early thirties, subtly analyzing journalistic essays, diaries, novels, and films to reveal a prevalent discourse of individual vulnerability stemming from economic free fall and the dangers of the big

city, including crime, drugs, and an undercurrent of isolation and hostility. Coexisting with this existential uncertainty was a rhetoric of liberal reformism that promised to serve individual needs by improving transportation, leisure opportunities, and public welfare. Meanwhile, communists and Nazis attacked the Weimar authorities for failing to appease the people's desires.

Nazi propaganda, in particular, offered an individualist alternative: the "struggle for life" as "a positive way of understanding one's own existence compared with seeing it as a mere series of constraints" (p. 99). In his provocative section on the Third Reich, Föllmer argues that individualism rather than collectivism explains why the majority of Berliners acquiesced or actively participated. The view of everyday Nazism as anti-individualist and forcibly collectivist, he argues, was crafted by Germans after the war in order to obscure the fact that many had benefited from the Nazis' redefinition of "legitimate" and "illegitimate" individuality. The regime offered myriad spaces for self-actuation at the expense of Jews and others whom it defined as illegitimate. For their part, Jewish Berliners made ultimately futile efforts to maintain individual agency in the face of this overwhelming opportunism. The war reduced the autonomy of every Berliner; but even in its late phase, most "Aryan" Berliners remained committed to a German victory, hoping that it would bring them prosperity and private domestic bliss.

After defeat, Berliners undertook social and political reconstruction within the context of a gathering Cold War. Individuality now became a central site in this contest between communism and liberalism. The self-exculpatory false dichotomy between individualism and Nazism that West Berlin's elites and lay public elaborated soon began to incorporate communism as well. In fact, even the GDR leadership tried hard to appeal to East Berliners' deep-seated individualism, encouraging them to seek personal advancement as a way to advance the socialist society. This compromise with bourgeois values of meritocracy and ambition soon spawned corruption among elites and alienated those workers who took seriously communist promises of class equality. The result was accelerating emigration to a West Berlin that was quickly becoming more successful at fulfilling the wishes of ambitious young professionals. The regime's bankrupt response in 1961 was imprisonment behind a fortified "anti-fascist protective rampart." Ironically, West Berlin during the "miracle years" saw a growing individualist distrust of bureaucratic public institutions; and young women and teenagers sought self-fulfillment in ways that their elders saw as undermining social stability. In the 1960s, these wayward young people would rebel against consumerist individuality for its lack of commitment to human rights and historical conscience.

Föllmer supports these arguments with penetrating analyses of an impressive array of sources, including journalistic essays, diaries, letters, novels, and films. He occasionally overstates his case, thereby losing sight of some very real tensions between individualism and conformity. The urge to conform—not only from myriad institutions and ideologies, but also from popular notions of morality—has influenced every modern society. One wonders how a discussion of youth subcultures and movements, for instance, might have complicated Föllmer's argument, especially since adults always targeted young people for discipline in modern Germany (and elsewhere). Moreover, while Föllmer convincingly reveals the individualist aspect of Nazism's appeal, we should not lose sight of the ways in which the regime forcibly "synchronized" civic life. In a context in which many civic organizations were forced to disband altogether, "self-synchronization" by the leaders of surviving organizations was not quite the same thing as free agency. Greater attention to forms of social organization in a nation famous for its associational life might have given Föllmer's arguments even more depth.

These caveats aside, *Individuality and Modernity in Berlin* is one of the most illuminating recent studies of modern Germany. Föllmer reminds us of the need to look beyond elite discourses for the traces of everyday desires and experiences, clearly vindicating the historiographical shift toward analyzing the ambiguous gray zones that were central to Germany's dictatorships and democracies. And while he carefully avoids claims of universality, Föllmer's case study of Berlin has broader implications not only for Germany, but for the rest of the twentieth-century world. His book will be of great significance to anyone studying the complex historical interactions between individual and collective.

John A. Williams
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Christian Ingrao. *Believe and Destroy: Intellectuals in the SS War Machine*. Translated by Andrew Brown. English ed. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 399. $29.95.

What did a Nazi perpetrator look like, and why did he murder? Any contemporary Westerner is familiar with the image of a Nazi killer. He is a jackbooted, hate-filled SS man who clearly takes pleasure in killing. He is a hater of Jews, often drunk and sadistic, what Daniel Goldhagen in 1996, at the height of the debate over the question of perpetrator motivation, deemed a "willing and eager executioner." This universal and stereotypical portrayal of SS men as monstrous ideological warriors is not new; it has been around since the Third Reich itself. Hannah Arendt first challenged this image in her now-famous *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963), in which she posited that men such as Eichmann were not ideological monsters at all, but rather quite normal, unimaginative, and unthinking men motivated by things as mundane as their careers. Since the publication of Arendt's book, many scholars from a variety of disciplines have tackled this question. Stereotypes die hard, however, and French historian Christian Ingrao is but the most recent scholar

to examine the question of perpetrator motivation and the link between ideology and action.

Based on Ingrao's 2001 doctoral dissertation, *Believe and Destroy* sets out to understand the question of perpetrator motivation as it relates to a subset of eighty professional men born in the first decade of the twentieth century and trained at German universities who formed what Ingrao believes was the intellectual core of the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD), the Security and Intelligence Service. Otto Ohlendorf, Martin Sandberger, Erich Ehrlinger, Franz Six, Werner Best, Reinhard Höhn, and Walter Blume were among those who worked in the offices of the SD gathering intelligence and carrying out political surveillance while they were simultaneously murdering the enemies of the Reich in the field. They were what I refer to in the discourse of perpetrators as "hybrid killers." Using the SS biographies (*Lebensläufe*) of these individuals, Ingrao describes them as intellectual activists whose belief systems were shaped by the traumatic memory of World War I, who went on to study at some of Germany's finest post-secondary institutions, who joined the service of the regime, and who, through the offices of the SD, became perpetrators of genocide. The cause of their activism was, he argues, the memory of the defeat and humiliation of 1918 as well as the desire to avenge it and thereby resurrect German greatness and reshape the country in their own image. It was a culture of violence inherited from their fathers that led them first to the offices of the SD and then to participate in the murderous activities of the regime. In other words, Arendt got it wrong. Far from banal desk murderers, these perpetrators were in fact motivated by ideas of what Germany should and could be.

This is not a new argument. In 1971, Peter Loewenberg noted the link between committed Nazis and their experiences in the First World War ("The Psychohistorical Roots of the Nazi Youth Cohort," *AHR* 76, no. 5 [December 1971]: 1457–1502), and most recently Michael Wildt's *Generation des Unbedingten* (2003) examined the men of the RSHA (Reich Security Main Office)—many of the same men Ingrao examines—as a generational cohort influenced by a variety of factors, including Germany's defeat in World War I, their university experiences and relationships with one another, their roles during World War II, and finally the postwar period. The themes of the two books are strikingly similar, and both reach similar conclusions. This is not to suggest that two scholars cannot work on the same topic and sources without coming to fruitful and unique outcomes. However, Ingrao's book is dated and intentionally ignores a generation of historiography (including Wildt's work) published after he had finished his dissertation. While he does include an afterword addressing the problem, he also states that it was "not possible to take into account or even to master the flood of publications" that came out during those intervening years (p. 261), and moreover, he did not like the approach of the scholarship that he did read, finding it overly narrative and lacking in "analytical profundity" (p. 264). Thus he deliberately chose not to engage it. That any serious academic publisher would acquiesce to this oversight is baffling.

Ingrao's unique methodology, a mixture of cultural theory, intellectual history, and anthropology, does not make up for the willful omission of up-to-date debates; nor does his methodology advance our understanding of perpetrator motivation. What Ingrao does do in his study is confirm what Wildt and others have already established: that the generation of 1914, the so-called Nazi intellectuals (a debatable categorization) who occupied the offices of the SD and headed the death squads, were motivated to act because of their personal experiences and ideas about Germany's past and future.

Hilary Earl
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Katharina von Kellenbach. *The Mark of Cain: Guilt and Denial in the Post-War Lives of Nazi Perpetrators*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 287. $35.00.

Knowledgeable about the historical literature and sophisticated in her use of historical sources, the author of this fine study of the postwar relationship of Nazi perpetrators to the crimes they had committed during the Third Reich is a professor not of history but of religious studies. Katharina von Kellenbach views the perpetrators through a Christian theological lens and uses Christian sources. Specifically, she considers the perpetrators' guilt and denial through their relationship with members of the clergy when they were accused, sentenced, and in some instances executed by the Allies immediately after the war and during the 1960s, when a second wave of perpetrator trials took place in West Germany. Kellenbach makes extensive use of the reports and reflections of prison chaplains and the correspondence between incarcerated perpetrators and members of the clergy. She looks at the chaplains' accounts of their conversations with those condemned to death by the Allies and at the last recorded words of those sentenced to die. The perpetrators opened up to clergy in ways that are profoundly illuminating for what they confessed to, and even more so for the criminal behavior they failed to acknowledge.

In virtually every instance, the men maintained their innocence to their clergymen interlocutors. The guilt that prisoners did acknowledge was in the area of private morality, where they accepted responsibility for their personal failings. As private individuals, they had chosen to sin; as perpetrators of mass murder, they saw themselves as having been without agency. Whereas traditional frameworks define criminal or moral transgressions as individual acts motivated by the desire for personal gain, the transgressions of the perpetrators were committed on behalf of the community. Since the perpetrators acted in the service of the Reich, they did not experience guilt, but rather were bewildered when they were accused of having committed atrocities. Al-

though we have long known about the lack of remorse on the part of the overwhelming majority of Nazi perpetrators, Kellenbach brings this astonishing fact home in a way that is both horrifying and empathic.

The men prosecuted immediately after the war tended to see themselves as victims of injustice at the hands of the victorious Allies, a view that was widely shared by their German contemporaries. Execution only transformed perpetrators into martyrs. Those tried in German courts in the 1960s were more inclined to accept that what they had done was wrong, but they now saw themselves as scapegoats, unfairly singled out for crimes committed by an entire nation. Guilt was now acknowledged but collectivized, allowing perpetrators again to avoid taking responsibility for their actions.

The clergy and the Catholic and Protestant churches tended to side with the prisoners, sharing and confirming the perpetrators' moral blindness. Indeed, in conversations with the prisoners, the chaplains generally avoided raising the atrocities the men had committed and focused instead on the prisoners' religious convictions. To the extent that the prisoners acknowledged any past sins, both the clergy and the churches emphasized God's mercy and forgiveness: confession of sin and a return to Christianity would relieve the perpetrators—and the German people—of the burden of guilt over National Socialism.

In twenty-first-century Germany, with most of those who were adults during the Third Reich no longer alive, some public intellectuals and politicians (not only on the right) have declared that the time has come to close the book on this chapter of German history, and that Germans should now focus more on their future. Closing the book on the Holocaust is precisely what Germans should not do, according to Kellenbach. German guilt over the crimes committed during the Third Reich is not to be overcome, but should remain a living presence, a "mark of Cain," that exerts a wholesome influence on those who bear it and on the society in which they live.

Kellenbach interprets "the mark of Cain" not as a divine punishment that caused people to shun Cain, but as a sign of his divine calling to witness and integrate his guilt over the murder of his brother into who he was and what he did on behalf of others. Cain, for Kellenbach, is a model for what Nazi perpetrators should have done and what those who come after them can yet do. Bearing guilt over the Holocaust must be an ongoing project for Germans, one that recognizes and remembers the suffering of the victims along with German responsibility for that suffering.

Kellenbach rejects reconciliation and forgiveness and seeks instead to develop a concept of penance in post-genocidal societies that transforms guilt into an obligation to restore dignity and humanity to the victims and, by bearing "the mark of Cain," to perpetrators and their descendants as well. Kellenbach practices what she preaches in this thoughtful, sensitive, and empathic book, simultaneously bearing witness to the inhumanity of Nazi perpetrators and humanizing them.

Thomas A. Kohut
Williams College

Thomas W. Maulucci, Jr. *Adenauer's Foreign Office: West German Diplomacy in the Shadow of the Third Reich*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 389. $45.00.

This book is based on research for a dissertation project that started in the early 1990s, almost exactly four decades after its topic reappeared in the German political arena. Therefore, when Thomas Maulucci, Jr. arrived in freshly unified Germany, a significant number of men "from the first hours of West German diplomacy" were still around. And they were quite willing to talk to the young American historian. It is easy to imagine how these former members of the Auswärtige Amt (Foreign Office), most of them retired in Bonn or its vicinity along the Rhine, recapitulated the story of their new beginning in the early 1950s: with self-confidence, with some pride about their achievements, but without actually portraying it as their "second chance" (Fritz Stern). But that indeed it was, given the fact that until 1945 they had been loyal servants to Joachim von Ribbentrop, Adolf Hitler, and the Nazi state, and still, only half a decade later, were allowed to serve Konrad Adenauer and the West German democracy.

According to Maulucci's own carefully examined sample of "the 100 leading officials in the ministry between 1949 and 1955," seventy-two had been in the diplomatic service before 1945, and forty-two had been members of the Nazi Party; the applications of another seven had been rejected (pp. 168–170). Despite the deliberate continuity of its personnel and its denomination, the Auswärtige Amt (AA) of the Federal Republic was not the Auswärtige Amt of the Third Reich. How could it have been? Right from the beginning in 1951, however, there were public doubts: too many of the old personnel were still involved; there was too much "restoration"; the esprit de corps was wrong. A Bundestag investigation committee, installed at the request of the Social Democrats who led the parliamentary opposition, produced a rather critical report. Even before that, Chancellor Adenauer himself was suspicious of the situation. For more than four years, the head of the Christian conservative government served also as his own first foreign secretary, and as Maulucci reminds us, he did not want his diplomats to be "only from the stocks of the old school" (p. 4). True, the chancellor never had a "love affair" (p. 244) with the Auswärtige Amt. But it is also true that, in a typical expression of his *Vergangenheitspolitik*, he publicly supported the early myth that the AA had never been a "Nazi institution."

This is—after brief chapters on the Foreign Office since 1871 and on "Foreign Affairs in Occupied Germany"—where Maulucci takes up the story. With impressive knowledge of the archival material and a broad

perspective on the research literature, he analyzes the "return" of the German diplomats from "automatic arrest," Allied internment camps, and denazification procedures. By the late 1940s, most of his protagonists had returned to public life, if not to public service. Although the Federal Republic's international representation was still with the Allied High Commission, the Bonn government needed diplomatic know-how. Therefore, more and more of the old staffers from Berlin's *Wilhelmstraße* resettled at the Rhine. Between 1951 and 1955, the number of foreign services personnel quadrupled to 4,566, about 1,500 of them located at home base. But as Maulucci demonstrates, neither within the ministry's leadership nor abroad—at the first new German missions in London, Paris, and Washington—were things going at all smoothly.

For Adenauer, these teething troubles were of lesser concern than one might think, for the mastermind of his policy of *Westbindung* (Western integration) was none other than the chancellor and foreign minister himself. All he needed were willing executors. And those he got, for most of the men in their "second" careers were prepared to learn, or at least to adapt to, the new political agenda. Maulucci has a number of illustrative examples (most notably the case of Albrecht von Kessel), and he identifies some remarkable differences between the "more tradition-bound spirit" of the AA's Division III and the more modern, pro-Western Division II. That a member of the latter internally once called the former the "sleeping-car division" was more than a telling joke. It was a sign that by the mid-1950s, a first phase of political transition had been completed, a phase that included not only the self-transformation of individuals, but also the transformation of a political elite. Bonn's "new" diplomats had found their way to the West. This was the moment when Adenauer deemed it right to leave the Amt.

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Britta McEwen. *Sexual Knowledge: Feeling, Fact, and Social Reform in Vienna, 1900–1934*. (Austrian and Habsburg Studies, number 13.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2012. Pp. viii, 232. $90.00.

The historical connection of sex with Vienna has usually been associated with the stories of Arthur Schnitzler, the psychoanalytic discoveries of Sigmund Freud, and the erotically charged art of Gustav Klimt and Egon Schiele, all of which have helped to define the city's *fin-de-siècle* image. In comparison with the pre-1918 era, the Vienna of First Republic Austria has seemed largely asexual in a historiography dominated by the social and political turbulence of the interwar years and the seeming irreconcilability of ideological differences between the left and the right. While Britta McEwen's book leaves interwar Vienna's reputation for political discord intact, it does flesh out the broader context in which that discord played out by showing how an understanding of sex as a social force came to be part of the effort by the city's socialist municipality to transform Vienna into a model community of proletarian health and happiness.

In *Sexual Knowledge: Feeling, Fact, and Social Reform in Vienna, 1900–1934*, the famous image of "Red Vienna" based on its housing blocks and didactic cultural projects undergoes a useful augmentation that provides a more detailed glimpse into what kind of life Austrian socialism sought to build for its followers. Because of the scientific and eugenic discourse about sex that predominated in pre-1918 Vienna, after the war the topic of sexual knowledge was no longer limited to debate among medical specialists, but was seen instead as something to be shared with the public as a means of both improving their lives and rebuilding the human capital of the nation after the psychological and physical depredations of World War I. Neither before nor after the war was the movement for sexual *Aufklärung* (enlightenment) a purely socialist affair, but where the Catholic Church and its Christian Social allies emphasized an essentially hortatory approach to responsible sexual behavior, the municipal administration of the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) and their left-wing allies not only emphasized moral responsibility, but also supplied the information necessary to enable men and women to choose suitable life partners, avoid venereal disease, and produce healthy children in stable families. Although these efforts were well-meant, they also reflected the eugenic intent of breeding a more biologically fit population that shared common ground with less benign advocates of the same goal. Nevertheless, public and private agencies were set up in the 1920s to counsel individuals and families about their reproductive and personal lives along with the dissemination of relevant literature and the holding of free lectures on these subjects. By 1930, when Vienna hosted the World League for Sexual Reform, it had one of the most comprehensive establishments for the spread of sexual enlightenment anywhere.

Still, for all the apparent success at spreading such enlightenment, the effort had its limitations. The opposition of the Catholic Church prevented sex education in schools and the possibility of a straightforward divorce to dissolve a bad marriage, while the SDAP's position on abortion was similar to that of the church. The party's leading expert on sexual knowledge and head of the city's public health department, Dr. Julius Tandler, could only conceive of an abortion approved by a panel of doctors, a proposal that went nowhere. His moral scruples also extended to the censoring of less strictly educational material than what his own agencies distributed. Thus, in 1924 Tandler accused the writer and publisher Hugo Bettauer of corrupting Vienna's youth through the sexual content of his newspaper *Er und Sie: Wochenschrift für Lebenskultur und Erotik* (*He and She: Weekly Newspaper for Lifestyle and the Erotic*). The subsequent court case exonerated Bettauer, but pointed up a weakness in the official side of spreading sexual knowledge, namely that the authorities lacked an understanding of how to make that knowledge popular.

Although *Er und Sie* did not survive Bettauer's brush with the law, it and the surviving *Bettauers Wochenschrift* (*Bettauer's Weekly Newspaper*) were enormously popular because they used features such as advice columns and human interest stories to convey knowledge similar to that being officially sanctioned but less imaginatively presented.

Ironically, Tandler's socialist prudery may have helped inspire the 1925 assassination of Bettauer by a man who claimed to be striking a blow against pornography. While the assassin was also an antisemitic Nazi, that Bettauer could be an object of hostility from two such disparate ideologies points up the limits of interwar sexual liberation even on the left.

In *Sexual Knowledge* Britta McEwen has produced an interesting and useful work of scholarship that not only deals with a previously neglected topic, but, in so doing, also expands the still under-researched field of interwar Austria.

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Françoise Briegel. *Négocier la défense: Plaider pour les criminels au siècle des Lumières à Genève*. (Bibliothèque des Lumières, number 81.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2013. Pp. 392. $128.40.

Négocier la défense: Plaider pour les criminels au siècle des Lumières à Genève, based on the author's doctoral thesis, fills a gap for specialists and advanced graduate students studying the history of jurisprudence in early modern Europe. While historians such as Jean-Claude Farcy, Jean-Marie Carbasse, Arlette Lebigre, André Laingui, Pieter Spierenburg, Francisco Tomás y Valiente, and Mario Sbriccoli have focused over the past four decades on criminal justice, prosecution, torture, and punishment in England, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, Françoise Briegel, in four lengthy, densely packed chapters, focuses instead on the evolution of legal defense mechanisms in criminal and civil trials in Geneva during the Enlightenment (1714–1792).

Chapter one provides a detailed description of Geneva's governmental institutions and social groups and the composition, legal training, values, roles, and requirements for becoming a member of its elite corps of *avocats* (trial lawyers). Chapter two explores the causes that brought about changes favorable to the accused in trials, including the writings of the philosophes (especially Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the *encyclopédistes*), and the growing number of tracts and pamphlets wherein jurists advocated reforms in legal procedures (such as replacing the inquisitorial system of justice with an accusatorial system that included public trials, defense attorneys, no torture, indemnities for those later found innocent, and restrictions on capital punishment). Chapter three provides concrete evidence for how the laws of 1714, 1734, 1738, 1768, 1782, 1789, and 1791 advanced the rights of the accused by providing them with public trials, defense attorneys, friendly witnesses (often family members), copies of trial documents, the right of appeal, more frequent pardons, shorter sentences (if found guilty), and financial indemnification (if condemned but later found innocent). Chapter four, which seeks to quantify these progressive developments, underlines the changes that took place in legal forms (*requêtes, demandes, mémoires, plaidoiries de la défense*, and *recours à la grâce*) and provides abundant statistical support for the growing frequency of public defense, pardons, and shorter, more lenient punishments by analyzing the results of some 8,645 trials held in Geneva between 1734 and 1792. In a brief conclusion, Briegel explains that her research demonstrates how, during the eighteenth century, Geneva's wealthy bourgeoisie and corps of young, progressive *avocats* gradually replaced a harsh inquisitorial system of justice with a more paternal, accusatorial approach, which restored the judicial rights that the accused had enjoyed prior to the sixteenth century. By the era of the French Revolution, new laws had placed restrictions on the arbitrary power of judges, provided the accused with defense attorneys, moderated the punishments handed down, abolished every form of torture, regularized court procedures, and encouraged a form of plea bargaining.

Based on years of research at the Archives d'Etat de Genève, the Bibliothèque de Genève, and the Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, *Négocier la défense* is a very impressive tome. The author has examined 19 edicts, 76 primary books, 207 secondary articles and books, and 3,000 dossiers relating to more than 8,600 criminal trials before the *Petit Conseil* in Geneva between 1734 and 1792. The book's six appendixes provide further information concerning the constitutional development of the Genevan Republic in the eighteenth century, changes in the rules of matriculation for *avocats* between 1711 and 1787, a sample discourse given at the matriculation reception for new lawyers, a list of the political and judicial careers of 47 defense attorneys in Geneva, a table summarizing the conditions for access to *grâce* (pardons) between 1714 and 1791, and a flow chart illustrating changes in criminal procedures in eighteenth-century Geneva.

Although this book seems primarily intended for specialists in the history of jurisprudence in early modern Europe, a few changes would make a future revised edition more appealing to a wider audience. An English translation, for example, would enable more graduate students (in legal studies, behavioral science, history, etc.) who do not read French to benefit from the author's insights. The current index (which in European fashion includes only proper names) should be expanded to include places, institutions, titles, and concepts. For students especially, a glossary defining legal and judicial terminology would be most helpful. Finally, its four long chapters (varying in length from 46 to 94 pages) should be subdivided into six or eight chapters with a sprinkling of contemporary woodcuts, maps, and other illustrations included. Such improvements would

transform a most impressive thesis into a more widely marketable book.

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Christine Kooi. *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age: Heretics and Idolaters*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. ix, 246. $99.00.

That there was a surprising degree of practical toleration of different creeds and a lack of open mutual hostility or violence among Protestants and Catholics, as well as other groups, within the Dutch Republic did not escape the notice of seventeenth-century contemporaries. It has been an issue of consideration and research ever since. Willem Frijhof, Jonathan Israel, and Henk van Nierop have all written extensively on this issue, from various points of view. Nierop's *Treason in the Northern Quarter: War, Terror, and the Rule of Law in the Dutch Revolt* (2009) elucidates in minute detail the local workings of social relations. Judith Pollman has contributed further research on why Protestants and Catholics were not as antagonistic toward each other in the Dutch Republic as they were, for example, in neighboring France (*Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* [2011]). Why, given this broad background of knowledge on the issue, do we need yet another study on this subject?

Christine Kooi has added an in-depth account of the everyday relations of Calvinists and Catholics in six major cities in Holland. She correctly reminds us that there was little theological basis for neighborly relations among Calvinists and Catholics, though we know that Lutherans could be hostile to both Calvinists and Catholics on doctrinal grounds. Kooi also points out that the influx of Calvinist refugees during the 1570s and 1580s created the potential for conflict among settled populations, though we also know that, for example, the Leiden town magistracy made it clear that it would not take the Calvinist refugees' views of Catholics as its point of departure for the administration of the town. Kooi places her study in the context of a Dutch "confederate" regime (p. 9) of town magistracies that needed to pay attention to local affairs and to manage religious pluralism. Strictly speaking, it is problematic to call the Dutch Republic a confederacy, and such an interpretation is not borne out by the suppression of Arminianism in 1618 and the execution of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt. But the importance of town magistracies' desire to keep local relations tranquil is surely borne out by Kooi's research. Her first chapter establishes the context of the nature of the Protestant church and its relation to the broader population, and chapter two then looks at "Priests and Preachers." While her claim that "no state authority forc[ed] religious conformity of one type or another" (p. 45) may overstate the situation, she can show the extent to which relations indeed remained "fluid." Chapter three, "Persecution and Toleration," correctly points out that "Dutch religious toleration" was "a process rather than a condition" (p. 91). This finding is emphasized in chapter four, "Converts and Apostates," as well as in the last chapter, "Kith and Kin."

In her conclusion, Kooi claims that "the full spectrum of confessional coexistence in Holland" (pp. 215–216) was made possible because "Catholic and Calvinist Hollanders interacted with each other in a variety of arenas—as churches, communities and individuals," and because Holland was "diverse" (p. 220). While this is certainly true, and notwithstanding the detail with which this study has underlined this fact, what does this truism actually explain? Did Catholics and Calvinists not interact as individuals and as members of churches and communities in France or Ireland? Did that prevent the dramatic violence of the French religious wars at the local level or the ambivalent relationships of Catholics and Calvinists in Ireland before, during, and after the 1641 revolt? Do the plurality of arenas and the objective and important diversity of early modern societies undermine the fact that most seventeenth-century contemporaries concluded from the English, Irish, and French experiences that religious plurality was generally not practicable, at least once it was put under stress? Arguably, the rhetoric of the importance of local relations and their own dynamics and of taking local and regional diversity seriously could just as well be applied to an account of the 1641 slaughter of Protestants by Catholics during the Irish rebellion, or any account of local-level violence during the French religious wars.

No matter how much Kooi's study might be praised for adding detailed local color to coexistence, it suffers from her decision to present social and cultural relations on the local level and their "pragmatics of diversity" as somehow independent from or opposed to the findings of "intellectual history" and "abstract ideas" (p. 3). In contrast, a good deal of modern research is concerned precisely with the interaction of intellectual changes, grand political decision-making, and pamphlet propaganda at the local and intermediate levels. Kooi's worthy study thus adds more flesh to an already well-nourished body of descriptions and analyses of the local social and cultural dynamics that underlay and fed the celebrated practical toleration among and between different confessions in the Dutch Republic. Ultimately, however, Kooi explains less and is less innovative than she claims.

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Monica Azzolini. *The Duke and the Stars: Astrology and Politics in Renaissance Milan*. (I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. xiii, 370. $49.95.

What would the history of a Renaissance state look like if the modern researcher were to take account of astrology in a way proportional to its real significance for early modern Europeans? Monica Azzolini demonstrates that she is well-qualified for such an endeavor already in the first chapter of this book, where her care-

ful account of fifteenth-century astrological instruction at the University of Pavia suggests that within Milanese territory, as elsewhere, ideas deriving from ancient sources such as Ptolemy were accompanied, especially as the century wore on, by the advancing Arab conjunctionalism of Albumasar. In the same chapter she evaluates the basic practical principles and techniques of the Renaissance astrologer, from the casting of the horoscope to the assignment of critical days, revealing the astounding complexities of a now-vanished form of knowledge that captivated European minds for centuries. She thus positions herself among the growing number of specialists, including Wolfgang Hübner, Lauren Kassell, Hiro Hirai, Dieter Blume, Graziella Federici-Vescovini, Ornella Faracovi, H. Darrel Rutkin, and Steven Vanden Broecke, who have discovered the history of astrology to be a fruitful line of research for understanding Renaissance culture, sociéty, and politics. She finds the fifteenth-century state of Milan to be an ideal test case for the new approach, also because of the remarkable trail of relevant documents in the Milanese archives, testimony to a passion occasionally bordering on obsession, especially among members of the Sforza dynasty.

Azzolini thus scrutinizes the multiple reams of predictions, prognostications, elections, interrogations, natal charts, and commentaries that were the daily fare of many readers, courtiers, potentates, diplomats, and even lackeys, but which previous researchers have passed over. She examines the thought processes and decision-making patterns with a view to distinguishing what was merely astrology-related from what was astrology-determined. When a particular course of action was said to derive from the combustion of the moon (p. 146), for example, she tries to assess the claim and trace the origin; when a conjunction of the three superior planets is said to be of prime importance for a particular choice (p. 79), she analyzes the reasoning that led to this statement.

After the introductory chapter on astrological method, the account is basically chronological. Chapter two explores how the astrological interests of the Visconti family were transferred to the court of Francesco I Sforza via his bride, Bianca Maria. Chapter three covers Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the next ruler of Milan, and, among other matters, the role of astrology in his rivalry with Ferrante d'Aragona, ruler of Naples. Chapters three and four focus on the later Sforzas and the debacle that was created by the dynasty's involvement in the Italian Wars at the end of the fifteenth century. Along the way, we are presented with a fascinating gallery of star-crossed princes and imaginative practitioners engaged in the daily pursuit of fortune's bounty. There is the hapless young Gian Galeazzo Sforza, married to a bride of convenience whom he failed to impregnate. Partly this, one imagines, drove him to drink and gorge himself to death, even as his uncle Ludovico Maria Sforza, aiming at the dukedom, ensured his demise by means of a regimen of poison to be administered by the same astrologer/physician who chronicled Gian Galeazzo's every step toward the grave in full astrological detail. There is Ludovico Maria himself, who planned every political move with due regard to the astrological advice being tendered to him by his astrologer, ultimately with disastrous consequences. Inclined to an alliance with Piero de' Medici in Florence because of astrological considerations (but not only), he managed to alienate the only powers, Venice and the papacy, who might have provided the bulwark against a French takeover.

Was Milan anomalous? If even the Venetians, often regarded as particularly hard-headed, now appear to have planned the Battle of Fornovo on the basis of astrological portents, and if this goes along with analogous evidence from other states and from contemporary observers such as Marino Sanuto, clearly a very different reading is emerging of the Italian Wars with respect to what is customarily received in the political or military historiography. Azzolini impeccably argues that the century's fascination with the stars may have been occasioned at least in part by the extraordinarily troubled state relations prevailing in Italy at the time, aggravated by the competitive presence of Spain, France, and the Habsburg Empire. The book amply demonstrates that in this period of strife when neighboring Florence experienced its "Machiavellian Moment," as it was so memorably called by J. G. A. Pocock, and a modern kind of politics was arguably born, the Italian states were still not immune to the period's perennial fascination with occult causation. As to the more general relationship between peril and prediction, one would only have to move the discussion ahead a few decades to the star-induced "great fear" of 1524, or even to later centuries, to be convinced that there was almost always plenty of both.

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Joshua Shanes. *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 320. $99.00.

Joshua Shanes has written an important, engaging study of Jewish politics and society in Habsburg Galicia that fills a number of scholarly lacunae regarding the history and culture of Jews in Galicia, the study of modern Jewish politics, and the history of the Habsburg Empire. On the basis of Jewish newspapers (primarily in Yiddish), memoir literature, and other sources, Shanes examines what might be referred to as the mobilization of "the Jewish masses." Scholars of nationalism will feel at home with his synthesis of the literature on nations and nationalism in the context of Jewish history.

Much like the development of modern Jewish politics in the Russian Empire, Jewish political organization in Galicia began, according to Shanes, in the late nineteenth century in response to anti-Jewish violence and sentiments (pp. 46, 51, 55, 109). The early Jewish student organization Kadimah (Forward, or Eastward), which was founded by students at the University of Vi-

enna in 1882, and the Jewish cultural association Mikra Kodesh (Holy Assembly), which had its origins in Lemberg (Lwów) in 1883, provided the institutional foundations for the development of national politics among Jews (p. 69). Mikra Kodesh, for example, "offered free Hebrew language courses, lessons in Jewish history and related subjects and weekly Saturday afternoon lectures" (p. 62).

Despite these spirited activities, "Jewish nationalism in Galicia . . . remained through the end of the nineteenth century a movement largely of the secular intelligentsia, especially students" (p. 109). This changed toward the end of the century with the advent of a popular Jewish press in Yiddish. Various papers supported by different Zionist organizations "provided a vernacular-language forum for nationalists to convince traditional Jews not only that the Jews constituted a nation—indeed that their nationalist ideology was a natural extension of traditional Judaism—but that they needed to become politically active to win the same rights as other nations" (p. 110). Together, these papers transformed "Jewish nationalism into a popular ideology," especially among traditional, Orthodox Jews in Galicia "who had come to Zionism as a means of entering the modern world without abandoning their deeply entrenched Jewish identities" (pp. 130, 138). These organizations and newspapers also laid the groundwork for the increased popularity of Jewish nationalism and Zionism in the wake of the First Zionist Congress, convened in Basel in 1897 by the Viennese playwright and journalist Theodor Herzl (pp. 168–169).

Although Herzl's grand plans attracted much initial support, the situation of Galician Jewry within the matrix of Habsburg politics encouraged local Jewish leaders to focus their energies on domestic politics over Zionist visions of the Jews' return to the Holy Land. The growing demand for "Jewish national autonomy" in Habsburg Galicia marked the beginning of the divide between Jewish national politics and organizations in Galicia and Zionist politics that looked eastward, toward Zion (p. 193). This turn to domestic politics increased during the Austrian parliamentary elections in 1891 and again in 1907. Suddenly, Jews in Galicia were organizing to obtain political representation in Vienna. Much like the Slovaks, the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Czechs, the Jews made their demands in the imperial capital in the name of one of the empire's different national groups, and not in the name of a religious community, people, or nation that longed to be transposed to a different space and place (pp. 219, 243).

There is much food for thought in Shanes's valuable study, and it is deep in conversation with earlier studies of modern Jewish politics by Jonathan Frankel, Eli Lederhendler, and Ezra Mendelsohn, as well as more recent works by Kenneth Moss, Rachel Manekin, Dimitry Shumsky, and the author of this review. Moreover, Shanes's book is representative of a relatively new turn in Jewish studies that emphasizes non-Zionist parties, leaders, and movements. Despite this challenge to traditional academic paradigms as well as the author's mastery over much of the constructivist literature on nations and nationalisms, Shanes ultimately embraces the position advocated by Israel Bartal, Gideon Shimoni, Anthony Smith, and others regarding the historical roots of the Jewish nation (pp. 7, 9, 138, 143, 285). Hence, he repeatedly emphasizes that Jewish nationalism and Zionism in Galicia accommodated traditional, religious Jews without demanding that they undergo a process of radical secularization (pp. 138, 169, 234). That said, it ultimately remains unclear why "the Jews" are different from so many other nations and what, exactly, enabled and ensured this distinctive path to Jewish nationhood and modernity.

Another point of debate is the underlying tension between periphery and center that cuts through this and many other studies of the Habsburg Empire. Indeed, while the author does a wonderful job of bringing Jewish politics and culture in Habsburg Galicia to light (and to life), the lack of Polish-language sources inevitably orients the study toward the imperial center in Vienna, and not, for example, toward the long and painful path of Polish-Jewish relations in Galicia and neighboring lands.

Additionally, one has to wonder whether the distinction between Zionist and diaspora nationalist activity and thought was clearly defined and understood in late Habsburg Galicia, and whether these developments were, indeed, unique to Galician lands. Perhaps many activists, supporters, and bystanders were able to embrace both ideologies and movements simultaneously? And what does all of this tell us about the nature and practice of diaspora nationalism as well as the differences (and similarities) between diaspora nationalism and a nationalism that is bound to a specific territory?

These questions of interpretation, however, only underscore the book's many strengths, and readers will certainly be inspired by Shanes's well-argued and engaging study of modern Jewish politics and nationalism in Galician lands. There is much to be learned here, and students and scholars of Jewish and Habsburg histories as well as those of nations and nationalisms will not be disappointed.

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Fabien Archambault. *Le contrôle du ballon: Les catholiques, les communistes et le football en Italie; De 1943 au tournant des années 1980.* (Bibliothèque des écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, number 349.) Rome: École française de Rome. 2012. Pp. xii, 655. €110.00.

This book is a detailed analysis of the intersection of Italian politics and soccer in Cold War Italy. Fabien Archambault shows the process through which the dominant political forces of the Cold War, Catholics and Communists, used soccer as a means to gain support not just from young party militants, but from a broad spectrum of the entire population. Developing soccer organizations provided leadership in the ideological

struggle of the Cold War. Archambault has contributed to a relatively sparse historiography revealing a pervasive network of Catholic and Communist clienteles in post–World War II Italy. Focusing on the political dimension of both amateur and professional soccer, the book highlights the specific ways in which democratic politics became rooted in popular culture after twenty years of fascism.

The narrative begins with the 1945–1960 period, when Catholics and Communists dominated the organization of soccer. The Catholic Church exercised immediate leadership by filling a vacuum in the fallen fascist sport organization. All levels of clergy participated in organizing soccer teams at parish or communal fields, despite the fact that there was ambivalence concerning the benefits of the sport. One common church viewpoint was that soccer would bring youths to the parish, where they would learn, under the authority of a priest-coach, the values of discipline, self-discipline, cooperation, and collective action in the struggle against Communism. More traditional church spokesmen, however, resisted the promotion of Catholic views through soccer, viewing the involvement of youths and young clergy in sports as a distraction from the church itself, as a form of secularization.

Even stronger ambivalence existed on the Communist side. While some among the Communist leadership saw the organization of militants' and blue-collar workers' soccer teams as a viable method to shore up and extend support, others saw soccer, especially top league soccer, as a capitalist, commercial endeavor that transformed a few young men into local or national heroes based merely on athletic prowess and just for the profit of team owners. The Communists could not afford to lose ground in wooing supporters, however, so they sent teams of their own to every town, city, and region in Italy to compete against the church's teams.

By 1960, the church had largely won the political battle: its organization was superior across the national territory. Coordination from Rome allowed for a better distribution of funds, which came also directly from the ruling Christian Democratic Party. Archambault argues convincingly that soccer became Italy's first sport thanks to the church's active promotion and organization of it. The Communists were most successful in those regions where strong leftist support already existed, such as the "red" regions of Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna.

The political establishment was deeply involved in soccer as well. Parliament members, especially Christian Democrats, became presidents of top clubs. Politicians channeled government funds for the construction of fields, or otherwise supported teams of their own political persuasion. Still, politicians also chose to root for the teams from their hometowns, regardless of whether those teams were sponsored by the right or the left. The head of the Communist Party, Palmiro Togliatti, for instance, was a notorious supporter of Juventus, the club belonging to Italy's FIAT dynasty, the Agnellis. Local allegiances in fact inspired fans even more than politics, especially after the 1960s.

Conflicted loyalties eventually moved recruitment and support for soccer clubs away from the control of the church and the Communists. After the 1960s, the economic boom, mass production, and popular culture had transformed soccer into a big business, with TV coverage and the sale of banners, shirts, and other club items; it also allowed for greater wealth and independence of fans, who began to organize their own fan clubs of "ultras." Again, ultras' affiliations derived mostly from local, city-bound loyalties, colored at times by class loyalties as well. The political dimension of soccer had become a habit, however, which the ultras retooled to vent their left- or right-wing dissatisfaction in the 1960s and 1970s, out of the control of the established parties. By the early 1970s, the church and the Communists had dropped their leadership in competitive soccer development and were concentrating on non-competitive amateur soccer. Fans' enfranchisement from church and Communist interference also aided the growth of the neutral Italian Soccer Federation, which eventually took over competitive soccer leadership.

The book is elegantly crafted, full of graphs and beautifully designed maps of Italy detailing the regional distribution of soccer clubs, fields, party affiliation, and fan clubs. It is hard to imagine any U.S. publisher producing such an expensive volume, but one is thankful to the French publisher: the topic is exhaustively covered, revealing the multiple links between soccer, political parties, the church, and citizens. One criticism: Soccer was and still is an almost exclusively male sport in Italy, and it should be highlighted that this narrative is largely focused on men.

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Nancy Shields Kollmann. *Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Russia*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 488. $115.00.

In this impressive study, Nancy Shields Kollmann demonstrates that the judicial culture of early modern Russia was remarkably efficient and reliably rational. Rather than a lawless despotism governed by tsarist whim and arbitrary violence, Muscovy developed a legal system that in multiple ways resembled the legal cultures of its European contemporaries. Without a doubt, this is one of the most important books about Russia to appear in decades.

This is the most extensively researched scholarly analysis of the development of legal culture and punishment in early modern Russia. Although it covers the period from the late fifteenth century to the early decades of the eighteenth century, the majority of the narrative focuses on the stable decades of the seventeenth century. It provides a clear and competent synthesis of the existing literature and draws upon an exhaustive

range of published sources: law codes, cases, decrees, chronicles, literary narratives, and accounts by foreign residents and travelers. It also breaks considerable new ground by analyzing an unprecedented range of archival evidence. Kollmann analyzed 152 legal cases from two different areas of Russia that provide a representative sample of judicial practices and procedures. All of the book's sections develop rich comparisons with other legal cultures of the period.

The first eight chapters are devoted to judicial culture, while the remaining ten chapters consider punishment. Kollmann provides an insightful consideration of legal procedure and concludes that a trained and supervised bureaucracy "provided the legal knowledge that kept a system based on amateur military judges working"(p. 53). A single bureaucratic culture functioned throughout the empire, reaching into even the most remote areas, and *de facto* legal professionals provided expertise to both judges and individual litigants and defendants. Major efforts were made to empower both officials and police officialdom, creating a system that was both flexible and standardized in accordance with clear constraints established by the center. The system functioned efficiently and provided opportunities for appeals and settlements.

One of the book's great strengths is that it measures punishments prescribed by laws against punishments meted out in practice by judges. Judges weighed alternatives in determining punishments, wielded considerable autonomy, and considered the perceived severity of the offense as well as the social status of the offender. Even though laws mandated bodily markings and mutilation for certain categories of criminals, such as those sent into exile, in practice the majority of verdicts did not involve horrific mutilations. This book's original and innovative discussions of incarceration, torture, and forms and rituals of punishment will become standard reading for students of Russian history.

The book also addresses two longstanding debates about early modern Russia: the nature of autocracy and the impact of the reforms of Peter I. In practice, Kollmann argues, "Muscovy's proclaimed 'autocracy' looks less autocratic" (p. 5). Because the system relied on local communities for law enforcement, it required community cooperation to function. State-sanctioned violence was meted out judiciously, and mercy could even be extended to repentant rank-and-file rebels. Considerable cooperation between state and society suggests that the legal system attained a high degree of legitimacy in the eyes of ordinary Russians. The three chapters that explore changes and continuities during the Petrine period question the notion that there was a dramatic rupture with previous practice. They demonstrate that established trends and Muscovite practices often persisted in spite of the tsar's efforts to reorganize the legal system, establish a separate judiciary, and enhance the professionalism of Russia's legal culture. One can even speak in terms of reversion to the Muscovite mean in areas such as corporal punishment, looking askance at practices of gift-giving by communities and acceptance of bribes by judges, and ignoring the letter of the law when local circumstances or state interests demanded flexibility. In terms of formal presentation, however, legal culture changed significantly. A new spirit of justification and explanation imported from Europe permeated both laws issued by the tsar and verdicts rendered by judges.

In a study this comprehensive, it is only natural that some important issues could not be considered in depth. A more extensive consideration of judicial inconsistency would have strengthened the argument about judicial autonomy. One wonders to what extent shifting categorizations of crimes and narratives of "proper" procedures actually masked extralegal improprieties and intercessions of various sorts. The problem of actual enforcement of a bewildering "cacophony of decrees" (p. 226) is mentioned, but remains unexplored. Punishment for violations of important tsarist monopolies, especially the alcohol monopoly (pp. 229, 236), is treated only briefly. A note on the nuances of translating the original Russian terms for crimes rendered here as "felony," "robbery," "unlawful greed," and many others would have been helpful to readers. In spite of a few minor flaws, specialists in Russian history will learn much from this book, and anyone interested in early modern legal culture will greatly benefit from reading it.

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Katherine Pickering Antonova. *An Ordinary Marriage: The World of a Gentry Family in Provincial Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 304. $74.00.

Katherine Pickering Antonova's study of a Russian gentry family in the early nineteenth century follows a recent and welcome trend within Russian historiography that focuses on rich provincial experiences in contradistinction to the experiences of various social classes in St. Petersburg and Moscow. It also stands beside Mary Cavender's impressive *Nests of the Gentry: Family, Estate, and Local Loyalties in Provincial Russia* (2007), while relying heavily upon Michelle Lamarche Marrese's magisterial *A Woman's Kingdom: Noblewomen and the Control of Property in Russia, 1700–1861* (2002). As a micro-study of a single family, Antonova's book follows the lead of John Randolph's award-winning *The House in the Garden: The Bakunin Family and the Romance of Russian Idealism* (2007), but falls short of its analytical sophistication and attention to historical context.

The most compelling aspect of Antonova's microhistory rests in the unusual primary sources that the Chikhachev family of Vladimir Province generated. Their letters, notebooks, diaries, and business and legal papers, as well as periodicals with marginalia, mainly from 1830 through 1866, constitute "the most extensive" known "archive of gentry family papers preserved in provincial Russia" (p. xi). Andrei and his wife, Na-

talia, are the main authors; their son Aleksei and Natalia's brother Yakov Chernavin are less prominent. Particularly intriguing is a set of notebooks circulated among the Chikhachevs and Chernavin from 1834 until the middle of 1837 whenever the Chikhachevs resided at Natalia's dowry estate of Borduki, which was very near her and Yakov's ancestral estate of Berezovik. A scheme hatched by Andrei, the notebooks recorded everyday life on the two estates and commentary on those descriptions as servants passed the books back and forth between the properties. It was as though Andrei were literally trying to put Andrei Bolotov's many published letters to an imaginary friend into practice by having two gentlemen comment on matters related to estate life, gentry domesticity, and agriculture. The minute detail mimicked that of the voluminous advice literature of the time.

Using thick description to present the family papers' contents and Andrei's journalistic essays on gentry domesticity, Antonova explores such themes as gentry society; village life; estate management; sociability, charity, and leisure; illness and death; domesticity and motherhood; education; and ideology. In so doing, she argues throughout that the Chikhachevs' gender roles diverged significantly from Western prescriptive literature and practices. Natalia took on the daily management not only of the household but also of their estates, while Andrei embraced the intellectual side of estate management and served as chief educator of their son and daughter. Due to the fact that the Chikhachevs' activities were not anomalous in the context of their social milieu, Antonova argues that the Western cult of domesticity did not rule in this household, and no doubt many other Russian gentry households as well. While acknowledging that a strict separation of gender spheres did not operate in either England or the United States at the time, she seems unaware of English bourgeois women's experiences as managers of households and strict accounting practices (which were similar to those of Natalia) and men's active engagement in their children's education as part of their public role. Given Russian women's supervision of non-domestic serf labor, their household management responsibilities were certainly broader than those of their English-speaking counterparts. Yet the masculine rationalism that pervaded Natalia's daily accountings stemmed not only from the practical necessity of women's keeping their own property intact (and in this regard Russian women had fuller property rights than their Western counterparts), but also from Catherine II's Western educational reforms, which demanded that middling women possess estate-management skills. Antonova's repetitive declaration that Andrei was his children's major educator is less convincing when the daughter's voice is virtually absent from the surviving papers and Antonova has to concede that Natalia probably taught her daughter domestic skills, which were extensive.

Antonova possesses a sharp analytical mind, but sometimes her analysis demonstrates an inadequate knowledge of primary and secondary literature. Lacunae in the secondary literature appear in discussions of the nature of Nicholas I's regime, serfdom, peasant resistance, Russian women's education, gender roles, and separate spheres. The chapter on Andrei Chikhachev's place within contemporary intellectual thinking is too dependent upon secondary literature. Greater familiarity with the writings of the intellectuals Bolotov, Nikolai Novikov, Nikolai Karamzin, and Faddei Bulgarin on agriculture and gentry domesticity would have sharpened and nuanced the analyses here and elsewhere. Furthermore, a discussion of Russian literary sources would have been enlightening, not least because Andrei had a lot in common with fictional representations of gentrymen, including Ivan Goncharov's anti-hero Oblomov. Finally, if Andrei's type was so pervasive, as Antonova insists, an analysis of other provincial gentry writing on domestic affairs would have been wise. Hopefully, in the future Antonova will analyze her data on serf households so as to provide a fuller picture of how serfdom operated on a gentry family's estates.

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Jarrod Tanny. *City of Rogues and Schnorrers: Russia's Jews and the Myth of Old Odessa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 265. Cloth $80.00, paper $27.95, e-book $22.99.

"The transformation of the Odessa myth into the city's canonical history," Jarrod Tanny writes, "has not entailed a sober attempt to separate fact from fantasy on the part of the mythmakers" (p. 182). The mythmakers have been many, including such literary luminaries as Isaac Babel and Konstantin Paustovskii and entertainers like Leonid Utësov. Historians of the "pearl by the [Black] Sea" have been fewer, but numbered among them are such masters of the art as Patricia Herlihy and Roshanna Sylvester. Tanny's goal—and accomplishment—is to trace the history of the Odessa myth in all its variegated aspects. To do so, he has marshaled an impressive body of primary and secondary sources, ranging from police and court reports to literary works both famous and little-known, from musicological and folkloristic studies to film, television, and Internet materials. Tanny's history may be sober, but it is certainly not dull.

The book's title alludes to the two primary elements of the Odessa story, criminality and Jewishness. To my ear, the word "rogue" is too genteel a term to cover the range of criminal behavior described by Tanny, which ranged from smuggling and black-marketeering to prostitution, protection rackets, and murder. If the use of the word is justified, it is only to reflect the tendency of the mythmakers to romanticize the city's outlaws and their activities. The reference to "schnorrers" is more problematic on both orthographic and substantive grounds. The Yiddish word *shnorer* (in the YIVO transcription that is standard in scholarly works, as opposed to the pseudo-German spelling that one often finds in popular works) means "beggar." Although Tanny does

quote a classic Jewish joke about a beggar who brings his son-in-law to Sabbath dinner at the home of his rich patron because he has promised the young man board for the first year of marriage, it is primarily the legendary nerve or gall—*khutspe* (or "chutzpah" in its popular transcription)—of Jewish beggars that plays a role in the author's account of the Odessa myth rather than the beggars themselves.

Tanny's book offers the reader a rather detailed history of the city and its Jews, which provides necessary background for his account of the development of the Odessa myth from its emergence in the middle of the nineteenth century to its persistence in post-Soviet Russia. The author shows how the early image of the city as "Russia's Eldorado" became joined with its reputation as a "city of sin." In separate chapters he examines the late nineteenth century, when those images flourished in Yiddish literature; the early twentieth century together with the first post-revolutionary decades, two periods in which the Odessa myth played an important role in Russian literature; and the decades after World War II, which he calls a period of "revival and survival." Another chapter is devoted to the "rewriting [of] old Odessa's mythical past" in the post-Soviet period, a period in which the dominant image is one of a "Jewish kleptocracy." In a brief epilogue, the author formulates what he views as a paradoxical conclusion: the collapse of the Soviet Union has meant that it is now possible to "celebrate the city's notorious criminality and its frivolous Jewish humor," but its "golden age" has retreated further "into the realm of collective memory" (p. 192). I may be forgiven for not finding this very paradoxical.

In a work with such a rich and varied body of sources, it is perhaps inevitable that there will be mistakes in quoting or translating from Yiddish and Russian. There is room to mention only a few of them: *zagt* and *brengt* should be *zogt* and *brent*; a *shames* is a synagogue caretaker, not a synagogue attendee; *likhie fokstroty* are wild foxtrots, not evil ones; *bespechnost'* is a carefree attitude, not carelessness; activities *na strakh vragam* are those designed to strike fear into one's enemies, not against the terror of the enemies; *khochut* is a common non-standard regularization, not a "corruption," of the irregular verb *khotet'*; students who defended their fellow Odessans against the banditry of the civil war era *chem Bog poslal* used "whatever they could find"—they were not "armed to the teeth." This list would not be complete without reference to two infelicitous metaphors: the description of Reb Khaim-Shulim, a character created by Mendele Moykher Sforim, as having been "emasculated by his sharp-tongued wife" (p. 44), and the assertion that after "the ultimate success of Bolshevism" the Odessit "was on the brink of losing his home, the golden calf whose bosom had nourished him since the city's foundation" (p. 157). Infelicities and translation errors notwithstanding, this is a book that will inform (and entertain) both the student of modern Russian history and the intellectually curious lay reader.

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Marina Mogilner. *Homo Imperii: A History of Physical Anthropology in Russia*. (Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2013. Pp. xiv, 486. $75.00.

In contrast to cultural anthropology/ethnography, whose role in the governance of Russia and the Soviet Union has been the subject of several recent books, the history of physical anthropology in Russia is virtually unknown to English-speaking readers. A revised and adapted translation of a study that appeared in Russian in 2008, Marina Mogilner's book not only fills the factual gap, but also puts the politics of the discipline in a larger European context. Mogilner focuses on the period between 1872, when the Society of Lovers of the Natural Sciences, Anthropology, and Ethnography (IOLEAE) accepted a donation to endow the first chair of physical anthropology at Moscow University, and the years before World War I. One of the central figures is Dmitrii Nikolaevich Anuchin, a zoologist who received training from some of the pioneers of physical anthropology in France and Germany and became the first holder of the Moscow chair in 1879. His retirement in 1920 and death in 1923 symbolize the end of an era in which physical anthropology branded itself "the science of modernity" (p. 371).

Another central player in the book is the "self-organizing network of professional and amateur anthropologists" (p. 10) who supported the new science because of its promise to provide rational knowledge of the Russian Empire's diverse population. Contrary to twentieth-century associations of physical anthropology with racist and eugenicist agendas, Mogilner stresses that late-nineteenth-century anthropology tended to be skeptical of attempts to equate racial and social units. Russian scholars of the Moscow school, much like their French and German colleagues, took "mixed racial type" (p. 11) to be the norm for any national population. Though lacking the populist enthusiasm of ethnographers, the liberal anthropologists connected to IOLEAE appreciated Russia's imperial diversity as a rich laboratory that made them the envy of their Western European colleagues.

While thus emphasizing the pan-European and nonracist nature of the dominant schools of Russian physical anthropology, Mogilner carefully explores the limits of this inclusiveness. For example, the liberal Moscow school is contrasted with scholars based in St. Petersburg and Kiev, for whom it was more essential to establish strict physical boundaries for the Russian nation. Interestingly, these intentionally patriotic schools received less support from the imperial state, in part because their core university chairs were established later than the one in Moscow. But even for the liberal school, the celebration of racial mixture stopped at the

perceived borders of Europe, as shown in a fascinating passage focusing on Anuchin's writings on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Russia's beloved poet Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin. While acknowledging Pushkin's non-Russian ancestry through his maternal great-grandfather, the Ethiopian Ibrahim Gannibal, Anuchin goes to great lengths to prove that Peter the Great's military commander was not a "Negro," but a member of a separate Abyssinian race (p. 161). In this, as in equally ambivalent treatments of Jews as distinguished by an elusive "Jewish physiognomy" (p. 219), Mogilner sees the scientists' own anxiety about Russia's uncertain Europeanness come through. For nineteenth-century anthropologists, as for their twentieth-century successors, there was a thin "line between racialism, that is the perception of human difference through biologically assigned markers, and racism, which implied racial hierarchies" (p. 163).

Mogilner skillfully shows the international connections of Russian anthropology, tracing scholarly networks through the archives and libraries of several countries. In an ongoing polemic against the treatment of the Russian Empire as a case of alternative or abnormal modernity, she even acknowledges the increasing importance of biosocial ways of thinking in the years leading up to World War I, exemplified by the use of anthropometric techniques by the Russian military and police, quite in step with Western European developments. But she also notes that Russia's criminal anthropologists continued to approach imperial diversity as calling for particular methods. For example, they refused to look for signs of deviance in the brains of convicts from the Caucasus, since they argued that these men had acted in accordance with the ideals of their society, thus embodying a cultural norm rather than deviance. Like the core subjects of her study, Mogilner seems to waver between wanting to place Russian physical anthropologists squarely within a European network and emphasizing the unique problems posed by Russia's diverse population.

During the Soviet period, the exploration of physical human traits ceased to be a vehicle of hope for rational governance and became a liability, unfashionably emphasizing nature over nurture. Physical anthropology survived as a science of prehistoric populations and human evolution, but retained little connection to its prerevolutionary founders. In Western Europe, the Holocaust made it equally impossible to attach liberal hopes to a study of human physical differences. Mogilner succeeds in taking us back across this temporal divide to an astonishingly lively period when the discipline seemed capable of going in many different political directions.

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Malte Rolf. *Soviet Mass Festivals, 1917–1991*. Translated by Cynthia Klohr. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 324. Paper $28.95.

Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, their grandiose political pronouncements notwithstanding, were transient regimes that disappeared quickly after wreaking havoc in Europe. Stalinism, to the contrary, found new legitimation in its victories against Nazi Germany during World War II. Given its comparatively long shelf life, it is appropriate to talk about a Soviet civilization whose norms and values molded several generations within the empire and abroad. Malte Rolf's monograph on Soviet mass festivals, an excellent translation of the original German work *Das sowjetische Massenfest* (2006), analyzes the ways in which public holidays contributed to the creation of Soviet culture and the New Soviet Man. Soviet festival culture colonized both time and space as town squares across the Union were expanded and roads broadened to accommodate parades of workers, peasants, soldiers, and athletes. The revolutionary calendar replaced traditional religious holidays and tsarist-era civic festivals with May Day, the anniversary of the October Revolution, International Women's Day, Victory Day, and other founding moments of Soviet history.

Rolf argues that Soviet citizens experienced totalitarian culture as a set of ideological references that proliferated through a variety of media, including public holidays, propaganda, literature, and visual arts, and this contributed to a process that he describes as "inner sovietization." Public culture that sought to produce a uniquely *Homo sovieticus* was both didactic and self-referential. As the symbolic universe became more focused in the 1930s, citizens throughout the empire acquired a distinctly Soviet worldview that permeated every aspect of their daily life, and the process of inner sovietization was aided by means of holidays and celebrations.

While this is a longitudinal study that covers the Soviet century, it is the Stalinist decade that commands the bulk of Rolf's critical attention. As Karen Petrone, James von Geldern, Christel Lane, Richard Stites, and Svetlana Malysheva have shown, Bolsheviks used public holidays to communicate with their constituents and legitimize Soviet goals, social hierarchies, and cultural practices. For the most part, Rolf's wide-ranging research complements this previous scholarship. He analyzes the performative nature of Soviet celebrations with great subtlety but overlooks the contradictions inherent in Soviet propaganda that allowed for a variety of interpretations. Given the mass of primary sources, both visual and written, it is tempting to believe in the vision of a harmonious, hierarchical, and militarized society that was presented during Soviet holidays. But as Petrone has argued, Stalinist celebrations were orchestrated during the Great Terror, and one has to read the massive political violence and Stalinist celebrations contrapuntally. Inner sovietization was probably a more problematic and a more discontinuous process than Rolf describes, as the ubiquitous terror of the 1930s highlights the endemic recalcitrance among the population to the imposition of Soviet norms and policies.

But Rolf's concept has an intellectual elegance that many will find heuristically useful.

With the exception of Malysheva, few scholars have investigated Soviet festivity in the provinces, and Rolf's work deserves critical attention because of his use of materials from regional archives. He shows that the leadership in provincial towns such as Kemerovo, Novosibirsk, and Voronezh enthusiastically replicated the efforts of festival planners in Moscow, rather than sullenly follow orders imposed by a dictatorial center. Although Rolf acknowledges that a level of hybridity emerged as a result of negotiations between planners, authorities, and performers, provincial leadership legitimized Moscow's symbolic importance by adhering to the central script of festivities and remaking local architecture to institute Moscow's vision of the Soviet Union.

In the last and most compelling section, Rolf compares Soviet celebrations with public holidays in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and the United States. He argues that while fascist celebrations sought to create an emotional bond among their community of believers, they lacked the overwhelming didactic intent of Soviet festivals, which aimed at nothing less than the creation of a New Soviet Man. And despite the apparent homogeneity of American holidays that sought to acculturate immigrant populations and communicate national myths of American origins, Rolf argues that public holidays were just one of many ways of legitimizing power in democratic societies. As a result, American celebrations never became as important as their Soviet counterparts and actually shrank in scale during the Great Depression.

Rolf ends his book with a wonderful analysis of the export of Soviet festival culture to Central and Eastern Europe after 1945, as well as its evolution in the Soviet Union after 1953, when official ceremonies were supplemented by private and local celebrations. One wishes that he had expanded the last chapter, as he is charting new territory in this section, but that is a minor quibble with an otherwise well-researched book that is an excellent addition to the existing studies on Soviet festival culture.

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Heather D. DeHaan. *Stalinist City Planning: Professionals, Performance, and Power*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2013. Pp. x, 255. $70.00.

The leaders of the Soviet Union had as their avowed goal the construction of a socialist society. But never before in history had there been a socialist state, and there was no blueprint for building socialism. A consensus existed among Communist Party members that socialist construction required industrialization and urbanization, but what would Soviet cities look like? How would they differ from urban centers in capitalist countries? Stalinist city planners had a crucial role to play in shaping the new Soviet society. They were responsible for the layout of new and expanding cities, and they also allocated space to competing urban interests, thereby determining the prominence of industrial, educational, medical, and retail facilities and institutions. These city planners are the subject of Heather D. DeHaan's excellent monograph.

DeHaan focuses on professional planners in Nizhny Novgorod, an important industrial center east of Moscow on the Volga River. The head planner, Alexander Platonovich Ivanitskii, arrived in Nizhny Novgorod in 1928 to oversee the city's rapid expansion during the First Five-Year Plan. Though not a Communist Party member, he embraced Soviet power for the opportunity it afforded him to fashion a more rational and productive society. Like many other non-party professionals, both in urban planning and in other fields, he shared a number of goals with party leaders and even accepted their assault upon private property, given that it expanded officials' control of urban space. In DeHaan's nuanced reading, Ivanitskii and other planners were neither collaborators with nor victims of the Stalinist regime. Unable to realize the Western ideal of autonomous professionalism, they worked within the Soviet system to pursue their seldom-achieved agenda of scientific and aesthetic urban design.

In the course of the 1930s, non-party city planners were displaced by so-called red specialists—young party members, often of proletarian origin, who received their training in Soviet institutions. Ivanitskii resigned his position in the mid-1930s and was succeeded by Nikolai Alekseevich Solofnenko, who drafted city plans geared more toward impressing political elites than toward following aesthetic and scientific ideals. The rise of these new officials coincided with a fanatical push to advance the country toward socialism, a push that entailed a certain Prometheanism—a belief that workers, freed from the shackles of capitalism, could over-fulfill their production quotas and complete the Five-Year Plan in four years. As DeHaan describes, in the realm of urban planning, this mentality produced grandiose schemes, the vast majority of which were never realized. Solofnenko's plan for the city, at this time renamed Gorky after native son and proletarian writer Maksim Gorky, called for complete urban redesign—a monumental parade ground, wide avenues, multiple new bridges, and a twenty-five-kilometer architectural ensemble. Given the desperate shortage of resources during the 1930s, this plan remained, in the words of one city planning engineer, "nothing but a pretty picture" (p. 107).

While these grandiose plans were never enacted, the city itself changed tremendously, given the phenomenal rate of industrialization and urbanization. During the First Five-Year Plan alone, the urban population nearly doubled to 452,000 people, and a massive new automobile plant was constructed. The plant was based on a deal with Henry Ford to use parts from the Ford Motor Company and its assembly-line production process. Soviet authorities hired a Cleveland construction firm to erect the factory and workers' housing. Given the

reliance on capitalist methods and expertise, one might wonder what made Gorky socialist. Soviet urban planners never agreed on the definition of a socialist city, and party leader Lazar Kaganovich finally declared that Soviet cities were socialist simply because they were in the Soviet Union. But DeHaan does point out some distinguishing features of Soviet cities, for example in the realm of housing. The Cleveland construction firm's design for workers' housing called for individual units, each with its own private entry, kitchen, and garage. Soviet planners denounced this design and instead instituted their own plan for workers' dormitories and communal apartments.

Ultimately, urban planners had only limited power to shape Soviet cities. DeHaan analyzes the frequent disregard of city plans and ordinances by the officials of industrial commissariats. These bureaucrats wielded political and economic means that far outweighed those of the city council, and they pushed ahead with factory construction regardless of urban planning or zoning. Urban planners fell back on campaigns that relied on popular efforts to clean and beautify the city. These campaigns had limited success, as DeHaan concludes, because of "the tension inherent to the Soviet citizen's role as both the object and the agent of state initiative" (p. 161).

Carefully researched and well-written, DeHaan's monograph makes a vital contribution to our understanding of Soviet cities, professionals in the Soviet system, and the history of Stalinism more generally. It deserves a wide audience among scholars of Soviet history and will be valuable to urban historians in other fields as well.

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Diane P. Koenker. *Club Red: Vacation Travel and the Soviet Dream*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 307. $39.95.

Socialist fun has been getting its scholarly due in the last decade. There are books and articles about rock and jazz, about Komsomol clubs, about television and film. Tourism, a popular subject in European and American cultural studies, is relatively unexplored in its Soviet manifestation. Diane P. Koenker and Anne E. Gorsuch's edited volume *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* (2006) and Gorsuch's *All This Is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin* (2011) were the major works until now. With *Club Red*, Koenker provides what has been needed all along: an institutional history of the Soviet tourism "industry" through the life of the Soviet regime, based on painstaking research in multiple Russian archives.

For most of the Soviet years, as Koenker demonstrates, tourism was regimented and bureaucratized like everything else. In the 1920s and 1930s, there was no concept of travel as leisure; it had to be utilitarian. Tourists went to spartan medical spas to improve their health or on educationally or physically rigorous tours, and pleasure was apparently in short supply. This is not to say that Soviet citizens were unhappy with their travel experiences; they were accustomed to spending their time working or engaged in other uplifting activities, and vacations were structured to include both. The turning point came after World War II.

In keeping with its promise to the people that postwar life would be a march toward prosperity, the state began a drive for better, more cultured service for vacationers. Along with this came a move toward packaged tours run by the state travel agency. Some citizens rebelled against this concept, trying to revive the idea of "mass, voluntarist, enthusiastic grassroots tourism" (p. 141) featuring rugged hikes through the backcountry. Regardless of the type of vacation, many Soviets did not have access to one, and workers in particular lacked the connections necessary to obtain the required trip voucher. Corruption in the allocation of vacations had existed prior to World War II, but it became prevalent after the war.

Gradually, quasi-market thinking began to permeate the travel industry, and a 1951 guidebook emphasized the attractive, pleasurable resorts on the Black Sea coast (including Sochi) over the "huge health factory" (p. 163) that was the mineral spa vacation. Resorts and spas began to advertise their attributes to a population that was slowly beginning to demand high standards of comfort during their vacations. Whether vacations were fun became a factor to consider by the 1950s. Vacationers even began to expect access to goods like bathing suits and sunglasses. The state was not, however, able to move fast enough to accommodate these new desires. Complaints about food and service rose as Soviet vacations were transformed from a welfare benefit into a consumer commodity.

Over the course of the 1960s, vacationers began to take planning into their own hands, and there was an "explosion of 'unorganized' vacationing" (p. 194). "Wild" vacationers descended upon resorts without travel vouchers, creating great concern because they disrupted planning for facilities, and especially for food. Travelers began to rebel against the practice of taking separate vacations, without their spouse or children. Even foreign travel became a possibility; although visits to the socialist bloc were predominant, travel to non-aligned and, in rare cases, to capitalist countries occurred. The idea of being "on the road" independently became the dream of the Soviet tourist.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to overemphasize the individualism of the Soviet vacationer. Collective thinking was still prominent, even in the 1960s. Travelers expected to meet new and diverse people on vacation, contributing to their sense of a Soviet national identity. They also continued to believe in the "educational and patriotic goals of tourism" (p. 259).

By the mid-1970s, the Soviet tourist industry was indeed a business, and 30 percent of the adult population traveled each year. Spending on tourism reached 1 billion rubles in 1975, up from 260 million rubles five years

earlier. Despite many improvements to the tourism infrastructure, citizens continued to demand more, asserting themselves as consumers. By this time, the regime's ideological messages about the educational and patriotic functions of tourism had essentially vanished.

What conclusions does Koenker draw from this story? The history of Soviet tourism reveals both the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet system. On the positive side, tourism "provided a sense of material and cultural well-being, created cohesive collectives and satisfied to some extent the desires of Soviet people to expand their horizons" (p. 281). On the other hand, it also showed the regime's economic insufficiency, which made it difficult to meet consumer demand; its failure to expand freedom of travel both inside and outside the USSR; and the exclusion of ethnic minorities and workers from this new vision of the good life.

Club Red is perhaps too densely detailed for some, but those who persevere will be rewarded by seeing Soviet society from a unique and valuable vantage point. Koenker is to be commended for bringing this story to light and to life.

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Steven E. Harris. *Communism on Tomorrow Street: Mass Housing and Everyday Life after Stalin*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center. 2013. Pp. xx, 394. $60.00.

Steven E. Harris's study of Nikita Khrushchev's campaign to provide most Soviet citizens with single-family apartments in the 1950s and early 1960s illustrates how a well-intentioned Soviet policy could simultaneously improve people's lives and generate widespread discontent. This book contributes an important perspective to our understanding of the period of Khrushchev's thaw and the Soviet Union's development following Joseph Stalin's death. Rather than viewing the thaw primarily as a phenomenon of the cultural and political elite, Harris focuses on some of the fundamental ways in which the Khrushchev government's new approach to ruling the Soviet Union affected the lives of ordinary people. He argues that the era's mass housing campaign, like many aspects of the thaw, was seen by Khrushchev as a way to correct a Stalinist deviation from socialism and put the Soviet Union back on the path to communism, in this case by continuing "the project of creating a classless society" (p. 4). Harris shows, however, that instead of creating a more harmonious society, the mass housing campaign ignited new tensions and "touched off a crisis of rising expectations" (p. 9).

Harris begins his study by placing Soviet housing policies in the context of the pan-European housing reform movement of the nineteenth century. He finds that Russian architects and officials after the revolution embraced the idea of a sanitary minimum living space that had been established elsewhere in Europe, but the Soviet version developed some crucial differences. In the USSR, the minimum living space became the maximum allowed in many housing designs. Russian and Soviet architects also used the term "living space" to refer only to the floor space in a dwelling's main rooms. The floor space in kitchens, bathrooms, and corridors was termed "auxiliary space." This distinction continued through the Khrushchev years and contributed to the construction of small, uncomfortable apartments. Harris explains that these apartments were designed with limited auxiliary space, which kept costs down without affecting required living space norms, and the main rooms were designed as walk-through rooms that would eliminate the need for corridors and prevent apartments meant for single families from being converted to communal use. While the replacement of Stalin-era communal apartments with single-family apartments represented a significant improvement in most people's living situation, Harris documents pervasive dissatisfaction with the new apartments due to their small size, shoddy construction, and lack of privacy.

The construction of millions of new apartments, Harris shows, also became a catalyst for mass consumerism in the Soviet Union. Harris focuses on the need for new furniture. He discusses the many new furniture designs meant to help make the small apartments more livable, but he finds that many people never saw such furniture in their local stores. Harris located records of people's complaints about their new apartments, their inability to find decent furniture, and their other housing issues in the minutes of residential housing committees, in the comment books at housing exhibitions, and in people's letters to newspapers. His use of these sources allows the voices of common people to be heard, and it represents one of the great strengths of this study.

Harris locates the roots of the Khrushchev-era housing program in the Stalin years, but he explains that the ideologies associated with housing construction in the two eras differed significantly. He notes that under Stalin there had been a place for single-family apartments in Soviet socialism. With Stalin, however, such apartments were meant only for the party and technical elite, and they were part of Stalin's desire for a socially stratified society. Khrushchev, in contrast, wanted a personal apartment for every family, which would, he argued, help create a classless society. Likewise, Harris explains that mass housing construction began in the late Stalin years but with no ideological vision beyond postwar reconstruction and recovery (p. 93), while the Khrushchev regime believed that its mass housing campaigns would fulfill the revolution's project of creating the New Soviet Man and Woman (p. 230).

The book's arguments are clearly explained and well documented, but more information on the era's high politics would have helped Harris complete his study of Khrushchev's mass housing campaign. For example, he mentions in his conclusion that in 1967 (three years after Khrushchev's removal) the government acknowledged the problems caused by housing designs that restricted auxiliary space, and it announced a plan to start building bigger apartments (p. 301). The reader is left

to wonder why the designs for living space and auxiliary space that produced such unsatisfactory dwellings and so many complaints in the 1950s and early 1960s had not been revised while Khrushchev was first secretary.

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Robert Hornsby. *Protest, Reform and Repression in Khrushchev's Soviet Union*. (New Studies in European History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2013. Pp. x, 313. $99.00.

Once the holy grail for sovietologists, who saw in it the outlines of what the silent majority of Soviet citizens were too afraid to say, dissent has fallen on hard times in recent years as a scholarly topic. Stephen Kotkin has challenged the notion, which was always more seductive than substantiated, that dissidents played a leading role in the collapse of Eastern European and Soviet communism. Juliane Fürst has drawn a distinction between resistance to Soviet power, which was rare, and nonconformity to Soviet strictures and morals, which was increasingly common in the postwar decades. And Alexei Yurchak has argued that the young urban intelligentsia of the Brezhnev years lived both within and beyond official ideologies. In a place where so many mild forms of dissent and nonconformism were both tolerated and ubiquitous, was not the act of dissent less significant than sovietologists once imagined?

Robert Hornsby's careful study of dissent during the Khrushchev years seeks to restore the idea that political dissent was a central and significant component of post-Stalinist politics and society. Basing his analysis on the case files of the Soviet Procuracy, which pursued dissenters under the criminal code of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, which forbade anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, Hornsby does several things. First, he argues that Khrushchev-era dissent was not solely or even primarily an affliction of the intelligentsia. This stance puts him at odds with a longstanding historiography that privileges the role of the intelligentsia in the trajectories of the thaw and de-Stalinization. Hornsby instead details the extent to which workers came, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, to dominate the "underground" that the Procuracy targeted. The most famous and bloody case of worker protest occurred in Novocherkassk in June 1962, when strikers seized control of the Communist Party headquarters and were dispersed by armed forces. Yet Hornsby shows that Novocherkassk was exceptional only in its number of casualties (several dozen), not in its motives or demographic composition. Similar disturbances marred several other Soviet cities, while illegal leaflets railing against unfulfilled government promises and the difficulty of life for non-elites were relatively common at Soviet industrial sites. As with Novocherkassk, worker derision underscored for Soviet leaders the "link between living standards and social passivity" (p. 180).

Second, Hornsby argues that the presence of political protest and dissent in the Soviet Union says very little about popular belief and unbelief in Soviet values. Instead, he shows that acts of dissent were often "prompted by unique circumstances and were themselves the exception rather than the rule" in a person's life (p. 11). Thus in Hornsby's view, dissent was more often an expression of pent-up anger and embitterment than of "outright anti-communist sentiment" (p. 138). For this reason, he forgoes the use of the term "dissident," which connotes a long-term or existential commitment to dissent that his sources do not indicate.

Finally, Hornsby details the Soviet state's escalating response to dissenters and protestors, what he calls the "emergence of a new kind of post-Stalin, post-terror dictatorship" (p. 197). This involved not only more invasive forms of policing and peer surveillance (which are often associated with the Khrushchev years), but greater attention to public opinion surveys, growing reliance on information passed along by "trusted people" (p. 203), aggressive countermeasures against foreign propaganda and émigré organizations such as Radio Liberty and the National Alliance of Russian Solidarists (Narodno-trudovoi soiuz, NTS), and on occasion the use of force. In regard to the latter, Hornsby shows unequivocally that the strategies of so-called soft repression of the Brezhnev years, particularly the forced commitment of dissenters to psychiatric hospitals, had their roots in the early 1960s. Hornsby's work thus contributes to a growing body of literature that seeks to challenge the popular and scholarly perception that the Khrushchev regime was more benevolent than what followed.

Perhaps the most significant criticism to be lodged against Hornsby's work is that it is more a synthesis of recent scholarship than a trailblazing presentation of new materials. For instance, many of the Procuracy documents that are central to his analysis were first brought to light by the Russian archivist-historians Vladimir Kozlov and Sergei Mironenko. To his credit, Hornsby does not gloss over his debts, and without question he adds more analytical heft than Kozlov and Mironenko. In an influential article from the late 1970s, the historian John Bushnell argued that the "new Soviet man" turned pessimistic after 1968, amid mounting evidence of economic failures and a widening affluence gap with the West. Hornsby's principal achievement is demonstrating that popular pessimism and anger had momentous repercussions for Soviet citizens and their leaders long before previous historians thought.

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Mirna Zeman. *Reise zu den "Illyriern": Kroatien-Stereotype in der deutschsprachigen Reiseliteratur und Statistik (1740–1809)*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 147.) Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag. 2013. Pp. 376. €49,80.

Historians' interest in travel and geographical literature as a source of stereotypes has increased in recent

years, partly as a result of the ongoing influence of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and other studies positing the significant influence of such works on worldviews and territorial identities. There are now many studies that treat larger geopolitical units as "mental maps": scholars have moved beyond "the Orient" to interrogate notions of "Eastern Europe," "the South," or the "New World." By studying German-language accounts of Croatian lands in the second half of the eighteenth century, Mirna Zeman's thorough and lively study continues the debate but also adds some nuances to our understanding of the relationship between literary output and the formation of geocultural stereotypes.

Zeman identifies a number of themes in these German-language writings: the Croatian lands as a "bulwark of Christendom"; as the locus of the ancient "Illyria"; as the repository of obscure peoples such as the "Morlacks," much debated in Enlightenment circles; and as the origin of a new term for male neckwear (cravat). She first looks at travelers (relatively few), and then at those who studied the area at a distance, compiling statistical, encyclopedic, and ethnographical collections.

The book is meticulously arranged and carefully cites a large secondary literature, making it an essential reference for the biographical, political, and socioeconomic context through which this part of Europe was "discovered," in keeping with the well-known Enlightenment systemization of geographical knowledge: from the early fact-finding missions to the more literary excursion of Joseph Georg Widemann, dubbed here "the first tourist" to the eastern Adriatic.

Zeman proposes to cover "the historical territories of Croatia," which might imply a continuity with the present-day state of that name. But these lands did not form a coherent unit in the period under study. Coastal Dalmatia was under Venetian rule until 1797, while "Croatia" and its military frontier comprised diverse jurisdictions: imperial, royal, civil, ecclesiastical, and military. Moreover, the majority of travelers passed through these lands without attempting to argue their fundamental distinctness from neighboring territories; larger frontiers, such as that between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, played a more important role. It is not, then, that "Croatia" did not figure in eighteenth-century German writings, but rather that it was not the sole or central object around which discourse was organized.

Likewise, while the treatment of German-language sources is probably exhaustive, writings in this language alone were not necessarily perceived at the time as distinct from those in, say, Latin (still widely used in diplomatic, ecclesiastical, and scholarly circles) or, in the wider public sphere, translations from other European languages. Moreover, several of the travelers Zeman examines were not ethnically "German": two were Hungarian, and a third, Balthasar Hacquet, while an Austrian subject, was of French origin. The corpus used here, then, should not be interpreted as decisive for the prehistory of "German" worldviews as distinct from a general European interest in the Habsburg-Ottoman-Venetian borderlands.

Such considerations could have rendered Zeman's research quite problematic, but to her credit, she takes these matters on board, engaging with and adding to the relevant studies on historical terminology and usage. In this sense, her work reveals not a gallery of stereotypes in formation, but rather their ongoing indeterminacy. Perhaps a more apt title—especially given that Zeman takes issue, often convincingly, with Larry Wolff's classic but over-generalizing 1994 book *Inventing Eastern Europe*—might have been *Not Inventing Croatia*.

This is not to say that German-language writings on these lands bore no sign of the classical scourges of colonial enterprise, notably economic exploitation and racial stereotyping. Economic extraction was clearly envisaged by some explorers and functionaries, but they viewed the territories more as a "transit-land" than as the primary source of enrichment. Similarly, Zeman shows that some writers were involved in developing discourses of race, in tune with the new physical anthropology emerging from Göttingen and other university centers at the end of the century. However, these discourses talked not of a Croatian but of a more generalized "Slavic" race, and depended rather on the better-known Italian-language writings of Alberto Fortis. Zeman concludes by rejecting the notion that the German-language corpus can be used to posit a monolithic discourse or a single object, while at the same time showing how they fueled certain broader ideas of Slavdom and the nascent "Illyrism."

A further direction to be explored would be the influence and reach of these German-language writings outside the German public sphere. What impact did these scholars and travelers have on the image of the region in other European countries? But that is a subject for another book, and its lack of treatment here does not detract from Zeman's achievement in elucidating many aspects of what is a complex but resonant and instructive set of problems in European cultural and intellectual history.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

A. C. S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yildiz, editors. *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East.* (Library of Middle East History, number 38.) New York: I. B. Tauris. 2013. Pp. xiii, 308. $90.00.

This book contains nine papers that were presented at a workshop on "Court and Society in Seljuk Anatolia" held in Istanbul in 2009, preceded by a substantial introduction by the two editors on the *raison d'être* of the workshop and this resultant book. The political and military history of the Rūm Seljuk sultanate is reasonably well known. (It should be noted that this book came out right before a useful, well-documented history by

Songül Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs: Evolution of a Dynasty* [2014]). The westward sweep of Turkish tribesmen from Central Asia ended the so-called "Daylamī intermezzo" in the Iranian and Mesopotamian lands, replacing it with the Great Seljuk Empire, which stretched from Syria to the Oxus, while other Turkish bands gradually pushed back the Byzantines of Asia Minor into the western Aegean coastal fringes. Politically and culturally, however, these Anatolian Seljuk tribesmen were regarded by those in the Islamic heartlands as part of what the editors call a "wild west" (p. 3), a barely Islamized frontier land that produced few scholars or literary figures. These Turkish principalities of Anatolia produced few historical chronicles, and none of the great biographical dictionaries of ulemas and littérateurs that are so valuable for our knowledge of religious and intellectual life in the Islamic heartlands, while the poets at their courts produced little panegýric verse for their masters.

The editors accordingly emphasize the importance of distinguishing between the varying developments of the Great Seljuk sultanate (which came to an end in 1194) and the Rūm Seljuk principality (which lingered on into the fourteenth century, albeit as a pale shadow of its original self under Mongol domination), and they suggest that different approaches to the two entities are necessary. For one thing, while we have a goodly number of Arabic and Persian historical, biographical, and literary works on the Great Seljuks, such sources are much sparser for the Rūm Seljuks; a corollary of this is the much greater importance of non-Muslim, essentially Byzantine Greek and Armenian, sources and the significance of para-historical materials like those of epigraphy, architectural forms, and numismatics. It was the aim of the workshop to bring out the value of these hitherto largely untapped resources, while not neglecting the importance of literary and religious materials.

The chapters fall into three groups, covering the Rūm Seljuk dynastic identity; court life and culture under the Turkish princes of Anatolia; and the role of the Sufi orders and their connections with court and society. In "The House of Mengüjek in Divriği: Constructions of Dynastic Identity in the Late Twelfth Century," Oya Pancaroğlu attempts a reconstruction of this local branch of the main family in Erzerum from a rich epigraphic and numismatic range of materials—fortunate survivals given the almost complete lack of literary and historical sources. Her chapter is copiously illustrated with the architectural and inscriptional evidence at Divriği; especially interesting is the late survival among this line of the ancient Turkic title of *yabghū*, usually applied to the second- or third-ranking princes within a ruling family (pp. 61–62). In " 'The King of the East and the West': The Seljuk Dynastic Concept and Titles in the Muslim and Christian Sources," Dimitri Korobeinikov notes the gradual inflation of Rūm Seljuk titulature as surviving enclaves of Byzantine territory were absorbed in the opening years of the thirteenth century, culminating in claims of universal rule over Arabs and Persians, the East and the West, etc. In "A *Nadīm* for the Sultan: Rāwandī and the Anatolian Seljuks," Sarah Nur Yıldız looks at Rāwandī's historical and literary compilation the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, noting that it contains little original material; she places it in the context of the author's aspirations to secure a place in the Seljuk ruler ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubād I's circle of boon companions (*nudamāʾ*).

Two chapters deal with the Rūm Seljuk court and royal household. Rustam Shukurov's "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes" examines the role of the rulers' wives and concubines, who appear to have been predominantly Greek. It seems that these Greek Christians largely continued to practice their own faith, with Christian priests and attendants in their entourages. Shukurov notes the princes' continuing links with Byzantium; Seljuk failed claimants to power and refugees almost always fled there rather than to Islamic lands. Scott Redford's "Paper, Stone, Scissors: ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubād, ʿIṣmat al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn, and the Writing of Seljuk History" looks at the role of the Rūm Seljuks' Christian wives, specifically the wife of Kayqubād I (r. 1219–1237), ʿIṣmat al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn, who appears to have been largely written out of the historical sources, since she does not appear in Ibn Bībī's work, but whose name is recorded in stone as patron of a mosque at Uluborlu in south-central Anatolia and then briefly at Erzerum.

At the outset of "In the Proximity of Sultans: Majd al-Dīn Isḥāq, Ibn ʿArabī and the Seljuk Court," Sarah Nur Yıldız and Haşim Şahin note how little is known about the Muslim religious elite of Seljuk Anatolia, a result of the fact that Anatolia lacked a substantial class of ulema, entailing an absence of the biographical dictionaries that enable us to reconstruct in detail religious life in the Islamic core lands like Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. The authors do, however, treat two figures who were influential at the court in the capital of Konya in the early thirteenth century, and who seem to have been regarded by the Seljuk ruler as a legitimating force for his royal power. But while the ulema institution was undeveloped in Anatolia, that of the Sufis flourished. A. C. S. Peacock's "Sufis and the Seljuk Court in Mongol Anatolia: Politics and Patronage in the Works of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Sulṭān Walad" highlights the roles of two of the most celebrated and influential Sufi shaykhs of the age through the hagiographical literature that rapidly grew up around them. Whereas Muslim saintly figures often distanced themselves from worldly concerns, these two holy men sought patronage from the Seljuks, in return buttressing the state with their charisma and spiritual powers. An interesting institution of medieval Islamic civic life, the moral code of *futuwwa*, is the subject of Rachel Goshgarian's "*Futuwwa* in Thirteenth-Century Rūm and Armenia: Reform Movements and the Managing of Multiple Allegiances on the Seljuk Periphery." According to Goshgarian, this notion of the ideal man, a phenomenon apparently unique to Islamic society, was transferred to Christian Armenians, with *futuwwa* texts com-

posed in Armenian by communities like those of Erzerum.

Gary Leiser's conclusion justly describes the volume as a benchmark in the study of the Rūm Seljuks, since Anatolia presents an example of slow Islamization, with Sufism seeming to have played a much stronger part than it did in the Islamic heartlands. He ends with a plea for closer study of *waqfiyya*s, foundation documents of pious endowments, for their significance to the social and economic histories of the communities in which they were set up.

The editors' claim that the book is a pioneer study is thus amply justified. The chapters are of uniformly high quality and are copiously documented, making for stimulating reading. All in all, this is a fine achievement that should encourage further study of this fascinating sector of premodern Near Eastern history.

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Sahar Bazzaz, Yota Batsaki, and Dimiter Angelov, editors. *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*. (Hellenic Studies, number 56.) Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, distributed by Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 274. $24.95.

As the editors explain in their introduction to this collection, the eleven essays it contains focus on the imperial and post-imperial space of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires, geographically from the Balkans to the Arabian Gulf, and chronologically from the tenth century to the twenty-first. The word "geographies" in the title does not refer so much to maps or physical features as to "imagined" geography: the way that rulers and builders of empires (and sometimes their subjects) have perceived the world around them and used those perceptions for the purpose of self-legitimation. The contributors to the volume are thus not geographers or cartographers, but historians and literary critics. What follows is a discussion of a representative sample of the essays across the wide time range.

At the remote end of the time scale, Paul Magdalino looks at the tenth-century Byzantine Empire. On the face of it, Byzantine intellectuals appear to have been remarkably incurious about the world beyond their capital city of Constantinople. During its thousand-year existence, their society produced very little in the way of geographical literature or travel writing. On the other hand, ruling circles in Constantinople must have had some conception of geography for practical purposes, such as planning military campaigns or managing supplies. Magdalino therefore turns to a body of tenth-century texts known as *taktika*, which were essentially manuals of military tactics and statecraft. He focuses on those connected with Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945–959) and suggests that these works express a geographical vision of empire, albeit a noticeably selective one. In his *De Administrando Imperio*, the emperor devotes a great deal of space to the western Balkans, perhaps reflecting his hope of expanding Byzantine influence into that area. Moreover, Constantine's perspective is always from Constantinople; hence his detailed description of the imperial galley and the places it visited around the Sea of Marmara: this is likely to have been as far as Constantine himself ever traveled.

Dimiter Angelov's contribution complements that of Magdalino with its argument that Constantinople acted for the Byzantine ruling class in the way that Greenwich does for time zones. However, the focus here is not solely on the literature produced by the court, for Angelov identifies two other strands of geographical perception, the academic and the popular. He discerns both in the epitomes of ancient geographical texts such as Strabo and Claudius Ptolemy and the commentaries on them that were used in higher education. Not surprisingly, since these works were written long before the foundation of Constantinople, the city does not feature much in this conception of geography. Nevertheless, contemporary influence does creep into these texts and provides insight into popular geography, notably in the new names that were attached to ancient places. A tenth-century commentary on Strabo lets slip that the Peloponnese was already being called the Morea. The word means "mulberry tree" and may refer to the silk industry that had by then been established there but which had not existed in Strabo's day.

A similar investigation into the geographical outlook of the Ottoman sultans in the sixteenth century is made by Mevhibe Pınar Emiralioğlu, who argues that just because the Ottomans did not participate directly in the "age of discovery," this does not mean that they had no use for the improved and extended maps of the world that were becoming available. From the reign of Selim I (1512–1520), with the conquest of Egypt and the holy places of Islam coming under the protection of the sultan, the idea of Ottoman universality began to emerge. It is no coincidence that Selim was a patron of geographers and mapmakers, the most prominent of whom was Piri Reis (d. 1554). Emiralioğlu argues that Reis's world map, which he presented to Selim in 1513, was designed to depict the known world, over which the sultan's universal authority would soon radiate. Much the same could be said about Reis's book of sea lore, produced during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566).

Constanze Güthenke's intriguing essay on the emerging Greek state of the 1830s opens with the arrival in Athens of Amalia, the bride of the first king of Greece, the Bavarian Otto I (1832–1862). An amused German observer recorded her somewhat farcical reception. Proud of the ancient associations of their city, the authorities had strewn the path with olive branches, which the queen-to-be very nearly tripped over before being presented with a symbol of the goddess of Athena, a terrified owl, struggling in its bonds of blue and white ribbon. The incident provides the launch pad for Güthenke's argument that we should not be too quick to attribute the classical pretensions of the new kingdom

to all Greeks. Rather, this obsession reflects the classical ethos of the ruling classes of the great powers that had secured the independence of Greece from the Ottoman Empire. It was Otto and the Bavarians rather than the Greeks who had insisted on Athens as the capital, and Güthenke traces to their influence the emergence of an "imperial geography," which was later to perceive Athens as a center of Hellenism from which the kingdom would be expanded to include all areas inhabited by Orthodox Greek speakers, the so-called Great Idea (*Megali Idea*). She draws attention to a competing and overlapping "national geography" that saw the Greek state solely in terms of its limited territory at the time of its inception. She discerns this outlook in two novels written by brothers: Panagiotis Soutsos's *Leandros* (1834) and Alexandros Soutsos's *The Exile of 1831* (1835). Both novels are centered on Nafplio, the old provisional capital of Greece, rather than Athens, and both authors were clearly much more interested in the issues of distribution and cultivation of national land than in classical inheritance and universal Hellenism.

The last essay in the collection, by Sahar Bazzaz, deals with the aftermath of the American invasion of Iraq, the former Ottoman Eyalet of Baghdad, in 2003. Although it was assumed that the oppressed Iraqi people would welcome their liberators and that the campaign would be a swift one, the fighting went on as insurgents attacked the occupying forces and those associated with them. Bazzaz traces how this unexpected resistance was accounted for in geographical terms in the pages of the *New York Times*. The insurgents, it was claimed, must be an unrepresentative Sunni minority, confined to an area south of Baghdad that was labeled "the Sunni triangle." Yet, although the triangle was mentioned in the paper some 230 times in 2003–2005, its exact location shifted wildly and even included a well-known Shia pilgrimage site. It was, in fact, a way of limiting the insurgency to a few fanatics in a small area. In showing how the unexpected was rationalized through an almost imaginary geography, Bazzaz's essay provides a fitting conclusion to the volume.

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Selim Deringil. *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 281. $95.00.

Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire is a broadly conceived, theoretically rich, tightly argued, and rigorously executed piece of research and analysis. In this remarkable study, Selim Deringil attempts to historicize and contextualize conversion in the post-Tanzimat Ottoman realm. Instead of linking conversions occurring in the late Ottoman Empire to earlier examples from previous centuries, Deringil deftly focuses on their distinctive characteristics and dominant features.

Consequently, he demonstrates that the conversions taking place in this specific timeframe were mainly conceived as attempts at denationalization. The inexorable conjoining of national and religious identities in this era, Deringil argues, rendered conversion more precarious since it was no longer merely a reprehensible act; it now posed an ominous threat and constituted a deleterious insult to self-conscious groups. The widespread fusion of ethnic and religious identities in shaping the modern identity became more visible in the Ottoman Balkans, though it was common throughout the empire. The blurred boundaries between religion and ethnicity inescapably transformed conversion into a political, bureaucratic, diplomatic, and, more importantly, national phenomenon.

The establishment and recognition of numerous new national churches, passionate missionary activity, bitter schisms within Christian denominations, protection provided by the Western powers, and the practical impossibility of punishing those who dared to leave the Muslim flock shaped a new and different world. In this new reality, conversion not only became rampant but also acquired an unprecedented moral character. It was no longer solely a religious issue left to clerical establishments, or a taxation matter dealt with by the imperial financial offices. Similarly, apostasy began to symbolize an altered and more portentous type of treason in the eyes of the self-conscious group.

Deringil provides a meticulous analysis of conversion and apostasy in this new era. He looks at the issue from important and hitherto neglected vantage points, including "mission civilisatrice," "citizenship," and "Ottomanization." By examining a large number of cases, ranging from Hungarian and Polish revolutionaries who became Muslims in order to obtain significant Ottoman bureaucratic and military posts, to crypto-Christians who wanted to replace the crescent with the cross that they had surreptitiously worshipped for centuries, to Armenians converting to Islam en masse to avoid pogroms, to breakaway Protestant communities preaching liberal ideas, Deringil demonstrates cogently that conversion became a versatile tool serving different purposes. These included achieving upward social mobility and/or economic and fiscal privileges, adjusting status, avoiding vital threats, reclaiming suppressed identities, and becoming members of new groups perceived to be more modern. Likewise, it served as an effective tool for negotiating identity. As some Ottoman subjects observed firsthand, even survival could be ensured through conversion.

Ironically, while conversion gained new significance during this period, it also, as Deringil skillfully demonstrates, lost value. Thus conversion of a young girl could trigger civil war conditions, as it did in Salonica in 1876; however, the abundance of conversion cases rendered a large number of them routine police affairs. Rapid secularization taking place after the Tanzimat contributed considerably to the devaluation of conversion at the individual level. In fact, many members of the Ottoman elite, including Muslims, converted to dif-

ferent forms of disbelief, much to the dismay of the pious masses. Those who could not go that far reduced faith to a cultural affair. Thus, unlike the old religious elites who had dominated communities in the past, the new secularist-nationalist elites paid considerably less attention to conversion as long as it did not pose a threat to the imagined nation.

As Deringil stresses, however, this devaluation, prompted by a variety of reasons, did not mean a complete defusing of apostasy and conversion as volatile material when they were yoked to nationalism. Unlike in previous centuries, an individual conversion became much less significant when it was done quietly. The triumphant religious community did not necessarily view a conversion to their faith as a reaffirmation of its doctrinal superiority; nor did the community who had lost an adherent perceive it as a major blow to their pride and their monopoly on the eternal truth.

Even Muslims, who had viewed conversion as a one-way street from imperfection to flawlessness, tolerated those who left the flock as long as it was strictly a personal issue. Such impassionate conversions were reduced to bureaucratic affairs. The officials regarded them as a nuisance or "headache," in the modern genteel jargon of the Ottoman administration, and individuals exploited bureaucratic loopholes to acquire new identities without fanfare. However, when conversion overlapped with denationalization, apostates became walking symbols of the potential unraveling of the community, and set dangerous precedents that could be emulated by other potential black sheep in the flock.

This book is a tour de force of the masterly use of archival material, talented historical reconstruction, luminous contextualizing, and pellucid writing. It will remain the standard work on this subject for many years to come.

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Hale Yilmaz. *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey, 1923–1945*. (Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2013. Pp. xv, 328. $39.95.

Studies of Turkey's still-contentious early Republican project of modernity and nation-building constitute a growing body of scholarship to which this book is a welcome addition. It does not offer major new discoveries or groundbreaking insights, but by extending the scope of existing studies, by adding nuance and complexity, and above all by shifting the focus of inquiry from state to society, it significantly enhances our understanding of this seminal period of radical reform, social engineering, and national identity construction.

Combining research methods and interpretive frameworks from the disciplines of history, anthropology, and cultural studies, Hale Yılmaz examines four areas of reform that epitomize the Kemalist agenda of creating a modern, secular, homogeneous nation out of a heterogeneous population: clothing reform, women's clothing, language reform, and national holiday celebrations, each of which is tackled in a separate chapter. Using original primary research (oral histories and hitherto untapped material from the Ministry of Interior Archives), as well as building upon the work of other scholars, Yılmaz takes issue both with state-centered accounts of early Republican reforms (as top-down impositions on an allegedly passive population) and with accounts claiming radical resistance to these reforms. Instead, she makes a compelling case for a more nuanced, ambivalent reality somewhere in between these poles.

Yılmaz's first argument is that rather than assuming a centralized state as the unitary actor, it is important to look more closely at the local and provincial levels to see that the implementation and degree of penetration of Republican reforms were not uniform across the country, but varied depending on factors like regional characteristics, socioeconomic classes, gender, and generational differences. In addition, people often drew a distinction between the benevolent state of Mustafa Kemal (which was revered) and the local practices of police, gendarmes, etc. (which were feared). For example, on the matter of reforming women's clothing (chap. two), a very interesting contrast emerges between the "softer" approach of central government, which recommended propaganda and gradual inculcation as a way of eliminating *peçe* and *çarşaf*, and the zealousness of local authorities in small towns and villages, who wished to enforce the reforms through police intervention.

Secondly, the book convincingly dispels the idea of a passive population. Informed by the theoretical tools of cultural and subaltern studies (and by James C. Scott's "weapons of the weak") and supported by her own field research, Yılmaz argues that responses to the reforms ranged widely, from acceptance and selective compliance to small, tactical, everyday forms of resistance. Chapter one, on clothing reform, shows how subtle resistance to the Hat Law of 1925 took multiple forms—from wearing peculiar forms of headgear that approximated the European-style panama hat, to avoiding public space altogether. Public support of Republican reforms (stemming from a genuine belief in the Kemalist state as the agent of progress) did not necessarily translate into their private internalization, and support from private citizens, especially devout Muslims, could often be a tactical move rather than reflect a genuine ideological transformation.

By paying particular attention to the experiences of women, peasants, and other subaltern groups who were the "objects" of Republican reforms (thus redressing the balance of studies that privilege modernizing elites as the "subjects" of these reforms), the book incorporates these experiences into the overall process of Turkish modernity and nation-building. Most commendably, it historically contextualizes early Republican reforms, making useful digressions to compare similar efforts at reform in other Muslim geographies (Iran and Egypt in

particular), and marking important continuities with Turkey's own reformist legacy in the late Ottoman period. By pointing to the existence, since the late empire, of positive attitudes among the population toward mass literacy and education as civilizing processes (chap. three), or to the late-nineteenth-century roots of the idea of non-religious national holidays (chap. four), Yılmaz convincingly situates Republican practices in this preexisting context, which largely accounts for people's receptivity.

Methodologically, the book's premise of building an overall picture from individual site-specific (and sometimes seemingly arbitrary) stories may raise the question of how generalizable its observations are. Nevertheless, in the absence of more systematic data to map how people experienced and negotiated Republican reforms in their everyday lives in Turkey, such "thick description" (gathered from family histories, photo albums, letters, official documents, and reports of provincial inspectors, among others) becomes a convincing body of evidence that brings state-society negotiations to life, introducing real people, real lives, and real struggles to cope with change during turbulent times. That many of the same themes covered in this book are still at the center of Turkish political debate today, from women's clothing to national celebrations (headscarf or not, Conquest Day versus Republic Day, etc.), underscores the fluidity and contested nature of identity construction and lends *Becoming Turkish* a renewed relevance beyond the historical period it covers.

Sibel Bozdogan
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Berna Pekesen. *Nationalismus, Türkisierung und das Ende der jüdischen Gemeinden in Thrakien, 1918–1942.* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 145.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 2012. Pp. 334. €44.80.

Berna Pekesen's *Nationalismus, Türkisierung und das Ende der jüdischen Gemeinden in Thrakien* is the first monograph on the so-called "Thracian events" or Thrace pogroms, which took place between June 21 and July 4, 1934, and resulted in a massive migration of Thracian Jews to Istanbul to escape violence and death. Although the apparent scope of the book is limited to this phenomenon, it effectively deals with the problems of nation-building in modern Turkey, the successor state of the multiethnic Ottoman Empire. Thus it should be considered part of the research literature that concentrates on the crises and processes of imperial disintegration and the foundation of new nation-states.

Pekesen's work consists of an introduction, six main parts, a concluding summary, and two appendixes. The introduction draws attention to the historiographical silencing of the pogrom, reiterating the one-sided way in which official and semi-official historical writings presented the "exemplary relationship" that Turks and Jews had enjoyed for centuries. The author's main research question comes through here: How could this long-lasting harmony have come to such an abrupt and violent end in 1934?

Part I reconstructs the Thrace pogroms chronologically. Included are the previous antisemitic activities of Cevat Rifat (Atilhan); the nationalistic public campaign known as "Citizen, Speak in Turkish," which was supported by young members of the Republican People's Party; the remilitarization of Thrace due to revisionist threats from Bulgaria and Italy; the recognition of the Straits and Thrace as top security zones; the decision to repopulate Thrace with "reliable" Muslims; the establishment of the General Inspectorate of Thrace in February 1934; discriminatory statements by İbrahim Tali (Öngören), chief of the General Inspectorate, on removing "Jewish elements" from the Thracian economy; the promulgation of the Resettlement Law by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on June 14, 1934; the beginning of anti-Jewish violence in Çanakkale on June 21, and subsequently throughout Thrace, which included physical attacks against Jewish individuals as well as the plundering of shops and private homes; the statement by Prime Minister İsmet İnönü on July 5 that a public investigation would be opened into these events; and the flight of nearly 50 percent of the Jews in Thrace to Istanbul, most of whom were not able to return to their ancestral homes.

Part II discusses the theoretical aspects of the Thracian events. Pekesen concludes that "pogrom" is a more convenient term to use in describing these events than "ethnic cleansing," since the latter implies a wholesale ethnic homogenization of a region. She then discusses the relationship between nation-building, modernization, and violence. One crucial aspect of this relationship in view of Kemalism was the formation of a homogeneous national identity through the transformation of older, "out-of-date" particularistic identities into a single one.

Part III provides the reader with a comprehensive history of Ottoman Jewry, its relationship with the Sublime Porte, the process of Jewish modernization, and the destruction of the Jewish communities resulting from a series of catastrophic wars between 1877 and 1914. As Pekesen argues, the Jewish population was reduced from an acknowledged *millet* to a tiny minority.

Part IV discusses the emerging problems for the remaining Jews during the early years of the Turkish Republic. When peace talks began in Lausanne after the War of Liberation, the Turkish delegation insisted, without success, on the abrogation of minority rights for non-Muslims. However, three years following the Treaty of Lausanne, immense government and popular pressure forced the Jewish community to give up their minority rights, which meant the termination of communal self-rule. When the chief rabbi died in 1931, the government refused to allow the community to replace him. Jewish schools, institutions, and endowments were placed under state surveillance, and no new ones were permitted.

In Part V, Pekesen focuses on the policies of assimilation and exclusion, which constitute the two faces of

Turkification. Accordingly, Kemalism, despite its staunch secularism, paradoxically preserved Sunni Islam as the backbone of Turkish national identity. While Islam served as a means to assimilate non-Turkish Muslims, it helped to exclude non-Muslims from the main body of the Turkish nation. These attitudes went hand in hand with the Turkification of economic life, education, and language.

Finally, Part VI deals with the settlement and demographic policies of the Kemalist regime. Major demographic losses during World War I prompted the government to encourage the immigration of Muslims from the Balkans and the Caucasus. Meanwhile, formal legal measures were utilized to expel non-Muslims, including Jews, from Turkish citizenship at any possible opportunity. Those who still retained their citizenship were subjected to the Resettlement Law, which stipulated the removal of "untrustworthy elements" from strategically sensitive regions, as it took place following the Thracian events. Finally, the Tax on Property of 1942, applied in a discriminatory way against non-Muslims, effectively terminated the Jewish presence in the Turkish economy.

This study makes a significant contribution to the history of modern Turkish Jewry and its demise in Thrace. It also sheds light on the nation-building process during the Kemalist era and its effects on other nationalities in Anatolia. It draws on archives in Turkey, France (including the Alliance Israélite Universelle), Germany, Israel, the U.S., Britain, and Switzerland. Pekesen's evaluations are cautious and balanced. Therefore this book will probably remain for some time one of the main reference sources on the history of late Ottoman and early Republican Turkish Jewry.

Selçuk Akşin Somel
Sabancı University

Artur Patek. *Jews on Route to Palestine, 1934–1944: Sketches from the History of Aliyah Bet—Clandestine Jewish Immigration*. (Jagiellonian Studies in History, number 1.) Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press. 2012. Pp. 220. $42.00.

Artur Patek, a professor of history at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, is a specialist on the Polish-Jewish community and its association with the British Mandate in Palestine and the State of Israel. In *Jews on Route to Palestine, 1934–1944*, he offers an in-depth analysis of the illegal immigration of Polish Jews to Palestine as part of the Aliyah Bet (from 1934 to almost the end of World War II), which he calls "a national myth, part of the Jews' collective consciousness" (p. 9). This book focuses on issues that have received relatively little scholarly attention to date. Originally published in Polish, it was translated into English with minor revisions. Patek reveals a deep knowledge and understanding of the subject, and his work is ambitious in seeking to explain some of the most intangible elements of the Aliyah Bet through the use of primary sources from the London National Archives and the Central Zionist Archives. In addition, he has made use of diaries and memoirs, newspaper articles, and an extensive list of published primary and secondary sources.

In its main argument, this book attempts to answer the following questions: "What was illegal Jewish immigration? What were the external and internal factors which determined its course, which acted for or against it? What set its tone? What motives drove its organizers and participants? Were these motives consistent over time, or did they change from one period to another? How did *Aliyah Bet* influence Great Britain's Palestinian policy and its relationship with Yishuv before and during [World War II]?" (p. 11). The seven chapters are organized chronologically and thematically, which enables readers to easily follow the progress of the illegal immigration. The opening chapter treats the first waves of illegal immigrants to set sail for Palestine on board the ship *Velos* in July 1934. The introduction sets the context, providing the historical background of the Palestinian problem and the start of Jewish immigration to Mandate Palestine. Chapter two examines the beginning of the Aliyah Bet and the motives behind the various parties who were involved in it. The third chapter discusses the secret organizations that oversaw the illegal Jewish immigration and the reactions of British authorities and the Palestinians toward them. The fourth chapter addresses the period from 1939 to 1940 and the factors that influenced the character and aims of the Aliyah Bet. The fifth chapter examines the deportation and exile of 1,580 Jewish refugees by Mandate authorities in December 1940. The subsequent chapter examines the dramatic parts of the Aliyah Bet: the sinking of the *Salvador* in 1940 and the *Struma* in 1942 and who was responsible for the resulting deaths of hundreds of refugees. The seventh chapter explains the "relaxation" of British Mandate immigration policy after 1942. Each chapter is broken down into a number of sections, which typically fit logically into the overall theme of the chapter.

Jews on Route to Palestine offers an objective view of the waves of illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine and illustrates their interactive nature. The title, however, is problematic, in that it omits any reference to Polish Jews or to the illegality of their immigration. The bibliography is extensive, including study questions and a timeline of events not directly associated with the subject at hand. In summary, although Patek's book is largely a synthesis, it is well-organized and makes an important contribution to the scholarship.

Farid Al-Salim
Qatar University

Elizabeth F. Thompson. *Justice Interrupted: The Struggle for Constitutional Government in the Middle East*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2013. Pp. xi, 418. $39.95.

Middle Eastern events of recent years have left many observers perplexed. What have the protesting masses hoped to achieve, and what accounts for their short-

term successes or failures? Many people were surprised by the emergence of protest movements in the Middle East and imagined them as a series of spontaneous eruptions. Western intelligence agencies were likewise caught unawares. But what about the people who live in in the region, or scholars of the area? Some of them were surprised, too, but Elizabeth F. Thompson would not have been among them. Thompson places her insightful new book squarely at the intersection of current events and the last couple of centuries of human history in the Middle East. In doing so she contributes meaningfully, and with originality, to contemporary and historical discussions about democracy and popular movements in the region. She argues that the peoples of the Middle East have sought justice and representation, variably understood and expressed over time, and that the account of their quest is a worthwhile and important universal human story. The book is a new "people's history" of the modern Middle East.

The book consists of three parts, organized in the form of individual biographies. In the three chapters that constitute Part I, dealing with what could be called the long nineteenth century, Thompson usefully considers the career of state reform, and the activities of subject/citizens to shape reform in ways that would be meaningful to them. She opens with a close examination of the Ottoman scribal bureaucrat Mustafa Ali, who exemplified an evolutionary tradition of governmental self-study, criticism, and reform in the sixteenth century. The various decrees of the nineteenth century are traced to show that reform was spurred by many factors, including foreign pressure and various crises, but perhaps most importantly by an ingrained habit of Ottoman governmental and institutional self-criticism. Subsequent chapters discuss how Ottoman state reform was received, shaped, and reshaped in provincial regions by peasants and central and provincial state elites. The book integrates the story of justice, struggle, and reform into the Mt. Lebanon peasant revolts, the sectarian conflict of 1860, the Ottoman response, and the ensuing 1876 Ottoman Constitution. From Lebanon, Damascus, and Istanbul, the story moves to Cairo, where Colonel Ahmad Urabi led a popular uprising that gave British prime minister William Gladstone cover to invade and begin what would be seventy years of British occupation. The same chapter examines the background of the Iranian constitutional revolution of 1905. The three chapters in Part I were conceived and written with originality, skill, and assurance, but they are not based on primary research.

In the book's second part, Thompson moves self-confidently into her own area of scholarly expertise: the Levant in the period between about 1910 and 1950. She begins with the life, work, and intellectual evolution of the Ottoman/Turkish feminist intellectual and politician Halide Edib. Edib is a familiar figure to students of the period, since she wrote prolifically, spoke (and sometimes wrote in) English, seemed to be everywhere at crucial moments, and lived a long time. Through a close reading of Edib's work and letters, Thompson makes the excitement and pain of the first half of the twentieth century palpable to the reader. In subsequent chapters, the book follows the adventures and frustrations of the Ottoman/Palestinian statesman Musa Kazim al-Husayni; his rival, the Zionist leader David Ben-Gurion in the 1920s and 1930s; the Egyptian founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan al-Banna, until his assassination in 1949; and two pivotal but willfully obscured figures, the Iraqi communist martyr Comrade Fahd and the Syrian populist politician Akram al-Hourani. Thompson brings the period and its hopes and struggles for justice and representation vividly to life. Moving into a period she knows well, she uses an impressive array of primary sources, including memoirs and interviews, coupled with astute historical interpretations and judgments.

Part III brings the story from the 1960s into the present, and focuses on the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Abu Iyad; the leader of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Sayyid Qutb; the Iranian philosopher Ali Shariati; and the leader of the 2011 Egyptian protest, Wael Ghonim. Here Thompson is equally surefooted, sensitive, and wise, but her interpretations and judgments lack some of the subtlety and nuance she shows in the second section.

The book represents an exemplary mix of primary research, skillful synthesis, and creative thematic structure and organization. Students and general readers will surely enjoy it and profit from it, and specialist readers will find much that is new, useful, and interesting. Some of the chapters, especially in the second part, informed as they clearly are by years of research and contemplation, are noticeably stronger and more impressive than the others, but nothing, including the fully synthetic chapters, comes across as extraneous or hastily added. The book's great strength is its theme of justice and the struggle for representation that has inspired courageous political action for two centuries. Thanks to Elizabeth Thompson, this singular story is finally available to readers.

Michael Provence
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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Archie L. Dick. *The Hidden History of South Africa's Book and Reading Cultures*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2012. Pp. xvi, 196. $55.00.

In 1972, the South African activist Steve Biko described how he read. "I rarely finish a book," he explained. "I always go to find something from a book." Biko was an instrumental reader; the written word was an object that he animated, according to what he and others perceived as their immediate needs. In the heat of struggle, activists like Biko read strategically and tactically—in keeping with the traditions of subaltern literacy in South Africa that Archie L. Dick explores in his important book.

The history of writing in South Africa is a long and

oft-told tale. From the diaries of Jan Van Rebeeck and the writings of explorers like David Livingstone, to acts of racial exclusion and privilege, to jeremiads of anticolonialism and the glories of constitutionalism, writing has paced the country's drama of conquest, displacement, segregation, and progress. In this slim but revealing volume, Dick analyzes the other side of the literary exchange—not the word as written, but its reception, circulation, and life among a variety of reading publics. The book proposes a theory of reading as struggle, wherein South African readers searched for that which many other communities take for granted—a stocked library and unfettered opportunities for inspiration, enlightenment, and pleasurable encounters with words. Dick demonstrates how the struggle for reading space unified publics as various as eighteenth-century Muslim slaves, early-twentieth-century nationalist women's organizations, and exiles.

This story adds texture to our understanding of intellectual life across South African history. Dick takes books and words seriously, as objects with which human beings engaged; his theory of strategic reading, always under threat, allows us better to make sense of Biko and proposes a new research agenda that ought to inspire others to pursue stories of reading and engagement with a variety of texts. The volume is a watershed—in theory, at least, if less so in fact. It is a regrettably slim text for an ambitious study that proposes no less than a new theory to cover four hundred years of history. It is distracted by a middle section that plunges into the politics of twentieth-century library science and the role of librarians in the maintenance of white supremacy, and at times it devolves into lists of texts and borrowing statistics, which is rich material that demands a closer analysis.

At its best, however, Dick's study demands that we take words seriously as objects with which people interact daily and which are in turn imbued with history. "The physical spaces that books occupy shape their meanings, and the meanings change as the spaces change," he argues (p. 135). This is apparent from the outset, during the book's sensitive first chapter on the reading culture of Dutch East India Company slaves during the Cape Colony's earlier years. The notebook of an early-eighteenth-century slave named Jan Smiesing contained biographical material, sections on reading, writing, and arithmetic, a hymn, and a medical remedy written in Tamil. These words are evidence of early Cape intellectual and cultural life, and Dick demonstrates what texts-as-object add to history. He reveals that the Lutheran hymn in Smiesing's book was first published in Amsterdam in 1648, and set to music written by a lesser-known Bach—John Christoph. The hymn was popular at the Cape, in particular, because "it was played by VOC [Dutch East India Company] trumpeters on incoming ships every morning" (p. 25). From mute words on a page to the sonic experience of an eighteenth-century Cape morning—this is revelatory.

The book's other insights are many. Dick reveals the South African National Library Association's collusion with apartheid through the example of a librarian's theory about the "culturology of readership," which proposed that only certain books are acceptable for certain cultural groups (p. 90). He delves into the borrowing records of the aforementioned ANC college in Tanzania and shows that comic books and popular periodicals—even those produced by the South African government's propaganda wing—were easily more popular than the more ideologically righteous fare that exiled cadres were supposed to prefer. His "heroes" are frequently librarians, some of whom struggled amidst the material inequalities of apartheid (which Dick dramatically reveals through a comparison of the space allocated for white readers vs. Coloured readers in Cape Town), and others of whom maintained collections of illicit materials, secreting their borrowing records from the eyes of the apartheid police. He convinces us that librarians both for and against apartheid deserve to be written into the big story of South Africa's twentieth century.

However, Dick's insistence on this narrative comes at the expense of his book's more subtle arguments and the fascinating research agenda that it proposes. The book flies from Jan Smiesing to the twentieth century, reducing the wealth of black South African reading culture to that done on the front lines of political conflict, which is hardly the "hidden history" Dick insists that he wants to tell. Along the way, he notes passing evidence of other, less spectacular moments of reading. He notes the importance of the Bible as a text and an object, but what of Africans' sustained creative interaction with the Word, which resulted in schismatic churches and rebellions both physical and textual? It will be up to a new generation of South African historians to engage the broadsheet of the past on these and other subjects, to seek out words and texts as objects, in search of the tactics readers deployed as they, like Biko, went to find something in a book. The scholarship these historians produce will owe a debt to Archie Dick's trailblazing study, ensuring its own afterlife in the footnotes and bibliographies of texts still to come.

Daniel Magaziner
Yale University

Jeff Guy. *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal: African Autonomy and Settler Colonialism in the Making of Traditional Authority*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. 2013. Pp. ix, 566.

This is an odd book, falling somewhere between an academic monograph and a popular study intended for a public obsessed with the Zulu and Natal's turbulent colonial history. Extraordinarily detailed, lavishly illustrated, but historiographically stuck in the 1980s, *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal* seems like a book meant for one's coffee table, except for the fact that its author believes that virtually every scholar has misunderstood Theophilus Shepstone (1817–1893) and his role in shaping "native" policy in South Africa.

Shepstone has long attracted scholarly attention. Born in the early years of the nineteenth century and raised on South Africa's violent Eastern Cape, he became secretary of native affairs in Natal and, as such, the colony's principal architect of native policy. Scholars have credited Shepstone with helping to create a system of colonial administration in which Europeans ruled through so-called "traditional" rulers, particularly chiefs and headmen. This system of rule is typically referred to as "indirect rule," and in many respects historians have come to see Shepstone as South Africa's Lord Lugard. An important aspect of this literature has been an exploration of the relationship of this early system of rule to South Africa's segregationist policies, and ultimately to the apartheid policies of separate development, as well as the extent to which South Africa's colonial experience helped shape British colonial rule elsewhere in Africa.

Jeff Guy, who had a distinguished career as a historian of the Natal-Zululand area, has little patience with this literature. Guy sees indirect rule as the "retrospective application of an administrative policy with little relevance to what was happening in Natal" (p. 4). Scholars have collapsed Shepstone's views with those of Natal's settlers. Scholars are "misleading" (pp. 9, 68), have "misconceived" (p. 7) Shepstone's history, or simply have not grasped the full complexity and discontinuities of the region's past. The reader is left with the sense that previous scholars were somewhat dimwitted and that the author is finally bringing common sense to our understanding of the issues at hand. More generally, even as Guy has devoted an entire book to what is, in effect, a biographical study, he argues that Shepstone simply was not as important as scholars have made him out to be.

In forty-one chapters, many just a few pages long, Guy brings the reader into the dense thickets of Natal and Zululand's nineteenth-century history, with occasional forays into metropolitan colonial policy. Many readers may get lost in the details, unsure why this or that discussion is relevant to the broader argument, though aficionados of Natal history will find the volume a useful compendium. In the end, Guy argues that what became known as the "Shepstone system" in fact emerged out of the settler-controlled Natal government, in which politicians selectively appropriated aspects of the administrative experiments pioneered by Shepstone, specifically African chiefship "as a colonial administrative and political institution" (p. 502). Guy is certainly correct to emphasize the fluidity—indeed the messiness—of what unfolded in the period when colonial rule was being extended over Zululand. However, it is not always clear what this emphasis on contingency and complexity gets us beyond an assertion of a radical particularism. Few today would argue that what developed by the end of the nineteenth century was simply what Shepstone had introduced *tout court*. That said, in the end durable patterns did emerge, patterns that had their formative moment in the period when Shepstone served as colonial administrator.

Emphasizing the past's messiness, Guy nonetheless relies on a rigid, not to mention teleological, materialist model that shaped the production of South African history three or four decades ago. Marriage is thus simply about the "exchange" of "labour power" (p. 30). African society is presented as "pre-capitalist," and the region's nineteenth-century history is one that can be captured by the transition from one mode of production to another. "Pre-colonial" is synonymous with "pre-capitalist," and capitalism is the same as "the western" (p. 521). The crucial transition, one that "cannot be questioned" (p. 522) in the region's history, centers on the collapse of the African homestead as an independent unit of production and reproduction. Guy thus returns to a very tired materialist mode of historical explanation that freezes African history even as it asserts its historical laws of motion, emphasizes the rapacious demands of Natal's white settlers, and, ultimately, ends with the demand for African labor in South Africa's gold mines. To experts, this will seem very old-fashioned indeed.

This is unfortunate. Guy is very aware of the reassertion of tribalism in contemporary South Africa, a politics that makes explicit claims on the past. *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal* could have made an important contribution to a post-apartheid South African history. We desperately need an engaged historiography that sets a new agenda for historical research, not one that is cantankerous, inaccessible, and trapped in old paradigms.

Clifton Crais
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Charles R. DiSalvo. *M. K. Gandhi, Attorney at Law: The Man before the Mahatma*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2013. Pp. xxviii, 350. $34.95.

In 1909, Mohandas K. Gandhi launched a "blistering assault on the legal system" (p. 256) in his defining tract, *Hind Swaraj*. Lawyers, he said, promoted "immorality," and law courts could not produce desirable social changes. Why did Gandhi attack a profession of which he had been a part for almost two decades? What was it about the law that "drove the lawyer out of the legal system . . . and into the arms of civil disobedience" as an "expression of one's highest respect for the law" (p. xiii)?

This well-written book is the first scholarly work to connect Gandhi's nonviolent civil disobedience to the failure of the courts in racialized South Africa. Trained at London's Inner Temple in 1891, Gandhi returned to India hoping to establish a successful practice. That goal never materialized. When a South African businessman, Dada Abdulla, needed a Gujarati-speaking lawyer to help him resolve a dispute within his firm, he offered the job to Gandhi. So began a journey that was to transform this twenty-four-year-old man into one of the great reformers of the twentieth century.

Using legal cases in South Africa from the 1890s

through the 1900s, Charles R. DiSalvo examines Gandhi's transformation in detail. Daunted by the prospect of returning to a corrupt legal system in India, Gandhi chose to open a practice in Durban. The Indian merchants promised to retain him, and he in turn agreed to defend their political rights. From the beginning, he combined his legal work with political activism. He was admitted to the bar as an advocate, and represented his Indian clients ably in such matters as property transfers, debt collections, and back rents. "Neither theatrical speeches nor withering cross-examination brought him . . . success," says the author, "but a right reading of the strength of his case and an insightful management of the system" (p. 65). Gandhi's occasional naïveté did not diminish his tenacity or honesty. He learned about procedural propriety from his friend and mentor Fredrick Laughton, which earned him a string of successes in the mid-1890s. Politically, he relied on drawing up petitions on behalf of the Indians. He could easily have used political leverage in defending Indian traders who were denied due process, but he chose not to do so. Did the idea of civil disobedience occur to him? An incident involving striking railway workers certainly sparked his interest.

Gandhi's transformation from law to civil disobedience emerged when he established a practice as an attorney in Johannesburg in 1903 after his second return from India. The Transvaal authorities had decided to confine Indian traders to "coolie" locations, and the law courts were of little help in preventing it. Gandhi advised his clients to choose imprisonment instead of fines. Going to jail was a necessary sacrifice, the "law of life," he wrote in 1904.

The first opportunity to test civil disobedience came in May 1906 with the tramcar segregation cases. He selected individuals to defy the law and seek imprisonment. A law enacted in August 1906 requiring Indians to register by providing fingerprints became a catalyst for implementing civil disobedience on a large scale. Such measures were aimed at restricting and excluding Indians from the Transvaal. Under Gandhi's leadership, 3,000 Indians took a solemn vow in September 1906 to resist the law if the British Crown approved. He had argued forcefully that they should choose jail instead of obedience. Gandhi utilized both the law courts and the public platform. He added two new fronts to the campaign, border-crossing and illegal trading. Thus, for disobeying the law and challenging the state, he too was jailed.

There was an inherent tension between Gandhi's role as a traditional courtroom lawyer and his role as a leader engaged in civil disobedience. His approach diminished the capacity of jail-going Indians to "generate sympathy" for creating change, since their suffering was hidden from public view. In other words, his courtroom tactics worked against civil disobedience. The movement was in full retreat by 1909, and Gandhi realized that the two roles were incompatible. In April 1911, he handed over his practice to Lewis W. Ritch, a close friend formerly articled to him.

DiSalvo correctly suggests that the failure of the South African law courts turned Gandhi the lawyer into Gandhi the revolutionary. He was, however, an enormously complex individual with many sides. The evolution of Gandhi the lawyer has to be placed in the context of his moral, religious, and philosophical development. Indeed, leading biographers focus on the moral and religious Gandhi. His spiritual dimension became the bedrock of *satyagraha*, the term he preferred over "civil disobedience." Harnessing the individual's latent energy (soul force) was at the heart of his message. Hence, what DiSalvo views as fruitless tactics in a court of law after 1907 (adopting muted postures to show suffering) had its origins in the total Gandhi, not simply the lawyer. This work would have benefited from a brief foray into how the religious and philosophical intersected with Gandhi's experience in law.

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Bronwen Everill. *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia*. (Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. ix, 232. $85.00.

This comparative study of abolition and empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia, based upon a dissertation completed in 2010, offers a novel combination of disparate bodies of historical scholarship. Spanning the 1780s and 1860s, Bronwen Everill's monograph illuminates not only similarities and differences between these two West African colonies, but also their competitive interactions over commerce, territory, and the abolition of the slave trade on land and sea. She shows how governments, antislavery organizations, and missionary societies in Great Britain and the United States respectively shaped and contended over Sierra Leone and Liberia, and how the colonies then influenced humanitarian politics in the metropoles. Everill asserts that both British subjects and U.S. citizens believed in the promise of "Civilization, Commerce, and Christianity" in Africa, even as they took divergent paths to the common goal of improving the lives of "recaptives" (former slaves), free black settlers, and Africans. Focusing on the relatively understudied subject of antislavery colonization, Everill draws upon and disputes scholarship that, in her judgment, overstates the cooperation between the British and U.S. antislavery movements, such as Betty Fladeland's *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (1972). As the title of Everill's book suggests, she argues that abolition and empire in the nineteenth century were inextricably linked. Thus, she contributes to a growing body of historical scholarship on the imperial origins of modern humanitarianism. This is an insightful and promising reconceptualization of historical fields, which suggests the value of grounding humanitarianism and empire in comparative colonial studies.

In 1792, former slaves emigrated from Nova Scotia to

West Africa to establish the Freetown colony under the Sierra Leone Company, a British abolitionist enterprise determined to end the African slave trade with "legitimate commerce." Freetown became a British crown colony in 1808, one year after Britain's abolition of the maritime slave trade. The port of Freetown subsequently served as the base for Britain's antislavery naval squadron, and the colony at large, renamed Sierra Leone, was Britain's most important West African possession until mid-century. Inspired by Sierra Leone, U.S. abolitionists created the American Colonization Society in 1816, then founded the colony of Liberia, adjacent to Sierra Leone, in 1822. Everill shows that commerce and military campaigns against the slave trade drove competition, more often than cooperation, between these colonies. Sierra Leone enjoyed an advantage under the administration of the British government, while Liberia's development was inhibited by the factious administration of private U.S. antislavery organizations.

It was largely in response to administrative problems that the Liberian settlers declared their independence in 1847, although this entailed no great change in their fortunes. Treating education and Christianity as sources of cultural and political identity, Everill argues that it was the British government's support for the Church Missionary Society in building schools and proselytizing that made possible Sierra Leoneans' identification with the humanitarian and middle-class values that bound them to the British Empire. With neither a powerful government nor a strong missionary society, Liberia, in contrast, grew distant from the U.S., even as it struggled to compete with its British colonial neighbor. Both colonies nonetheless came under similar criticisms from abolitionists for failing to end the slave trade. This failure called into question the efficacy of antislavery colonization, emboldened advocates of "immediate" abolition, and by the 1850s had pushed the two colonies into more aggressive and coordinated combat against slave traders. According to Everill, these rejuvenated colonial campaigns against slavery helped to forge an Anglo-American abolitionist alliance during the U.S. Civil War.

This book would have benefited from more nuanced discussions of the socioeconomic and cultural processes that shaped these colonial societies, such as the development of Sierra Leone's Christian middle class as a hybrid minority among many more "pagans" and Muslims, who dominated trade in the interior (pp. 38–40, 47). Given its emphasis on abolition and religion in multicultural settler societies, it begs comparison with Pamela Scully and Elizabeth Elbourne's works on the British Cape Colony in South Africa in the same period. The book would have also benefited from more thorough editing, notably in the fifth chapter, to streamline writing that is sometimes diffuse. With regard to content, historians of Sierra Leone, Liberia, the British Empire, and Anglo-American antislavery will find little to dispute in Everill's treatments of their separate fields. The book's significance derives from its innovative incorporation of these fields and its comparative perspective, which together demonstrate the decisive role of the state and the divisive role of commerce in international antislavery.

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Nate Plageman. *Highlife Saturday Night: Popular Music and Social Change in Urban Ghana*. (African Expressive Cultures.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2013. Pp. xvi, 318. Cloth $80.00, paper $28.00, e-book $23.99.

In *Highlife Saturday Night: Popular Music and Social Change in Urban Ghana*, Nate Plageman explores how different groups of urban residents used highlife music to express new identities and wield effective resistance against dominant social constructs in colonial and postcolonial Ghana. Through popular music, the author argues, urban youth both embraced and challenged traditional and colonial notions of power "to vault themselves into new generational and gendered positions, claim an enhanced set of personal freedoms, and upset the social status quo" (p. 12).

The introduction, five chapters, and short epilogue are organized chronologically, with a thematic emphasis that covers the period from 1890 to 1970. The first two chapters address the place of popular music within the social, cultural, and political context of the pre-1940 period. Chapter one examines how musical activities helped to reinforce the precolonial social hierarchy and legitimize the colonial state. Chapter two looks into the relationship between social clubs and the creation of highlife music activities. Together, they argue that different groups of young men and women used protohighlife styles and highlife ballroom culture to distinguish themselves from other generations and assert a greater degree of social status.

Chapters three through five turn to the musicians and audiences of highlife, and examine how different social and political groups used it for their own purposes in the late colonial and early independence periods. Chapter three looks at the cultural impact of World War II, the expansion of commercialized leisure, and the changing forms of highlife between 1940 and 1960. Plageman argues that while older generations and members of the middle class continued to use highlife to reinforce their social authority, youth attempted to insert themselves into the practice and production of new highlife forms. Chapter four examines how Kwame Nkrumah's party attempted to coopt highlife recreation "to translate official rhetoric about abstract ideas—the nation, citizenship, and the African Personality—into clear domains of individual practice and communal identification" (p. 149). The final chapter provides a peek into the lives of highlife artists and reveals that during the years surrounding independence, musicians achieved some success and social mobility, but in most cases it was short-lived. "To be a bandsman," Plageman states, "was, in essence, to be part of an ongoing and

multifaceted debate about understandings of gender, generational strife, and the allocation of power in urban areas" (p. 223).

Plageman made four fieldwork trips to Ghana while working on this book. He analyzes a multitude of documents, newspapers, and photographs from archives in Accra, Cape Coast, Sekondi, Kumasi, and London. His interviews provide lucid views of history that come out most strongly in chapters three through five. He also collected, transcribed, and translated numerous musical recordings, a few of which are available on the accompanying Ethnomusicology Multimedia website, to enhance the reader experience.

Plageman skillfully depicts the roles of musicians and middle-class men, but he sometimes fails to delve into deeper issues of class and marginalization, especially within the complex strata of urban societies. When he addresses these issues in chapters three and four, he relies greatly on the work of scholars such as John Collins and the author of this review. Even his informants at times echo what has been said in previous works. Also, while the complex renegotiation of gendered status is woven throughout every chapter of the book, there is a dearth of female voices, leading to a largely one-sided focus on gendered identities.

The emphasis on Saturday Night as a social and cultural movement provides a useful lens through which to view history and popular culture as contested sites of identity formation. As these movements grew, however, the continued use of the term "Saturday Night" can undermine their significance in the eyes of the reader. This focus leads to an omission of other noteworthy urban social and cultural movements, such as *kpanlogo*, a musical genre that became a key part of Every Night life for many urban residents during the early 1960s. Taking more of an Every Night approach would be more indicative of the importance of popular music culture within the lives of its many and varied participants.

Despite any deficiencies, this book is well-written and will appeal to those interested in Ghanaian urban history and highlife music, as well as those wanting to know more about youth and popular culture in general. The analysis of the history and organization of the social and literary clubs is some of the most insightful in the book. Plageman also excels in his portrayal of highlife music, musicians, and middle-class men. This book makes significant contributions to the history of highlife music and successfully weaves highlife musical culture into the wider social and political net of urban Ghana.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

RANJAN GHOSH and ETHAN KLEINBERG, editors. *Presence: Philosophy, History, and Cultural Theory for the Twenty-First Century*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2013. Pp. viii, 222. $59.95.

ETHAN KLEINBERG, Presence *in Absentia*. VINCENT P. PECORA, Be Here Now: Mimesis and the History of Representation. MARK BEVIR, Meaning, Truth, and Phenomenology. SUSAN A. CRANE, Of Photographs, Puns and Presence. ROGER I. SIMON, The Public Rendition of *Images Médusées*: Exhibiting Souvenir Photographs Taken at Lynchings in America. JOHN MICHAEL, The Presence of Immigrants, or Why Mexicans and Arabs Look Alike. BILL ASHCROFT, Transcultural Presence. RANJAN GHOSH, "It Disturbs Me with a Presence": Hindu History and What Meaning Cannot Convey. SUMAN GUPTA, The Presence and Conceptualization of Contemporary Protesting Crowds.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD/TRANSNATIONAL

HARTMUT BERGHOFF and THOMAS KÜHNE, editors. *Globalizing Beauty: Consumerism and Body Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century*. (Worlds of Consumption.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, in association with the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C. 2013. Pp. x, 285. $85.00.

GEOFFREY JONES, The Global and the Local in the Beauty Industry: A Historical Perspective. ULRIKE THOMS, Consuming Bodies: The Commodification and Technification of Slenderness in the Twentieth Century. MICHAEL R. MÜLLER and ANNE SONNENMOSER, Medial Beauty: Three Sociological Theses on Late Modern Body Aesthetics. ALTHEA TAIT, The Harm in Beauty: Toni Morrison's Revisions of Racialized Traditional Theories of Aesthetics in *The Bluest Eye*. JENNIFER V. EVANS, Queer Beauty: Image and Acceptance in the Expanded Public Sphere. MILA GANEVA, Miss Germany, Miss Europe, Miss Universe: Beauty Pageants in the Popular Media of the Weimar Republic. KERRY WALLACH, Recognition for the "Beautiful Jewess": Beauty Queens Crowned by Modern Jewish Print Media. VÉRONIQUE POUILLARD, The Rise of Fashion Forecasting and Fashion Public Relations, 1920–1940: The History of Tobé and Bernays. CHRISTINA BURR, "The Beauty Soap of Film Stars": Lux Toilet Soap, Star Endorsements, and Building a Global Beauty Brand. UTA G. POIGER, Beauty, Cosmetics, and Vernacular Ethnology in Weimar and Nazi Germany. CHRISTIANE REICHART-BURIKUKIYE, Contesting Beauty Concepts in Precolonial and Colonial Kenya: Hierarchy, Resistance, and Identity. SARA LENEHAN, Imported Surgeries? Accounting for the Rise of Tehran's Nose-Job Industry. KARIN KLENKE, Embodying Modernity: The Thrills and Ills of Being a Beautiful Woman in Tanah Karo, North Sumatra.

MICHAEL BOYDEN, HANS KRABBENDAM, and LISELOTTE VANDENBUSSCHE, editors. *Tales of Transit: Narrative Migrant Spaces in Atlantic Perspective, 1850–1950*. (American Studies.) Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 2013. Pp. 242. $43.50.

ADAM WALASZEK, Central Eastern Europeans in the Euro-Atlantic Migration System before the First World War. YANNIS G. S. PAPADOPOULOS, The "Floating Homeland": The Ship as a "Connectivity Space" in Greek Migrant and Public Discourse. FRANK CAESTECKER, A Lasting Transit in Antwerp: Eastern European Jewish Migrants on Their Way to the New World, 1900–1925. GUR ALROEY, Shtetl on the High Seas: The Jewish Emigration from Eastern Europe and the Cross Oceanic Experience. CECILIA ALVSTAD, The Transatlantic Voyage as a Translational Process: What Migrant Letters Can Tell Us. ELISABETH VIK, Decisions in Transit: The Case of Scandinavian Immigrants to Argentina. UTE RITZ-DEUTCH, German Colonists in Southern Brazil: Navigating Multiple Identities on the Brazilian Frontier. AN VAN HECKE, Traveling between Languages and Literatures: A Spatial Analysis of *The Family Tree* by Margo Glantz. RON GREAVES, Steamships, Hospitals, and Funerals: Liminal Spaces in Nineteenth-Century Liverpool's Narratives of Transit. BABS BOTER, Heavenly Sensations and Communal Celebrations: Experiences of Liminality in Transatlantic Journeys. SOSTENE MASSIMO ZANGARI, Competing Fictionalizations of the Lower East Side: Abraham Cahan's *The Rise of David Levinsky* and Michael Gold's *Jews without Money*. NANCY K. MILLER, Kishinev Redux: Pogrom, Purim, Patrimony.

EMILY CLARK and MARY LAVEN, editors. *Women and Religion in the Atlantic Age, 1550–1900*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2013. Pp. viii, 220. $119.95.

PATRICK COLLINSON, What Are the Women Doing in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"? ROBIN BRIGGS, From Devilry to Saint-

hood: Mère Jeanne des Anges and the Catholic Reform. JOHN J. CLUNE, JR., Islands of Women in a Sea of Change: Havana's Female Religious Communities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World. EMILY CLARK, When Is a Cloister Not a Cloister? Comparing Women and Religion in the Colonies of France and Spain. ANNETTE LAING, Crossing Denominational Boundaries: Two Early American Women and Religion in the Atlantic World. CATHY SKIDMORE-HESS, Njinga of Matamba and the Politics of Catholicism. SUSAN O'BRIEN, Religious Sisters and Revival in the English Catholic Church, 1840s–1880s. HAZEL MILLS, Women and Religious Revival in Nineteenth-Century France: Jeanne-Antide Thouret and the Sisters of Charity of Besançon. TIMOTHY J. LOCKLEY, Religion and the Rise and Fall of Female Benevolence in Antebellum Savannah, 1801–60.

JULIA EICHENBERG and JOHN PAUL NEWMAN. *The Great War and Veterans' Internationalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. xii, 233. $95.00.

ANTOINE PROST, René Cassin and the Victory of French Citizen-Soldiers. NIALL BARR, "The Legion That Sailed but Never Went": The British Legion and the Munich Crisis of 1938. STEPHEN R. ORTIZ, Well-Armed Internationalism: American Veteran Organizations and the Crafting of an "Associated" Veterans' Internationalism, 1919–1939. JULIA EICHENBERG, Polish Eagles and Peace Doves: Polish Veterans between Nationalism and Internationalism. JOHN PAUL NEWMAN, Allied Yugoslavia: Serbian Great War Veterans and Their Internationalist Ties. NATALI STEGMANN, Social Benefits and the Rhetoric of Peace in Czechoslovak Veteran Organizations. WILLIAM MULLIGAN, German Veterans' Associations and the Culture of Peace: The Case of the Reichsbanner. MARTINA SALVANTE, The Italian Associazione Nazionale Mutilati e Invalidi di Guerra and Its International Liaisons in the Post Great War Era. THOMAS RICHARD DAVIES, International Veterans' Organizations and the Promotion of Disarmament between the Two World Wars. JOHN HORNE, Beyond Cultures of Victory and Cultures of Defeat? Inter-war Veteran Internationalism.

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GWYN CAMPBELL, Servitude and the Changing Face of the Demand for Labor in the Indian Ocean World, c. 1800–1900. EDWARD A. ALPERS, On Becoming a British Lake: Piracy, Slaving, and British Imperialism in the Indian Ocean during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. BERNARD K. FREAMON, Straight, No Chaser: Slavery, Abolition, and Modern Islamic Thought. WILLIAM GERVASE CLARENCE-SMITH, Islamic Abolitionism in the Western Indian Ocean from c. 1800. LINDSAY DOULTON, "The Flag That Sets Us Free": Antislavery, Africans, and the Royal Navy in the Western Indian Ocean. MANDANA E. LIMBERT, "If You Catch Me Again at It, Put Me to Death": Slave Trading, Paper Trails, and British Bureaucracy in the Indian Ocean. ABDUL SHERIFF, Social Mobility in Indian Ocean Slavery: The Strange Career of Sultan bin Aman. THOMAS F. MCDOW, Deeds of Freed Slaves: Manumission and Economic and Social Mobility in Pre-Abolition Zanzibar. RICHARD B. ALLEN, Slave Trading, Abolitionism, and "New Systems of Slavery" in the Nineteenth-Century Indian Ocean World. JANET J. EWALD, African Bondsmen, Freedmen, and the Maritime Proletariats of the Northwestern Indian Ocean World, c. 1500–1900. MATTHEW S. HOPPER, Slaves of One Master: Globalization and the African Diaspora in Arabia in the Age of Empire.

JÜRGEN MARTSCHUKAT and SILVAN NIEDERMEIER, editors. *Violence and Visibility in Modern History*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. Pp. xiii, 305. $95.00.

COLIN DAYAN, Torture by Any Other Name: Prelude to Guantanamo. THOMAS WEITIN, The Visibility of Torture in Nineteenth-Century Case Study Collections. BRUCE DORSEY, Changing Representations of Scandalous Murders in the United States. MARTHA HODES, The Power of Indifference: Violence, Visibility, and Invisibility in the New York City Race Riot of 1900. SILVAN NIEDERMEIER, Violence, Visibility, and the Investigation of Police Torture in the American South, 1940–1955. AMY LOUISE WOOD, The "Vicarious Play" of Lynching Melodramas: Cinema and Mob Violence in the United States, 1895–1905. MICHAEL WILDT, Picturing Exclusion: Race, Honor, and Anti-Semitic Violence in Nazi Germany before the Second World War. ANNETTE JAEL LEHMANN, Life and Death in Peep Boxes: Bringing the Civil War to the American Home. PETRA BOPP, Images of Violence in *Wehrmacht* Soldiers' Private Photo Albums. JAN TAUBITZ, Making Photographs Historic: The Use of Historical Black-and-White Stills in NBC's Fictional Miniseries *Holocaust*. SEBASTIAN JOBS, Shiny Happy Warfare? New York Victory Parades and the (In)Visibility of Violence. DORA APEL, Violence and Historical Reenactment: From the American Civil War to the Moore's Ford Lynching.

FIONA PAISLEY and KIRSTY REID, editors. *Critical Perspectives on Colonialism: Writing the Empire from Below*. (Routledge Studies in Cultural History, number 24.) New York: Routledge. 2014. Pp. xii, 246. $125.00.

FREDERICK E. HOXIE, Denouncing America's Destiny: Sarah Winnemucca's Assault on US Expansion. MARILYN LAKE, Chinese Warnings and White Men's Prophecies. ELIZABETH ELBOURNE, Orality and Literacy on the New York Frontier: Remembering Joseph Brant. FIONA PAISLEY, History Lessons in Hyde Park: Embodying the Australian Frontier in Interwar London. ISAAC LAND, Patriotic Complains: Sailors Performing Petition in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain. JONATHAN HYSLOP, Zulu Sailors in the Steamship Era: The African Modern in the World Voyage Narratives of Fulunge Mpofu and George Magodini, 1916–1924. CECILIA MORGAN, "Write me. Write me." Native and Métis Letter-Writing across the British Empire, 1800–1870. TONY BALLANTYNE, Littoral Literacy: Sealers, Whalers, and the Entanglements of Empire. CAROLINE BRESSEY, Four Women: Exploring Black Women's Writing in London, 1880–1920. CLARE ANDERSON, The Power of Words in Nineteenth-Century Prisons: British Colonial Mauritius, 1835–1887. ANTOINETTE BURTON, Postcolonial Flyover: Above and Below in Frank Moraes's *The Importance of Being Black* (1965).

MARK SALBER PHILLIPS, BARBARA CAINE, and JULIA ADENEY THOMAS, editors. *Rethinking Historical Distance*.

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PETER BURKE, A Short History of Distance. IVAN GASKELL, Historical Distance, Historical Judgment. JÜRGEN PIETERS, The Travels of Fiction: Literature, Distance, and the Representation of the Past. BARBARA CAINE, Biography and the Question of Historical Distance. ADAM PHILLIPS, Close-Ups. MATTHEW LAUZON, "Time Has Rendered These Allusions Natural": Re-enacting the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1789. CAROLYN WILLIAMS, Parody and Re-enactment in the Comic Operas of Gilbert and Sullivan. M. G. SULLIVAN, Sir Francis Chantrey: Sculpture, History, and Geology. JULIA ADENEY THOMAS, Photographic Calculations: Intimate Trauma and Cool Distance in Postwar Japan. TIMOTHY CAMPBELL, Fashion, Microcosm, and Romantic Historical Distance. BAIN ATTWOOD, "Distance" and Settler Australia's Black History. RUTH B. PHILLIPS, Closing the Distance: Time, Historicity, and Contemporary Indigenous Art.

DANIEL T. RODGERS, BHAVANI RAMAN, and HELMUT REIMITZ, editors. *Cultures in Motion*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 2014. Pp. vi, 371. $35.00.

APRIL F. MASTEN, The Challenge Dance: Black-Irish Exchange in Antebellum America. CELIA APPLEGATE, Musical Itinerancy in a World of Nations: Germany, Its Music, and Its Musicians. PETER BROWN, From *Patriae Amator* to *Amator Pauperum* and Back Again: Social Imagination and Social Change in the West between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, ca. 300–600. PAMELA H. SMITH, Knowledge in Motion: Following Itineraries of Matter in the Early Modern World. NIRA WICKRAMASINGHE, Fashioning a Market: The Singer Sewing Machine in Colonial Lanka. MIMI SHELLER, Speed Metal, Slow Tropics, Cold War: Alcoa in the Caribbean. MAE M. NGAI, The True Story of Ah Jake: Language, Labor, and Justice in Late-Nineteenth-Century Sierra County, California. HAROLD J. COOK, Creative Misunderstandings: Chinese Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Europe. JOCELYN OLCOTT, Transnational Feminism: Event, Temporality, and Performance at the 1975 International Women's Year Conference. BHAVANI RAMAN, Itinerancy and Power. HELMUT REIMITZ, From Cultures to Cultural Practices and Back Again.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

MATT COHEN and JEFFREY GLOVER, editors. *Colonial Mediascapes: Sensory Worlds of the Early Americas*. Foreword by Paul Chaat Smith. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2014. Pp. xiv, 438. $70.00.

GERMAINE WARKENTIN, Dead Metaphor or Working Model? "The Book" in Native America. ANDREW NEWMAN, Early Americanist Grammatology: Definitions of Writing and Literacy. HEIDI BOHAKER, Indigenous Histories and Archival Media in the Early Modern Great Lakes. BIRGIT BRANDER RASMUSSEN, The Manuscript, the *Quipu*, and the Early American Book: Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*. GALEN BROKAW, Semiotics, Aesthetics, and the Quechua Concept of *Quilca*. GORDON M. SAYRE, "Take My Scalp, Please!" Colonial Mimesis and the French Origins of the Mississippi Tall Tale. PETER CHARLES HOFFER, Brave New Worlds: The First Century of Indian-English Encounters. JON COLEMAN, Howls, Snarls, and Musket Shots: Saying "This Is Mine" in Colonial New England. RICHARD CULLEN RATH, Hearing Wampum: The Senses, Mediation, and the Limits of Analogy. RALPH BAUER, Writing as "Khipu": Titu Cusi Yupanqui's Account of the Conquest of Peru. JEFFREY GLOVER, Christian Indians at War: Evangelism and Military Communication in the Anglo-French-Native Borderlands. SARAH RIVETT, The Algonquian Word and the Spirit of Divine Truth: John Eliot's Indian Library and the Atlantic Quest for a Universal Language.

BENJAMIN E. ZELLER et al. *Religion, Food, and Eating in North America*. (Arts and Traditions of the Table: Perspectives on Culinary History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2014. Pp. xxxii, 336. $105.00.

DAVID GRUMETT, Dynamics of Christian Dietary Abstinence. JEREMY RAPPORT, "Join Us! Come, Eat!" Vegetarianism in the Formative Period of the Seventh-day Adventists and the Unity School of Christianity. LEONARD NORMAN PRIMIANO, "And as We Dine, We Sing and Praise God": Father and Mother Divine's Theologies of Food. ANNIE BLAZER, Hallelujah Acres: Christian Raw Foods and the Quest for Health. RACHEL GROSS, Draydel Salad: The Serious Business of Jewish Food and Fun in the 1950s. SUZANNE CRAWFORD O'BRIEN, Salmon as Sacrament: First Salmon Ceremonies in the Pacific Northwest. DEREK S. HICKS, An Unusual Feast: Gumbo and the Complex Brew of Black Religion. SAMIRA K. MEHTA, "I Chose Judaism but Christmas Cookies Chose Me": Food, Identity, and Familial Religious Practice in Christian/Jewish Blended Families. ELIZABETH PÉREZ, Crystallizing Subjectivities in the African Diaspora: Sugar, Honey, and the Gods of Afro-Cuban Lucumí. KATE HOLBROOK, Good to Eat: Culinary Priorities in the Nation of Islam and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. JEFF WILSON, Mindful Eating: American Buddhists and Worldly Benefits. NORA L. RUBEL, The Feast at the End of the Fast: The Evolution of an American Jewish Ritual. TODD LEVASSEUR, Koinonia Partners: A Demonstration Plot for Food, Fellowship, and Sustainability. SARAH E. ROBINSON, Refreshing the Concept of Halal Meat: Resistance and Religiosity in Chicago's Taqwa Eco-Food Cooperative. BENJAMIN E. ZELLER, Quasi-Religious American Foodways: The Cases of Vegetarianism and Locavorism.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

JEFFREY F. HAMBURGER and GABRIELA SIGNORI, editors. *Catherine of Siena: The Creation of a Cult*. (Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, number 13.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2013. Pp. ix, 338. €90.00.

OTFRIED KRAFFT, Many Strategies and One Goal: The Difficult Road to the Canonization of Catherine of Siena. MICHAEL HOHLSTEIN, "Sacra lipsana": The Relics of Catherine of Siena in the Context of Propagation, Piety, and Community. GABRIELLA ZARRI, Catherine of Siena and the Italian Public. THOMAS BRAKMANN, The Transmission of the Upper German Life of Catherine of Siena. ALISON FRAZIER, Humanist Lives of Catherine of Siena: Latin Prose Narratives on the Italian Peninsula (1461–1505). F. THOMAS LUONGO, Saintly Authorship in the Italian Renaissance: The Quattrocento Reception of Catherine of Siena's Letters. SILVIA NOCENTINI, "Pro solatio illicteratorum": The Earliest Italian Translations of the *Legenda maior*. DIRK SCHULTZE, Translating St Catherine of Siena in Fifteenth-Century England. KRISTIN BÖSE, "Uff daz man daz

unsicher von dem sichren bekenen mug": The Evidence of Visions in the Illustrated *Vitae* of Catherine of Siena. DAVID GANZ, The Dilemma of a Saint's Portrait: Catherine's Stigmata between Invisible Body Trace and Visible Pictorial Sign. CATHERINE M. MOONEY, Wondrous Words: Catherine of Siena's Miraculous Reading and Writing According to the Early Sources. JANE TYLUS, Writing versus Voice: Tommaso Caffarini and the Production of a Literate Catherine. TAMAR HERZIG, Italian Holy Women against Bohemian Heretics: Catherine of Siena and the "Second Catherines" in the Kingdom of Bohemia.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

JEAN-MICHEL MINOVEZ,, CATHERINE VERNA, and LILIANE HILAIRE-PÉREZ, editors. *Les industries rurales dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*. (Flaran, number 33.) Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail. 2013. Pp. 310. €22.00.

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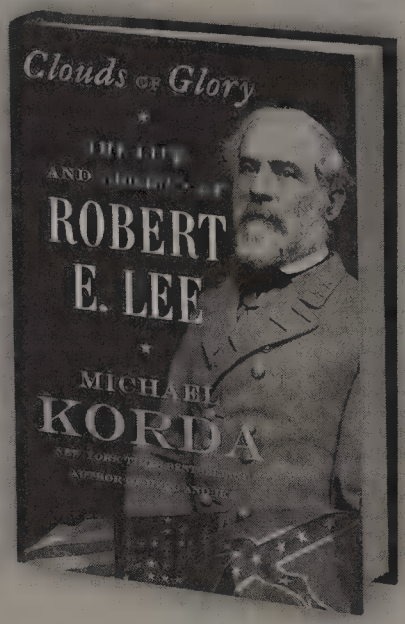

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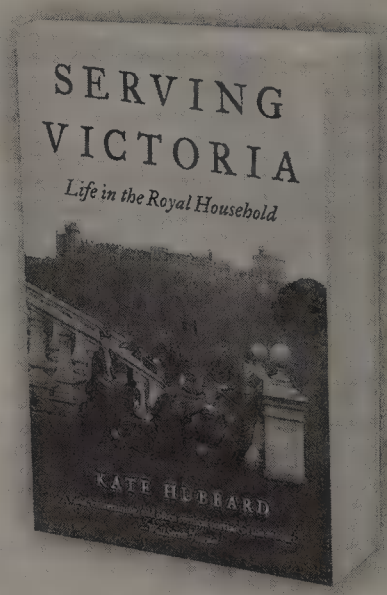

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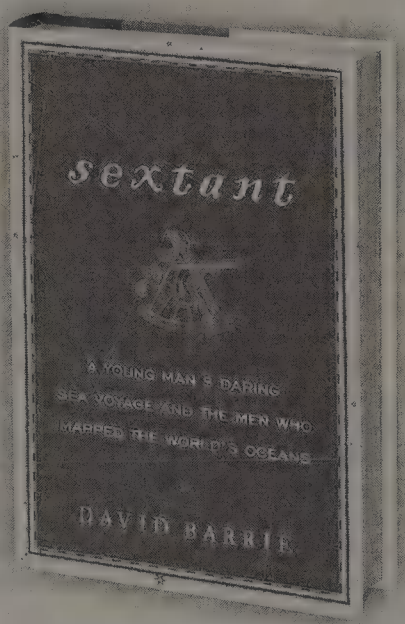

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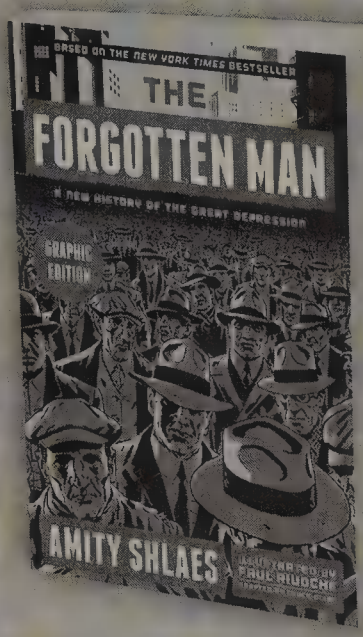

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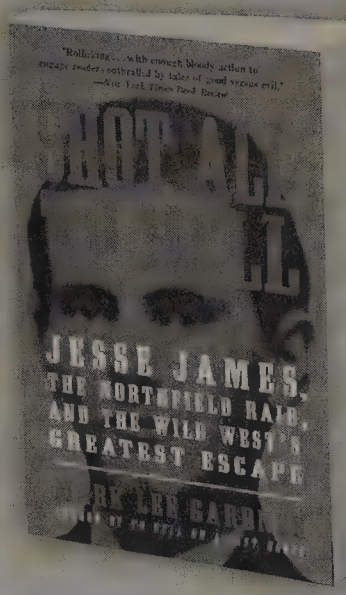

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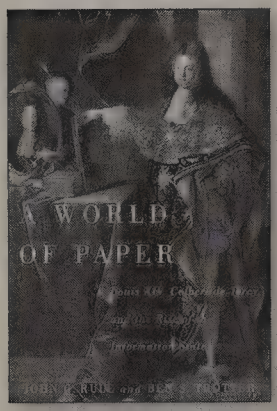

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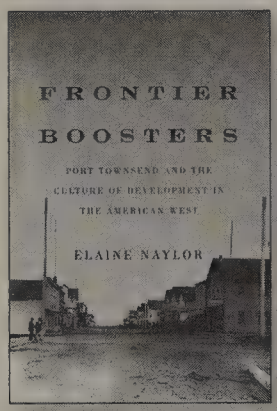

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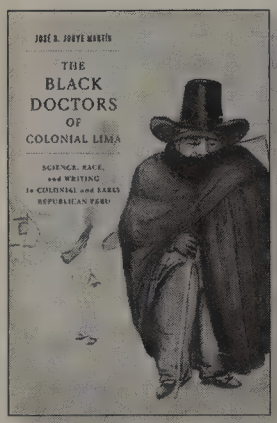

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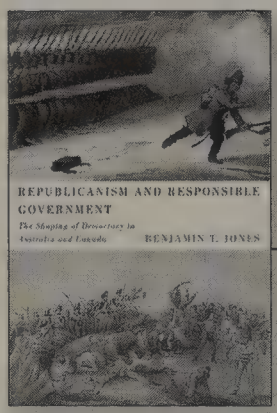

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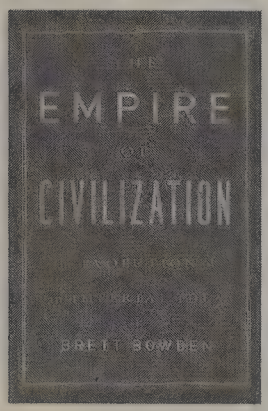

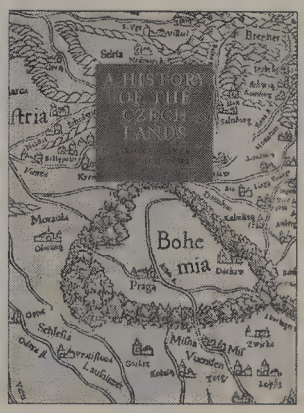

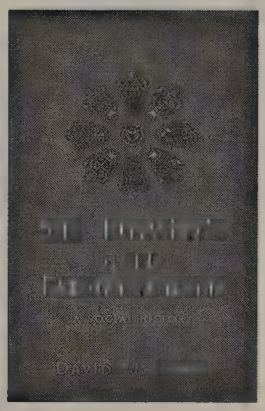

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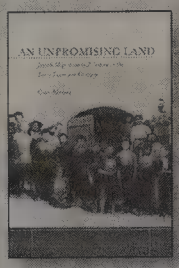

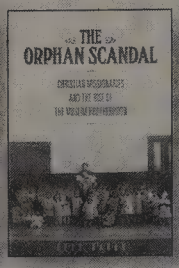

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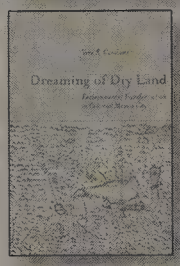

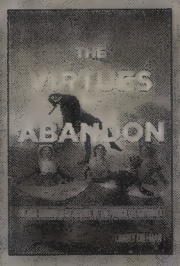

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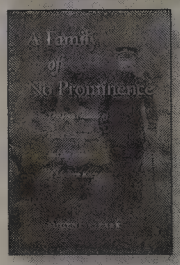

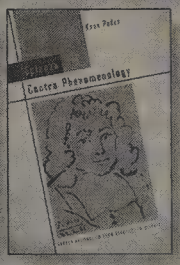

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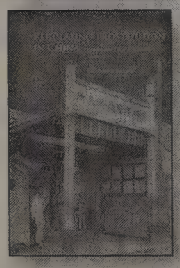

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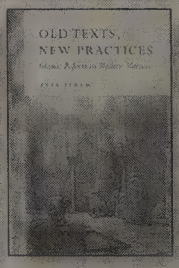

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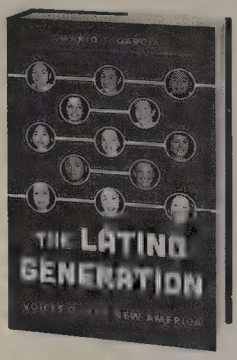

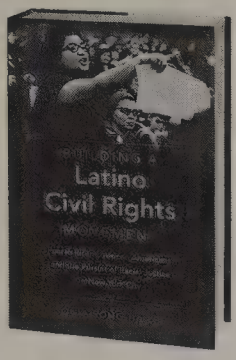

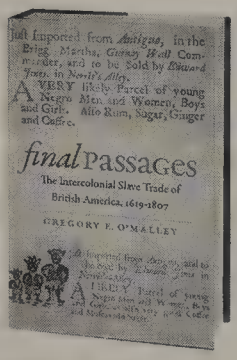

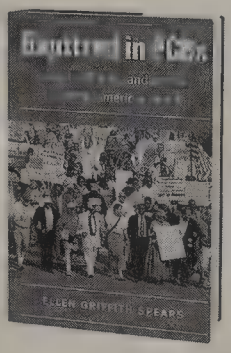

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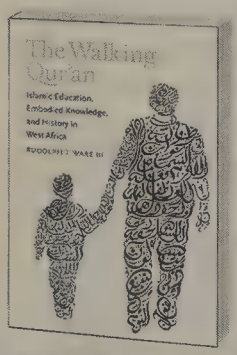

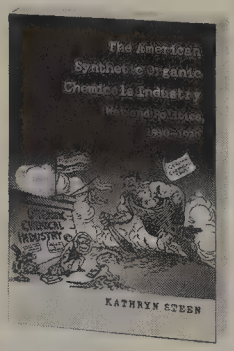

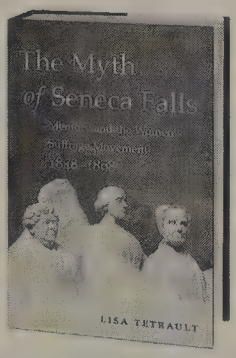

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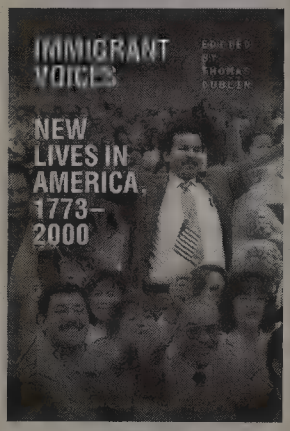

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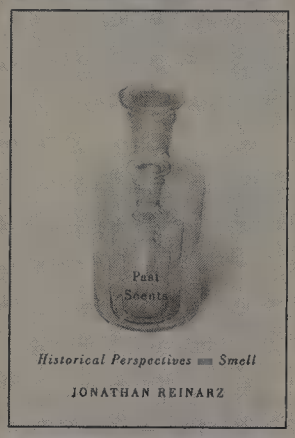

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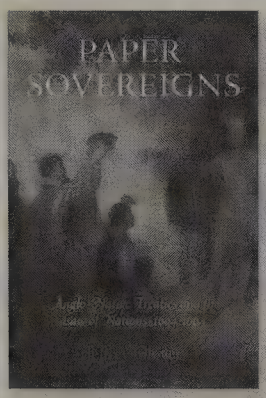

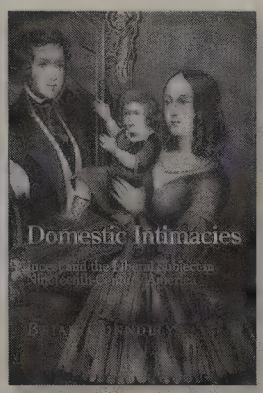

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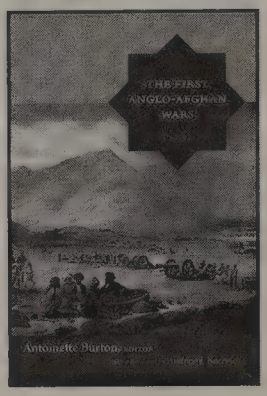

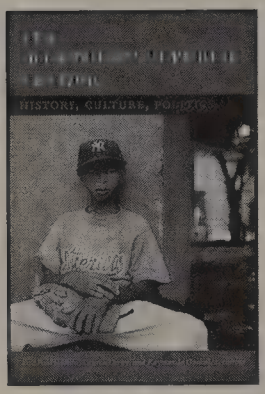

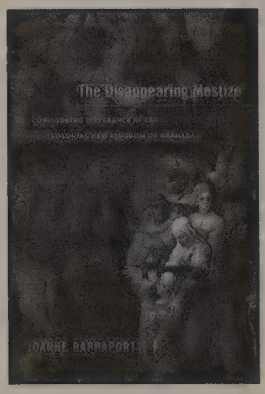

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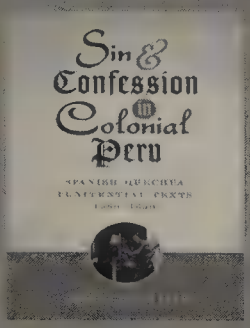

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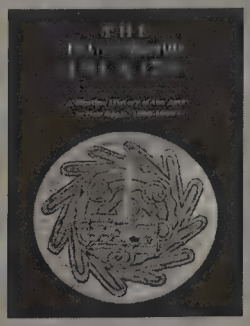

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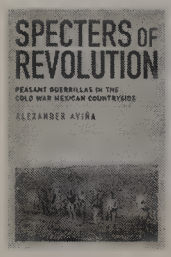

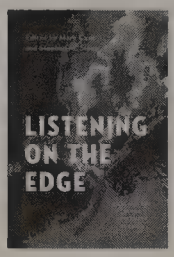

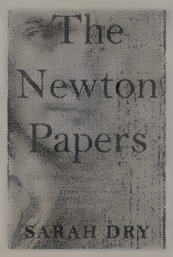

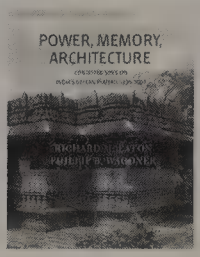

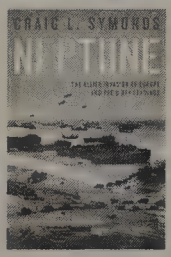

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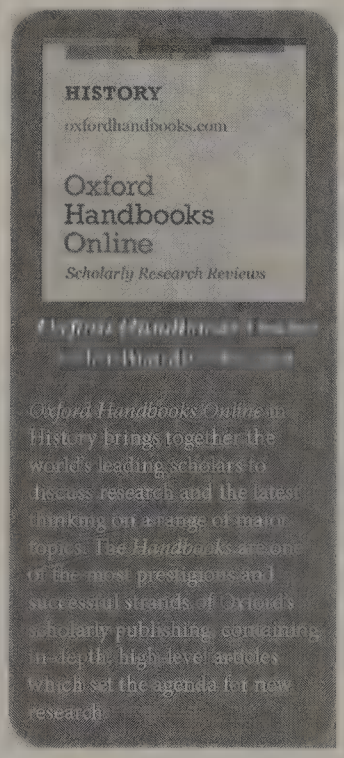

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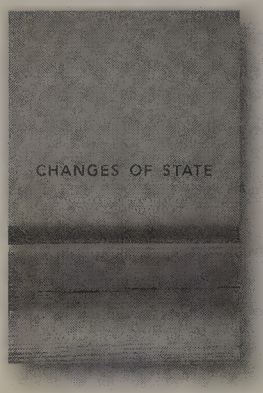

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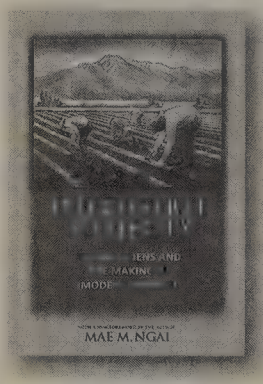

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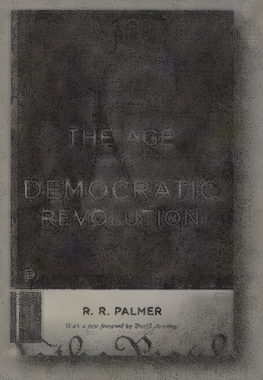

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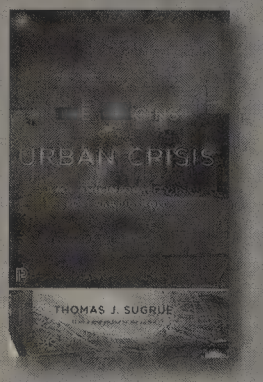

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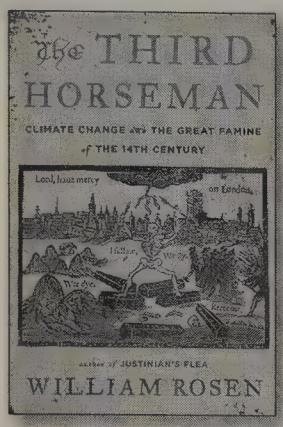

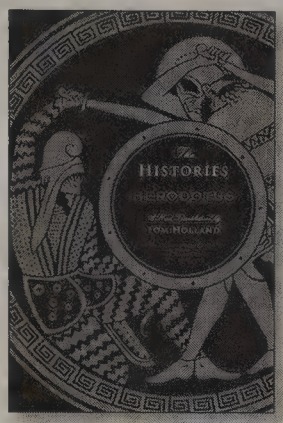

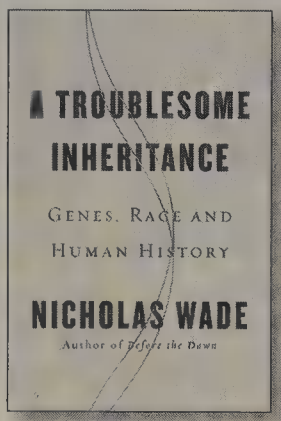

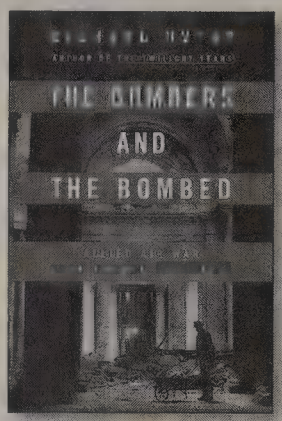

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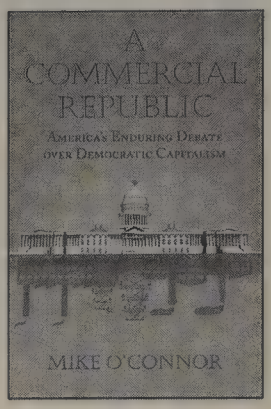

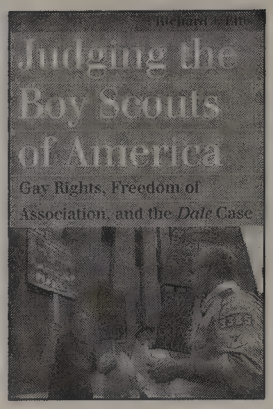

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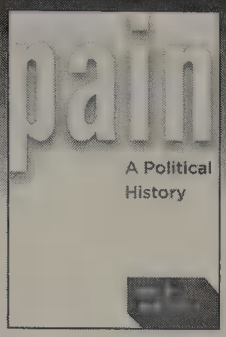

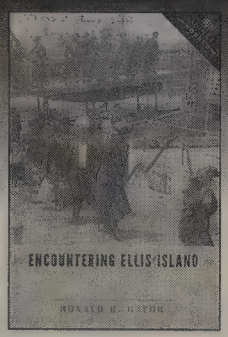

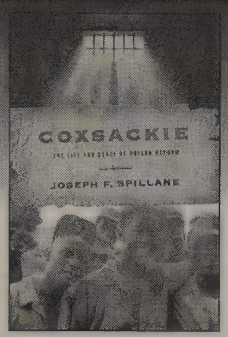

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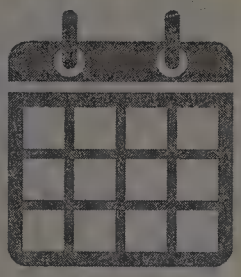

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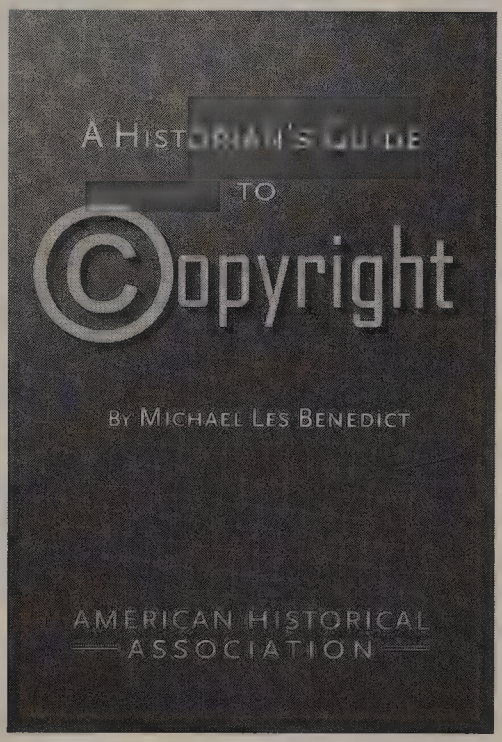

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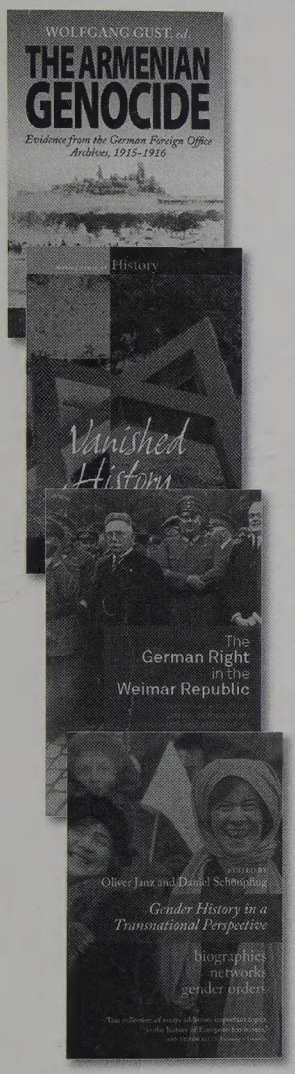

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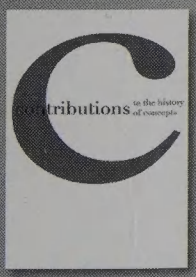

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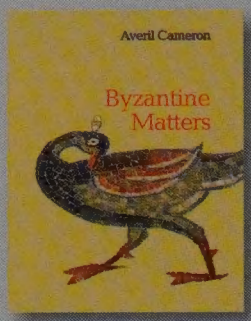

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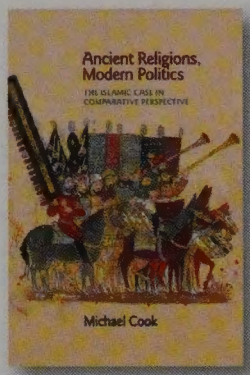

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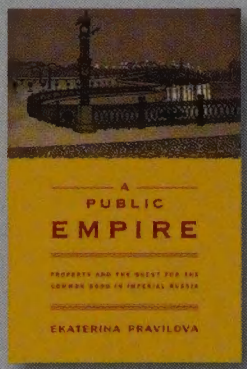

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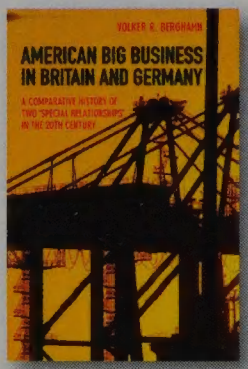

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